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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE
AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the *WORK*, and render it
A Complete Body of *HISTORY*,
FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the *PRESENT*.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως.*
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. IX.



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MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXIII.

CHAP. IV.

The history of France.

SECT. V.

The reigns of Eudes, Charles the Simple, Raoul, Lewis IV. surnamed the Stranger, Lothaire, and Lewis V. in whom ended the race of Charlemagne.

^a **T**HE crown of *France* was an object of such importance, as to occupy the thoughts of a great variety of pretenders, who laboured to recommend themselves by very plausible claims, at the same time they were preparing to support them by force. *Guy*, duke of *Spoletto*, and *Berenger*, duke of *Frioul*, stood both in the fourth degree of descent from *Charlemagne*; the one springing from a daughter of *Lewis the Debonnaire*, and the other from the daughter of king *Pepin*^a. *Lewis*, the son of *Boson*, talked likewise of a kind of right, his mother being the daughter of the emperor *Lewis II.* and himself adopted by *Charles the Bald*. He was, however, a child, and his pretensions therefore of little weight; yet in process of time, by the recommendation of the pope, he was chosen king of *Arles*. About the same time, *Raoul*, or *Rodolph*, the son of *Conrade*, count of *Paris*, seized the farther *Burgundy*, and converted it into a kingdom^b. *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, shewed himself a kind of competitor, being descended in a right line from *Bernard*, king of *Italy*. It is true there was a suspicion of bastardy; but that was of no great importance, since *Bernard* himself was a bastard, and yet declared king of *Italy* by *Charlemagne*, at the request of *Lewis the Debonnaire*^c. The most formidable pretender was *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, who looked upon himself as emperor, and who, in virtue of his power, thought to become king of *France*. But the nobility were unwilling to admit of a stranger: and therefore they chose *Eudes*, count of *Paris*, the son of the famous *Robert le Fort*; and some attempts have been made to frame a title for him, as being descended, in a right line, from *Childebrand*, the brother of *Charles Martel*, on the

^a LUITPRAND lib. i. PAUL. ÆMIL.
MOD. HIST. VOL. IX.

^b Chron. var. antiq.

^c Vita Ludovici Pii.

Lib. i. Fac. Sur.
 Eudes

father's side, and on the mother's from *Adelaide*, the daughter of *Lewis the Debonnaire*^d.
 But these stories are at best uncertain. *Eudes* had a far superior right, arising from the public necessity, the unbiassed voices of the nobility, and his own superior merit. He accepted the crown then, upon these conditions; first, that the consent of *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, should be obtained, to prevent his elevation being made the pretence of a civil war; and next, that he should hold this dignity in trust for the right heir *Charles the Simple*, who was not of age to execute its functions^e. Under these conditions he was crowned by the bishop of *Sens*. Soon after he went, of his own accord, to the diet at *Worms*, where he told *Arnold*, that he was very ready to resign the ensigns of royalty, rather than involve the *French* nation in a quarrel on his account; with which generous and candid proceeding *Arnold* was so much pleased, that he owned him, without scruple, for king of *France*, and entered into a treaty with him in that capacity^f.

He defeats the
 Normans,
 and suppresses
 an insurrec-
 tion against
 him in *Aqui-
 taine*.

THE *Normans* continuing to desolate the kingdom by perpetual irruptions, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, *Eudes*, who had but a small number of forces, was constrained to supply that defect by vigilance and activity^g. He had the good fortune to surprize a body, or rather an army, of these plunderers, consisting of near twenty thousand horse and foot, in the neighbourhood of a town called *Montfaucon*, at the entrance of a wood; and though he had but a thousand horse under his command, yet disposing these into different places, and causing the attack to be made at the same instant, the enemy were broke before they discovered their superiority; and the people of the country, seeing their disorder, fell upon them with such fury, that few or none could make their escape^h. This victory gained him great reputation; and would, no doubt, have been highly advantageous to *France*, if an insurrection had not broke out in *Aquitain*, which made the king's presence necessary there: and though he was so fortunate as to subdue the malecontents with little trouble, yet in the mean time the *Normans* took *Meaux*, and breaking their capitulation, destroyed itⁱ. They likewise made themselves masters of *Troie*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and made a second and third attempt upon *Paris*, though without effect. They also committed great disorders throughout *Lorraine*, till they were severely chastised by order of the king of *Germany*, who, with the assistance of the *French*, defeated them with great slaughter^k. All this time the king was employed in establishing his authority, and in repressing those disorders which were so detrimental to the state: and though, in doing this, he shewed all the mildness and moderation possible, yet those who perhaps owed their wealth and their power to nothing but the continuance of these disorders, were extremely offended, and testified their disaffection in such a manner, as induced some of the ambitious nobility, who only waited and wanted such an opportunity to disturb the public peace^l, to concur with them, and put the kingdom in a flame.

A. D. 891.

Eudes embark-
 ed in a civil
 war with the
 partizans of
 Charles, the
 son of *Lewis*
 the *Stam-
 merer*.

THE first who declared himself openly was count *Walgaire*, who surprized the city of *Laon*; and, that he might give some kind of colour to this proceeding, proclaimed king *Charles*. *Eudes*, than whom there never was a more active prince, foreseeing the consequences of this revolt, invested the place unexpectedly, and, attacking it with great vigour, compelled the garrison to surrender: he then called count *Walgaire* to answer before the nobility who were about him, and, upon their adjudging him a traitor, caused him immediately to be beheaded^m. This act of severity had not the consequences that he expected. *Eblon*, abbot of *St. Denis*, who had been the king's most intimate friend, with some other noblemen, raised all *Aquitain*. *Eudes* marched thither immediately, and brought things into order barely by his presenceⁿ. In the mean time, the party of count *Walgaire* had time to act. They brought over queen *Adelaide*, and her son *Charles*, from *England*; and, being joined by *Herbert*, count of *Vermendois*, and *Philip*, count of *Senlis*, both descended from *Charlemagne*, they carried the young prince to *Rheims*, where he was crowned by *Fouques*, the archbishop, who wrote a letter to *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, to intreat his assistance. This was in some measure obtained; and the party who had *Charles* at their head came, with a great army, and laid siege to *Laon*^o. The inhabitants made a brave defence, which gave *Eudes* time to come to their assistance, with a small but gallant army; at the approach of which the forces of *Charles* mouldered away, and he was obliged to retire. *Eudes* found means to justify himself to *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, which he did, by making him sensible that his government was far from being prejudicial to *Charles*, and that those who were about the young king had his interest much less at heart; and of this he gave a convincing proof, by dividing the kingdom with *Charles*, and doing homage to him for the small part that he retained^p. He did not long survive this agreement, dying at *La Fere* in *Picardy*, on the 3d of *January*, in the year 898, in the 40th year of his age, hated by the nobility, whose oppression he had restrained, beloved

^d LE P. FAUCHET. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.
 Monach de Bello Parisiæ Urbis, libri duo.
 BOARD Hist. Rhem. lib. iv.
 Metensf.

^e Annales Metensf.
^h Chron. de Norm. Gestis.
^m Annal Metensf.
^o Chron. de Gestis Norman.

^f Annales Fuldensf.
ⁱ REGINON. Chron.
^k REGINON. Chron.

^g ALBONIS
^h FLO-

^l Annales

^p Chronicon Breve. REGINON. Chron.

a by the people, and esteemed by all the world^a. He left behind him a son, *Arnold*, to whom some would have given the title of king; but he survived him for so short a space, that it afforded no time for the adherents of his father to take their measures in his favour: they attached themselves, therefore, to *Robert*, the brother of *Eudes*, who succeeded him in his county, and was one of the gallantest and greatest men that age produced^r: and, but for some such spirits, the monarchy had been subverted, as well as the family of *Charlemagne*.

His competitor being removed, *Charles* was acknowledged, in his own right, king of *France*: but, alas! that country was not now what it had been under his predecessors, in point of extent, wealth, or number of people. *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, was in possession of *Lorraine*; and *Charles* himself had relinquished his claims upon it, in consideration of the assistance and countenance he had received^s. On the other side, *Burgundy* was erected into a kingdom, which comprehended what is now called *Switzerland*, together with the *Franche Comté*, or at least the best part of it^t. *Lewis*, the son of *Boson*, held the country which has been before described under the name of the kingdom of *Arles*; and it had been well if, after all these sacrifices, *Charles* could have been said to hold the rest^u. But this was so far from being true, that it is very difficult to say what he held, except the title of king, and the power of giving away. It is true that, not long after he mounted the throne, he had a fair opportunity of recovering part of his dominions, and establishing his reputation, by the revolt of the people of *Lorraine* against the son of *Arnold*; and accordingly he marched, with a great army, into that country, where he might have done what he had pleased, and, by re-annexing it to the crown, had received an honourable and ample subsistence: but he loved the pleasures of a court, and hated rather the fatigues than perils of a camp; for he was personally brave, and, when necessity required, did his duty as an officer without reproach; but he was naturally indolent, and easily imposed upon^w. *Zuentibold*, king of *Lorraine*, who was much of the same temper, and had lost his dominions by indulging it, perceived what errors were committed by *Charles*; and though he had but a small body of troops, yet he kept the field, and at length distressed the *French* in such a manner, that *Charles* was glad to conclude, by a treaty, a war that ought to have been ended by the sword, and, for the sake of some very small acquisitions, abandoned entirely a kingdom that he had almost obtained^x. This gave a great blow to his credit; but so long as he enjoyed the assistance of *Fouques*, archbishop of *Rheims*, and followed the wise counsels he gave, he in some measure maintained his dignity: but when that prelate was assassinated, by the order of the earl of *Flanders*, his behaviour procured him the depreciating surname of *Charles the Simple*; and it is hard to say, whether this be alleviated or exaggerated by what some historians have observed, that, if he had not been unworthy of the crown, he had never been permitted to wear it^y. Scandalous source of royalty indeed!

THE nobility of *France*, having had leisure to frame their system, had now the fairest opportunity of carrying it into execution. Such, therefore, as had been intrusted with, or had got into possession of governments, demanded confirmations of them, not barely for life, but to them and to their heirs; and either by their own power, or by the assistance of some great person at court, obtained what they demanded, upon the easy terms of doing homage^z. It cannot be affirmed that nothing of this kind had taken place before the reign of *Charles the Simple*, because some instances, perhaps, might be given in earlier times; but the mischief did not become general till now, when, out of one large, well-ordered, and wisely-governed kingdom, there started up a multitude of principalities, in some degree, and but in some degree, dependent on the crown^a. Considered in this light, they may be truly stiled principalities, though the possessors of them took indiscriminately the titles of dukes, marquises, or counts: nor does it appear, that there was any rank or precedence in these titles: duke had been formerly in most esteem, but that of count seems to have been in most credit now. Under this highest class of nobility there were other considerable lords, who held of them in like manner; and these again had others, who held of them, and even these had their vassals. Instead, therefore, of that easy equal government, regulated by laws and customs, which had hitherto prevailed, a multitude of little insupportable tyrannies were erected^b.

It has been observed, that the king, by suffering the murder of *Fouques*, archbishop of *Rheims*, to whom he had so many and so great obligations, to escape unpunished, though perhaps against his will, lessened him exceedingly in the eyes of his subjects; and their contempt of him was still farther increased by the ravages of the *Normans*, who, for five or six years together, desolated the finest provinces in *France*. Those who sailed up the *Loire* burnt the famous church of *St. Martin* at *Tours*; and those who entered the *Seine* took the

^a Annale Metens. ^r Vita St. Genulfi, lib. ii. ^s Chron. var. antiq. ^t REGINON. Chron. ^u LE P. FAUCHET. CORDEMOY. MEZ. ^w AVENTIN. Hist. Boior. ^x CORDEMOY. MEZERAY. LE GENDRE. ^y Chron. var. antiq. ^z LE P. FAUCHET. JEAN DU TILLET. LE P. HENAUT. ^a CORDEMOY. MEZERAY. LE GENDRE. ^b Origines des Dignitez et Magistrats de France, recueilles par CLAUDE FAUCHET.

city of *Rouen* by composition, which they had observed with greater fidelity than was customary with this nation^c. This was ascribed to their chief named *Rollo*, who was not barely the captain of a numerous banditti, but was, in reality, a great prince by birth; and, which was more, endowed with qualities worthy of his rank and descent. He made use therefore of this place, to serve him for a kind of head quarters; made several expeditions from thence, and, when they were finished, returned thither again, while the *French*, seeing him lay waste not only all *Neustria*, but the countries that are now called *Artois* and *Picardy*, clamoured against *Charles* for indolently sitting still in his absence, and not recovering and fortifying *Rouen*, as he might have done^d. The king was equally at a loss how to repress these northern invaders, or to silence the outcries of his own people, which were not either the less loud or general, from his having at first encouraged and allied himself with these *Normans* in the days of king *Eudes*. At length it was judged most expedient to engage *Francon*, archbishop of *Rouen*, to propose to *Rollo* a truce for five or six months, in which time a stable and solid peace might be made, by the grant of a fair and ample establishment^e. *Rollo*, whose parts were not at all inferior to his courage, observed to the archbishop, that of these two propositions the first was directly repugnant to his inclinations and his interests, and the latter perfectly consistent with both: that, notwithstanding this, he was very willing to accept the one, for the sake of the other; and, upon full assurances given on both sides, the truce took place^f. *Richard*, duke of *Burgundy*, that is, the possessor of what is now stiled the dukedom of *Burgundy*, and some of the great lords of *Aquitain*, were extremely dissatisfied with this measure, as it appeared alike dishonourable to the king, and dangerous to the public; and therefore, by promising to give him all the assistance he could desire, they prevailed upon him to break the truce, which so provoked *Rollo*, that he marched immediately, with a considerable body of forces, and invested *Chartres*^g. The confederated lords, in pursuance of their engagements, advanced to its relief, attacked the *Normans* in their camp, and, with the assistance of a sally from the place, at the head of which was the bishop in his robes, forced *Rollo* to abandon his enterprize, and to retire to an eminence, where they besieged him and his *Normans* in their turn^h. However, having, by a stratagem, forced a passage through their camp, *Rollo* returned to his old station; and being reinforced there by many thousands of his countrymen, renewed his depredations on all sides, with circumstances which very plainly shewed that resentment instigated these excessesⁱ.

Rollo compels Charles the Simple to grant him Neustria, with the title of a duchy.

IN this critical and perplexed situation of affairs, finding no hopes of the like assistance, *Charles* suffered himself to be governed by *Robert*, the brother of *Eudes*, now stiled duke *Robert*, who prevailed upon him to recur to the first method of negotiation^k. *Francon*, archbishop of *Rouen*, was again the mediator; and *Rollo*, though by a great accession of strength he was become more formidable, and, by the usage he had met with, more provoked, yet so great an ascendancy had the prelate over his mind, that he made no scruple of declaring to him, that he was content to treat upon the old basis, provided the treaty was speedy and sincere^l. *Francon*, being well instructed, proposed to him three things; the first was, that he should become a Christian, that the king might escape the imputation of giving the Pagans a settlement in *France*; the second, that he should marry *Gisele*, the king's daughter, by which *Charles* might gain an honourable pretence of bestowing the noble country of *Neustria* as her dowry; and lastly, that he should do homage to the king in the same manner, and hold this country to himself and his heirs on the same terms, as the great lords of *France*, that it might not be said the king paid greater deference to a stranger, than to the native nobility of his realm^m. The *Norman* expressed himself well satisfied with these offers, to which he made only one objection, that the country of *Neustria*, though extensive, rich, and fertile in itself, was at this time so wasted and depopulated, as not to afford him and his people subsistence; and therefore he desired that he might have some other country assigned him, for the supply of immediate wantsⁿ. This demand was hard of digestion, and some affirm, that, had it not been for the influence of duke *Robert*, it might have stopped the treaty. Subsequent events have contributed to render this probable; and yet perhaps it is equally probable, that the same necessity which produced the negotiation, drove it on to a conclusion^o. The first country offered to *Rollo* was *Flanders*, dependent only on the crown of *France*, and then in the possession of a prince with whom *Charles* had good reason to be offended; so that there wanted not policy in the offer; yet *Rollo* rejected it, as lying at too great a distance from *Neustria*, and being in other respects inconvenient^p. *Bretagne* was next mentioned, and accepted. The preliminaries being thus adjusted, the king and this *Norman* prince had an

^c GULIELM. GEMETICENS. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

rum Normannie Ducum, libri tres.

^e FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE.

^d DUDONIS de moribus et actis prime-

GEMETICENS. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

^g Chron. var. antiq.

^h DUDO. de moribus et actis

Norm. Duc.

ⁱ FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE.

^k Chron. var. antiq.

^l GULIELM.

GEMET. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

^m DUDON. de moribus et actis Norm. Duc.

ⁿ FAUCHET.

DU TILLET. LE GENDRE.

^o GULIELM. GEMET. Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie.

^p Chron.

var. antiq.

^a interview at *Saint Clair*, upon the *Epte*, where, in the presence of the whole court, *Rollo* did homage, in quality of the duke of *Neustria*, to his new sovereign; but he was somewhat awkward in the performance of the ceremony, and when he came to the last, which was kneeling and making a semblance of kissing the king's foot, he peremptorily refused to go farther. An expedient was found, which was, that one of his guards should do it for him; but it seems all the *Normans* were bad courtiers, for this lifeguard man tossed *Charles's* foot chair over. This accident was passed by with much good humour, because resentment had been ill-placed¹.

On *Easter-day*, *Rollo* received, with great solemnity, the rite of baptism; his old friend, duke *Robert*, being one of the sponsors, and bestowing upon him his own name, which is the reason that, in the *French* historians, we find him seldom called *Rollo* after this, but *Robert*. He was, without question, a prince of extraordinary abilities, since, upon this critical occasion, he acted throughout with the utmost dignity, and with the most consummate prudence². The principal officers in his army, led by his example, became Christians likewise, and, in deference to his councils, entered readily into the plan he proposed for regulating his new state after the model of that of *France*³. He began with establishing bishopricks and religious houses, which he liberally endowed. He appointed governors of districts, with the title of counts; placed under them inferior magistrates; and enacted such laws, as he judged most expedient for bringing his new government into a tolerable condition. He was particularly severe in punishing theft, and in the equal distribution of justice, which he saw was the great basis of policy, and without which his people must naturally recur to their old method of living by robbery and piracy⁴. It is amazing with what speed and success he executed what he had proposed, and in how short a time that ruined and depopulated country was not only filled with inhabitants, but those too vigilant and industrious, and, which was more extraordinary, regular in their manners, and perfectly obedient. One great cause of this, was the resort of the better sort of *Normans*, from all parts, into his dominions, who, weary of that restless and roving kind of life which they had hitherto led, very gladly came to participate in the advantages which he had procured for the people under his command, which he most readily imparted, as knowing that the power of a prince is always in proportion to the number and employments of his subjects⁵. He complied also, as soon as things were in a tolerable condition, with the intended marriage, though very unequal in point of years; for, at this time, the duke was at least sixty, and the lady could not be above fourteen. Thus *Charles*, though some of his subjects continually reproached him with it, saw the new duchy of *Normandy*, for so in honour of its inhabitants it was stiled, thoroughly fixed, and thereby an end put to the terrors so long spread by the *Normans*.

While these things passed in *France*, there happened great alterations amongst her neighbours. *Arnold*, king of *Germany*, and who also assumed the title of emperor, died, and left behind him two sons; *Lewis*, by the queen his consort, who succeeded him as king of the *Germans* and *Romans*, and *Zuintibold*, his natural son, king of *Lorraine*, who would have disputed the whole succession with *Lewis*; but being slain in battle, the last-mentioned prince added to the rest of his dominions the kingdom of *Lorraine*. *Berenger*, whom the emperor *Arnold* had shut up in a corner of *Lombardy*, but still preserving the title of king, availed himself of his death, and was again crowned at *Pavia*⁶. *Lewis* the son of *Boson*, king of *Arles*, passed the *Alps* with an army, and met at first with such success, that he procured himself to be crowned emperor at *Rome*; but, in the short space of four years, he fell into the hands of *Berenger*, who put out his eyes; and he dying not long after, the regal title was lost in his family, *Hugo*, count of *Arles*, assuming the title of king. *Berenger*, pushing this good fortune, compelled pope *John IX.* to crown him emperor, tho' he had great opposition given him by *Lambert*, the son of *Guy*, duke of *Spoleto*, who, for a time, bore the title of emperor, and who, as some writers say, had been also crowned king of *France* at *Langres*⁷. But, in the end, the death of *Lambert* left him without a rival, and *Berenger* had the satisfaction of bearing the lofty titles of emperor and king of *Italy*, being, as we observed, descended by a female from *Charlemagne*, and the last of his blood who enjoyed sovereign authority on the other side of the *Alps*. On the other hand, the very year that *Charles* erected the new duchy of *Normandy*, *Lewis*, king of the *Germans*, *Romans*, and people of *Lorraine*, breathed his last, and in him ended the male line of *Charlemagne* in *Germany*. Upon which the great lords of that country elected *Conrade*, duke of *Franconia*. But the people of *Lorraine*, more inclined to the *French* government, or having still an high veneration for the *Carlovingian* race, resolved to call in the only surviving prince, and to place their crown once more on the head of *Charles the Simple*⁸.

¹ FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE.

² DUDONIS de moribus et actis Norm. Duc. mandie.

³ FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE.

tom. ii. p 585.

⁴ Contin. Reginon. Chron.

⁵ GULIELM. GEMETICENS.

⁶ GULIELM. GEMETICENS. Chroniques des Ducs de Nor-

⁷ Annal. Metenses.

⁸ Chron. var. antiq.

⁹ DU CHESNE,

who by this acquisition was, in some measure, indemnified for the cession he had been forced to make of *Normandy*. His conduct soon after sufficiently acquainted the world, how much easier it is to acquire kingdoms than to preserve them; more especially when countries are cantoned amongst a powerful nobility, as was the case at this time in *Lorraine*, as well as *France*.

Charles de-
volves all his
power on his
favourite Ha-
ganon and ne-
glects the nobi-
lity.

CHARLES, if we may give credit to the bulk of the *French* historians, had no great abilities as a politician, much less was he capable of managing affairs in so perplexed a situation as they then stood: but he seems to have been sensible of this, and of something more, which was, that he ran a greater hazard in trusting any of his nobility, than in relying on his own parts, slender as they were. It gave him therefore vast satisfaction, when he found one *Haganon*, a gentleman not distinguished either by birth or fortune, upon whom he could rest the weight of his affairs; and who, though in other respects he might be deficient, possessed two qualities that were truly valuable, fidelity and penetration^a. *Charles*, who was an honest and good man, had such an affection for this minister, that he was hardly ever out of his company, and did not keep even the necessary appearances for the *grandeess*^b. An instance will explain this clearly. *Charles* being at *Aix la Chapelle*, *Henry*, duke of *Saxony*, afterwards king of *Germany*, came to pay his respects to him, and for four days successively missed of an audience, receiving continually the same answer, "The king is busy with *Haganon*," which so much provoked him, that he took his leave, with this observation; "I make no doubt but, in a little time, one of these two things will happen, either *Haganon* will seat himself on the same throne with *Charles*, or *Charles* will become a private gentleman like *Haganon*." The king being informed of this, was forced to send *Hervé*, archbishop of *Rheims*, to intreat the duke to return, and to endeavour, when he did return, to efface, by his caresses, the bad effects of his indiscretion, which *Henry*, who was truly a great prince, easily overlooked. But, when verified by the event, this shrewd prediction was universally remembered^c.

The nobility of
France form a
resolution of de-
posing Charles,
which is a-
voided by a
treaty.

AMONGST the great lords, of whom the king and his minister were most jealous, were the two *Roberts*, dukes of *Normandy* and *France*. The former was his son-in-law, but had never consummated his marriage; and, by the advice of *Haganon*, he sent two gentlemen to his court to have an eye on his proceedings. These the duchess for a long time concealed; but at length they were discovered, and the duke, without any ceremony, hanged them as spies, which provoked *Charles* so much, that they were on the point of coming to a rupture^d. The other duke *Robert*, out of pure friendship, as he would have it understood, began hostilities first, and acted without scruple against *Charles*, sending envoys to the duke of *Normandy* to express his zeal; for which the *Norman* testifying much gratitude, they went somewhat farther, and acquainted him, that their master had great connections with the *French* nobility, and doubted not, with his and their assistance, to depose *Charles*, and to seat himself upon the throne, which his brother *Eudes* had formerly occupied. To this proposition they received a very unexpected answer. The duke of *Normandy* told them, that the views of their master were extravagant, and that he was equally incapable of suffering or assisting injustice; which calmed the intestine troubles of the kingdom for some time^e. But duke *Robert*, having still the same object in view, and the duke of *Normandy* being dead, he took advantage of an assembly of the nobility held at *Soissons*, and engaged the major part of those who were present, not only to expostulate with *Charles* on the indignity offered to them, by reposing such entire confidence in his minister, but also to give him to understand that they looked upon him as unworthy to be their king, and that they meant to consider him no longer in that light. After this they retired; but, through the interposition of the archbishop of *Rheims*, and count *Hugo*, a kind of treaty of pacification was concluded for a year, in consequence of which *Haganon* was discarded, at least in appearance, and some of the malecontent lords repaired again to court^f. However, this insincere compromise did not last long, as answering the intentions of neither party.

At length they
accomplish
their project,
and crown
duke Robert
at Rheims.

RICHARD, duke of *Burgundy*, a very wise and very worthy prince, who had always adhered to *Charles*, dying, the malecontents renewed their intrigues; upon which the king, looking upon the former agreement as void, recalled *Haganon*, and heaped upon him new favours^g. The disaffected lords magnified this as a direct breach of the convention, and taking arms, forced *Laon*, where all *Haganon's* treasures were; and having distributed these amongst their troops, they no longer kept any measures, but, declaring *Charles* to be weak and incapable of the royal dignity, proclaimed *Robert*, duke of *France*, carried him from thence to *Rheims*, in a

^a FLODOARDI Chronicon. AIMON Hist. lib. v.
mentum Gallici Scriptoris ex CONRADO Abbate Urspergensis.

^b Fragmentum Historiæ Francorum.

^c Frag.

^d DUD. lib. ii. AIMON. Hist. lib. iv.

^e FLODOARDI Chronicon Append.

^f FLODOARDI Chronicon.

ADEMARI Chronicon Append. REGIN

Chron.

^g DUPLIX. LE GENDRE.

- a kind of triumph, and there the archbishop *Herbé* set the crown upon his head, on the last day of *June*, and died three days after. *Charles*, in the mean time, collected what strength he could, in order to defend his crown, and reduce his enemies, amongst whom was *Gilbert*, whom he had made duke of *Lorraine*, though most of the lords in that country still adhered to his interest^b. The duke of *Aquitaine*, and the lords in that country, were for *Charles*; but *Rodolph*, the new duke of *Burgundy*, having espoused the daughter of king *Robert*, abetted his party with great zeal. *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who was a man of parts and power, descended by the male line from *Charlemagne*, and who had always boasted his loyalty to *Charles*, deserted him to join *Robert*, who, that he might leave the unfortunate monarch no resource, went in person to confer with *Henry*, king of *Germany*; and having detached him from the interests of his competitor, returned, with a full persuasion, that he should quickly oblige *Charles* to abandon the kingdom, or, like *Charles the Gros*, to accept of a precarious subsistence, and lead for the future a private life; the only thing wanting to his own establishment^c.

- In order to execute this plan, he assembled an army under the walls of *Soissons*, and having the principal part of his lords about him, consulted with them how their purposes might be soonest effected. In the mean time *Charles*, having still a good body of troops, but perceiving plainly that he could not provide long for their subsistence, resolved to make a sudden and desperate effort, and passing the river *Aisne* unexpectedly, surprized *Robert* and his adherents, as they were going to dinner^d. That prince, who was naturally brave, immediately mounted and put his troops in the best order he could; but while he encouraged them to do their duty, and carried his own standard in his hand, *Charles*, who was in the first ranks of his own troops, engaged him, and bore him to the ground with his lance, where he was presently killed: yet his son *Hugo*, and *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, not only restored the battle, but, in the end, beat the king's army, and made themselves masters of his baggage, which left them at liberty to consult how they might best prosecute their affairs, and of whom they should make choice to supply the place of their late king^e, the constitution being now so totally subverted, that the nobility were become hereditary, and the crown elective. This action happened on the 15th of *June*; and some say the shortness of his reign, others his not being universally owned, prevented the name of *Robert* from being taken into the list of *French* kings. The competitors for the succession were *Hugo*, duke of *France*, the son of *Robert*, by the sister of *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*; *Herbert* himself; and *Rodolph*, duke of *Burgundy*, who had espoused *Emma*, the daughter of duke *Robert*, and the sister of *Hugo*. The nobility in general, though they admired the courage and the capacity of *Herbert*, detested his ingratitude. *Hugo*, seeing the dispute lay between him and *Rodolph*, left it to the choice of his sister, who, desirous of being a queen, declared for her husband, and *Hugo*, as he had promised, procured him to be elected; and accordingly the crown was set upon his head at *Soissons*, on the 13th of *July*^f. The few lords that still adhered to *Charles*, either pleased with the choice of this prince for the sake of novelty, or through fear of being despoiled of their estates, began to drop away: so that, in a short time, he was as much abandoned as *Charles the Gros*, his unfortunate cousin, and the victim of other mens ambition.

- In this situation, as weak as his enemies represent him, he did not sink into despair; *Rodolph*, on the contrary, he endeavoured to retire to *William*, duke of *Normandy*, who, like his father, knew no king but him who gave him his duchy; in which, through the vigilance of *Rodolph* and his party, he was disappointed, which brought him so low, that he was obliged to apply himself to *Henry*, king of *Germany*, and to offer to quit in his favour the claims he had on the kingdom of *Lorraine*, provided he would grant him his assistance^g. *Henry*, considering how much he was to be the gainer, and how honourable the enterprize was in itself, determined to undertake it, and began to raise an army for this purpose. King *Rodolph* began in his turn to feel great apprehensions, well knowing that the dukes of *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* disapproved his election^h. Out of this perplexity he was delivered by *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who, dreading the restitution of *Charles*, sent deputies to implore his clemency, to assure him of his fidelity, and to desire that he would march such forces as he had about him into his country, that he might be the better able to defend it against their common enemies. *Charles* was the more easily deceived by these deputies, because they were first deceived themselves, and really believed the count to be in earnest. He marched therefore into *Vermandois*, with a handful of troops, and was received by count *Herbert* with all possible testimonies of the most profound respect. At first, however, the king acted with some precaution; but being at length persuaded to enter

^b AIMON. Hist. lib. v.^c P. FAUCHET. P. DANIEL.^d FLODOARDI Chronicon.^e AIMON.

Hist. lib. v. ADEMARI Chronicon.

^f GLABRI RUDOLPHI Cluniacensis Monachi Hist. sui temporis^g FLODOARDI Chronicon.^h GLAB. Hist. sui temp.ⁱ Ibid. FAUCHET.

A. D. 924.

the fortress of *Chateau-Thierry*, *Herbert*, the very same night, caused him to be seized in a his bed, and then sent one of his adherents to compliment *Rodolph* on his having nothing to fear, since *Charles* was a prisoner for life^p. The queen of this unfortunate monarch, whose name was *Egiva*, fled with her son *Lewis* to the court of her brother in *England*. *Rodolph*, having now leisure, turned his arms against *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*, who perceiving that he had no assistance to expect, thought it expedient to make the best terms he could for himself; and in order to this, did homage to *Rodolph*; but it is certain he did this to a conqueror, and not to a king, submitting only because he found himself unable to resist^q (A). This war was scarce ended, before *Rodolph* found himself embarked in another against the *Normans*; by which we are not to understand the subjects of duke *William*, but a new swarm of these plunderers from the north, commanded by one *Rainold*, who fell into *Burgundy*, and wasted it with fire and sword. The king managed this war but with indifferent success; and after lying some time before their intrenchments, was content to let them make their escape^r. In this state of things, the *Normans* settled in *France* broke out into hostilities, on account of some injuries they had received; and while *Rodolph* was employed in raising an army to bring them to reason, the great lords of *Lorraine* revolted, and submitted themselves to the king of *Germany*; which though *Rodolph* could not possibly help, and in his present circumstances was as little able to resent, yet it lessened his reputation. For the nobility of *France* were equally jealous of the power of their kings, and ready to despise them if they wanted power; and, on the other hand, the lords of *Lorraine* expected to be better gratified by the *German* monarch for bringing him a kingdom, than they could be by *Rodolph* for preserving it; in which they were chiefly governed by duke *Gilbert*, who was very nearly allied to the *German*, though he owed his great preferments to *Charles*, against whom he was one of the first that revolted^s.

Herbert, count of Vermandois, refuses Charles, and joins him as his sovereign.

A BODY of *Normans* having made an irruption into the county of *Artois*, *Rodolph* marched against them with his forces; and as he approached them on one side, *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, with the whole strength of his estates, advanced on the other, and, by this means, the *Normans* found themselves besieged in their camp; but as they had been always famous for defending intrenchments with the utmost intrepidity, the king delayed the attack, in hopes of receiving some propositions from them. But the *Normans* quitting their camp in a dark night, attacked that of the king, forced it, and had infallibly destroyed both him and his army, if the count of *Vermandois* had not come to his relief. As it was, the king was wounded, the officer who commanded under him killed, and his forces so roughly treated, that he was forced to retire with them to *Laon*, and leave the *Normans* to live at discretion, till, by the payment of a sum of money, he procured their retreat^t. He was chiefly induced to this, that he might humble *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*, whom he still regarded as his most formidable enemy. But when he was ready to pass the *Loire* with a numerous army, or, as some historians say, had actually passed it, he was constrained to return, in order to repel the *Hungarians*, a most barbarous people, as some authors, particularly *Mezeray*, assert, who had penetrated through *Lorraine* to the frontiers of his dominions^u. The presence of the king, say some, restored peace, and engaged these terrible enemies to retire; but others insinuate, that plunder being their aim, they were induced to retire by receiving a large sum of

926.

^p BALUZ in notis Append. Capitular. Hist. sui temp. AIMON. Hist. lib. v. l'Histoire de France, tom. i.

^q FLODOARDI Chronicon. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

^r FLODOARDI Chronicon.

^s GLAB.

^t Abrege Chronologique de

(A) This *William*, duke of *Aquitaine*, surnamed the *Devout*, was extremely attached to the family of *Charlemagne*, and so were all the nobility in the adjacent countries, chiefly on account of the lenity of those princes, who left them in a kind of independency, and expected nothing from them beyond the ordinary compliment of homage, and dating their charters according to the years of their reigns, in which they were, as we shall see very correct. We must observe, that the very title of duke of *Aquitaine* was derived from the favour of this king, the proper title of this nobleman being count of *Auvergne*, which, in all probability, might be a government erected by *Charlemagne*, or *Lewis the Debonnaire*, which, according to the custom of that time, was become hereditary in this family: but there were many counts in his neighbourhood, not at all inferior to him in birth and fortune, till he was honoured with this title of duke of *Aquitaine*, which implied nearly the same thing with the king's lieutenant, and in virtue of which he became their superior; and therefore his own dignity, being in a great measure dependent on the prince who bestowed it, bound him strictly to *Charles*, and rendered him very unwilling to submit to his competi-

tor. How far he did this, and in what way the gentry in these parts, following the example of their lord, evaded acknowledging this prince, otherwise than as a conqueror, appears from a charter still preserved, which is thus dated; 'Done the fifth before the ides of *October*, in the fourth year since king *Charles* was degraded by the *French*, and *Rodolph* elected contrary to the laws.' Other instances of the same nature might be produced, and particularly the will of this duke's successor, which is dated in the same manner, but a year later. He was the nephew of *William*, and, upon his demise, the title came to *Aimar*, count of *Poitiers*, who likewise inherited the county of *Auvergne*. We shall see in the text that king *Lothaire*, the grandson of *Charles the Simple*, deprived this family of the ducal title, in order to transfer it to *Hugo the White*, who was duke of *France* and of *Burgundy* before. We may likewise collect from hence, the true reason why the title of duke sunk in esteem, which was no other than this, that it implied a dependence, and that they held it from another; whereas they looked upon their counties as their own.

money.

a money. A domestic misfortune followed next : the count of *Laon* dying, *Herbert*, who had served the king so much, and whose services had been so well paid, demanded that place, which lay conveniently for him, though the deceased count had left several children ; which favour the king refusing to grant, *Herbert* turned his eyes upon his royal prisoner, and brought *Charles* again upon the stage, with all the honours due to a great prince^w.

HUGO, duke of the country between the *Seine* and the *Loire*, stiled commonly duke of *France*, or of the *French*, had lately married *Ethelinda*, the daughter of king *Edward*, and the sister of *Charles's* consort, and therefore he entered readily into *Herbert's* measures. The next point was to engage the duke of *Normandy* to concur with them, and, in order to this, they had an interview, in which they concluded, first, a marriage between *Letgarde*, the count's daughter, and the duke, and afterwards a treaty, by which they engaged to set *Charles* once more upon the throne of *France* : and, as a farther proof of his sincerity, the duke, in another conference held at *Eu*, treated *Charles* with great magnificence, and did homage to him for his dominions^x. This turn was so unexpected, and their party was become so formidable, that king *Rodolph*, leaving *Emma* his consort in *Laon*, went into *Burgundy* to raise an army, with which he quickly took the field, as the confederates likewise did ; but duke *Hugo*, doubting the issue of the war, negotiated a treaty between king *Rodolph* and the count of *Vermandois*, by which he was gratified in respect to the county of *Laon*, orders being sent by king *Rodolph* to his consort to deliver it immediately, with which, out of a spirit of womanish obstinacy, she refused to comply. This rendered the reconciliation more difficult ; for *Henry*, king of *Germany*, and *William*, duke of *Normandy*, insisted that *Charles* should be restored ; and pope *John IX.* threatened the count of *Vermandois* with excommunication if he did not comply with his engagements ; besides, he had given his son over as a hostage to the duke of *Normandy*, and was therefore obliged to save appearances. With this view he called an assembly of prelates and great lords, in whose presence he did homage, for all his estates, to king *Charles*^y, by which he procured his son's liberty ; and, understanding the pope was dead, he summoned king *Rodolph* to make good his treaty ; and the king, having gained *Henry the German*, caused the county of *Laon* to be delivered up to *Herbert*, so that *Charles* was once more abandoned ; and *Herbert* having done homage to his competitor, shut him up again in prison ; upon which the queen *Egiva*, who with her son had returned into *France*, withdrew again, by the advice of the duke of *Normandy*, into *England*^z. But *Rodolph*, having no great confidence in one who had so often deceived him, made a tour to *Rheims*, and desired that the count of *Vermandois* would bring *Charles* thither, which he did ; and *Rodolph* received him with great respect, and made him very rich presents, as all the nobility and prelates also did, and, at the same time, settled a competent allowance for his maintenance ; which, however, he did not long enjoy, since he died in the castle of *Peronne* on the 9th of *October* following, in the 51st year of his age, leaving his competitor in the quiet possession of his dominions^a (B).

THIS event produced a great alteration in the face of affairs. *Rodolph*, finding himself more at liberty, resolved to live and act like a king ; he pursued the *Normans of the Loire*, so called to distinguish them from those of the *Seine*, now become a flourishing and fixed people, till he had compelled them either to quit the kingdom, or to betake themselves to some settled habitation. In like manner he visited the frontiers, compelled several lords, who had hitherto been subject to the kings of *Provence*, to do him homage, constrained the duke of *Gascony* to follow their example, and most of the lords of *Languedoc*, and the countries adjacent ; who having enjoyed independency so long, were very unwilling to stoop to the yoke. He repelled likewise the *Hungarians*, or *Bulgarians*, for we find them called by both names, who made a new irruption, and, in a word, acted in all respects in a manner suitable to his dignity^b. In these expeditions he was assisted and supported by *Hugo*, count of *France* ; but *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, looked with a very evil eye on all these acquisitions of power, more especially as he plainly saw, that, since the death of *Charles the Simple*, he was no longer courted and gratified as in times past. In order to convince the king of his importance, he entered into a league with the count of *Flanders*, to whom he gave his daughter *Adila* in marriage ; with *Gilbert*, duke of *Lorrain*, and *Henry*, king of *Germany*, to whom he did homage for his

^w AIMON. Hist. lib. v. ^x FLODO. Chron. P. FAUCHET. LE GENDRE. ^y GLAB. Hist. sui temp. MEZERAY. ^z AIMON. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL. ^a GLAB. Hist. sui temp. ^b FLODO. Chronicon. J. DE SERRES. MEZERAY.

(B) We have no mention made in any of the ancient historians of the first wife of *Charles the Simple*, by whom he became the father of *Gisele*, who espoused *Robert*, or *Rollo*, duke of *Normandy*. His second consort was *Fredervne*, sister to *Beuves*, bishop of *Chalons*, by whom he had *Hermentrude*, *Fredervne*, *Hildegarde*, and *Rotrude*. His third queen was *Egiva*, or, as the *French* writers call

her, *Ogive*, or *Ogine*, the daughter of *Edward*, surnamed *the Elder*, and the grand-daughter of *Alfred the Great*, by whom he had his only son *Lewis* ; after his decease she espoused, as we shall see in the text, *Herbert*, count of *Troyes*, the second son of *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who had so long kept her husband in prison.

estates; upon which a war ensued that lasted for many years^c. The king did not take part therein as principal, but suffered his troops to act under the authority of *Hugo*, duke of *France*, who gradually dispossessed the count of most of the best places he held, such as *Eu*, *Amiens*, *Saint Quintin*, *Peronne*, *Ham*, *Arras*, *Chateau-Thierry*, and, at length, of *Rheims*, which he held in the name of his son *Hugo*, whom, by fraud and violence, he had procured to be elected archbishop, when but little more than five years of age; but the king was no sooner in possession of that place, than he promoted *Artaud*, who was a monk there, to be archbishop of that see, which hurt the count exceedingly^d. Such were the miseries of those times, and such the disorders in church and state!

The death and character of king Rodolph, after a short and troublesome reign.

It has been before observed, that *Herbert* had great courage and capacity, though very little candour; and, in the management of this war, though very unsuccessful, he shewed equal firmness and address. He had his emissaries at the courts of the duke of *Normandy*, the duke of *Aquitaine*, the duke of *Gascony*, and, in a word, of all the great lords who had done homage to *Rodolph*, who were continually whispering, that their master was the champion of the nobility of *France*, whose title to their estates lay in their possession, and the power to maintain that possession; since, if he was once subdued, they would soon feel the power of the victor, who would not fail to chastise and humble all of them in their turns^e. By this means he derived secret supplies and succours, which enabled him to continue the war as long as he did; and he not only expressed great fortitude in the continuance of it, but managed it in such a manner as kept up his reputation, both as a great captain and a consummate statesman; so that, on the whole, his character was one of the most singular that stands recorded in history, as at one and the same time he was both detested and esteemed. At length *Rodolph* blocked him up in *Laon*, which he surrendered upon terms; and then, beginning to feel himself sinking, and gradually losing the supports he had hitherto received, he attempted, though without effect, to reconcile himself to the king^f. An accident extricated him from this dilemma. The *Bulgarians*, with a very formidable army, threatened both *Germany* and *France*. The two kings had a conference, at which some of the great lords assisted, and amongst the rest *Herbert*, count of *Vermendois*. *Henry* took this opportunity of representing to *Rodolph*, how injurious it was to the *French* nation to waste their forces in these intestine disputes: and having brought him to think in his way upon this head, a peace was concluded under his mediation, and *Herbert* once more did homage to *Rodolph* for all his lands. The *Hungarians* were so frightened by the league concluded at this interview, that they renounced their former designs, and made an irruption into *Italy*^g. *Hugo*, duke of *France*, who was in possession of most of the places taken from *Herbert*, was very unwilling to part with them, and upon this the war broke out again: but *Rodolph*, who was not a prince to be trifled with, declared roundly, that he meant the treaty should be fulfilled; upon which *Hugo* submitted, and the public tranquillity was restored; his brother *Boson*, who had seized the city of *Dijon* (such was the spirit of mutiny in those days), dying of vexation soon after. The king himself did not survive him long; for, having struggled with difficulty through a dangerous distemper in the autumn, he deceased on the fifteenth of *January*, in the following year, at *Auxerre*, in the fourteenth year of his reign; and leaving no issue, the duchy of *Burgundy* fell to his brother *Hugh*, surnamed *the Black*^h. All writers agree that *Rodolph* was one of the most brave, generous, and prudent princes, who had reigned in that country, and who in better times would, without question, have carried the honour of the nation as high as any of his predecessors; but it was his misfortune to be continually involved in war, in which, though he was personally fortunate, the state felt the weight of every defeatⁱ (C).

A. D. 936.

The nobility of France invite Lewis IV. surnamed the

An interregnum followed on the death of *Rodolph*, in which the old intrigues were revived. *Hugo the White*, so called to distinguish him from *Hugo the Black*, duke of *Burgundy*, who had also the surname of *Grand*, from his power, and of *L'Abbé*, or *Abbot*, from his holding

^c GLAB. Hist. sui temp. P. DANIEL. ^d AIMON, Hist. lib. v. ^e FLODO. Chronicon. P. FAUCHET. ^f GLAB. Hist. sui temp. CORDEMOY. CHALONS. ^g AIMON, Hist. lib. v. DU TILLET. LE GENDRE. ^h FLODOARDI Chronicon. In MS. Pfalterio Emmae Reginae apud MABILLON in Diplom. lib. ii. cap. 26. ⁱ AIMON, Hist. lib. v. MEZERAY.

(C) Some writers have confounded this *Rodolph*, king of *France* and duke of *Burgundy*, with *Rodolph*, king of *Burgundy*, who was contemporary with him, and present at the conference with *Henry*, king of *Germany*. This monarch *Rodolph* made a very great figure when he was only duke of *Burgundy*; and out of that country he drew the best part of what was necessary for the maintenance of his court, as well as most of the troops that formed his army. After the death of *Charles the Simple*, he remained in quiet possession of so much of the kingdom as had submitted to him; but in *Aquitaine* he was never owned, as appears by their dating their charters from the death of *Charles*, adding, *Christ reigning*, and the

king expected. Some writers speak of a former wife, which *Rodolph* had before he espoused *Emma*, the sister of duke *Hugo*; but by her he had no issue: whereas by *Emma*, or, as some call her, *Emina*, he had a son, whose name was *Lewis*, and who, with his mother, died before him, as did also his brother *Boson*, who was of the whole blood; so that he was succeeded in his hereditary estates by *Hugues le Noir*, i. e. *Hugh the Black*, who was but his half brother. This monarch died at *Auxerre*, in a manner which has been sometimes regarded as a judgment, *pediculari morbo*, but which was, it seems, a disease not very unfrequent in those days.

- a four or five great abbies, in conjunction with his duchy of *France*, had a powerful interest, and was besides the son of a king^k. But he was opposed by *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, who, though he was not able to raise himself, had yet influence enough to keep *Hugo* from mounting the throne. At this juncture, *Atbelstan*, king of the *West Saxons*, sent ambassadors to *William*, duke of *Normandy*, to intreat him to restore a nobleman whom he had banished to his favour, and to use his endeavours that the claim of his own, and the duchess of *France*'s nephew, should not be over-looked by the great lords of *France*. *William* yielded to both requests, and applied himself vigorously to duke *Hugo*, beseeching him to consider how honourably he might gratify his ambition, by bestowing a crown, which he might find it very difficult to seize; and *Hugo*, without much delay, embraced the proposal^l. His concurrence removed all obstacles, so that the nobility appointed a deputation, at the head of which was *William* archbishop of *Sens*, to go over to the court of *Atbelstan*, and invite the dowager of *Charles the Simple*, and his and her son *Lewis*, to return. These deputies having done homage to the young king, returned with him to the court of *France*; which put an end to the interregnum, when it had lasted five months^m.

- LEWIS* the fourth, surnamed *the Stranger*, in French, *D'Outremer*, that is, from beyond the sea, landed at *Boulogne*, but without his mother; where he was met by *Hugo*, duke of *France*, and many of the nobility, who conducted him to *Laon*, and there the ceremony of his coronation was performed with great solemnity, on the twentieth of *June*, by *Artaud*, archbishop of *Rheims*, in the presence of twenty other prelates, and most of the great lords. As the young king was but in the seventeenth year of his age, and had been bred up in *England*, it was presumed that he could not be sufficiently acquainted with public affairs to direct them without assistance; and therefore it was judged expedient to assign him a tutor; to which high employment *Hugo*, duke of *France*, was unanimously calledⁿ. By his advice the young king marched with an army into *Burgundy*, against *Hugo the Black*, the brother of his predecessor, who had seized the town of *Langres*, and sufficiently discovered an inclination to render himself independent. Upon the approach of the king the place was abandoned; and the duke of *Burgundy*, plainly perceiving that he was in no condition to resist, submitted to divide his dominions with the other *Hugo*. The king, young as he was, disliked this measure exceedingly, and declared that he would not act by the advice of duke *Hugo* any longer; which, if we consider his youth, his obligation to him for setting him on the throne, and the excessive power of that potent duke, was a very singular and brisk attempt^o. *Hugo* resigned with a good grace, reconciled himself immediately to *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, and put him upon taking up arms; which he did, and soon after surprised *Laon*, though in the hands of duke *Hugo*. The king, upon this, found it necessary to accommodate matters with his old tutor; by which public tranquility was restored. But *Lewis*, perceiving that he had little more than the title of king, invited over his mother *Egiva*; and, having formed a good party amongst the lords, resolved to emancipate himself, cost what it would; which, considering he was scarce twenty, and had already seen how great both the power and influence of *Hugo* was, must certainly appear a bold, if not a rash, undertaking; more especially if we remember how slender a domain, and how little authority, this monarch really had; so that it might be truly said, there was in this dispute a great title on one side, and over-grown power on the other, the people being squeezed between both^p.

- Hugo*, duke of *France*, was, beyond all controversy, one of the ablest men, as well as one of the greatest lords, in *France*: he recalled the king out of policy, and very possibly might have no intention to depose him: but however he let no opportunity slip, either of curtailing that prince's power, or of augmenting his own. It was with this view that he entered into a league with the duke of *Normandy*, the count of *Vermandois*, the count of *Flanders*, and other great lords, while *Lewis* likewise formed a league of such as were well-affected to him, or were jealous of the power of duke *Hugo*. The chief of those was *Hugo the Black*, duke of *Burgundy*, *Artaud*, archbishop of *Rheims*, the count of *Poitiers*, and one or two more. Soon after, *Gilbert*, duke of *Lorraine*, quitted the malecontents; and detaching himself from *Otbo*, king of *Germany*, whose sister he had married, called in the French monarch, who penetrated with his army as far as the *Rhine*; but *Hugo*, duke of *France*, foreseeing that, if the king remained in quiet possession of *Lorraine*, it would afford him a great accession of power, made such a diversion as obliged the king to leave his new conquests^q. Soon after, *Gilbert*, duke of *Lorraine*, being beaten by the *Germans*, fell into a river in his flight, and was drowned; upon which, in a convenient space, *Lewis* espoused his widow *Gerberg*, the sister of *Otbo*, king of *Germany*, though she had already two children. The confederates, after amusing the king with a vain negotiation, attacked *Rheims*; and, having

^k FLODOARBI Chronicon.^l AIMON, lib. v. Chron. Breve.^m FLODO. Chron.

CORDEM. MEZE-

RAY. ⁿ FLODO. Chron. AIMON, lib. v. P. FAUCHET.^o GLAB. Hist. sui tem.^p FLODO. Chron.

AIMON, lib. v. P. DANIEL.

^q GLAB. Hist. sui temp.

FLODO. Chron. CORDEMOY.

taken it, replaced *Hugo*, son to the count *de Vermandois*, and gave archbishop *Artaud* some abbies by way of equivalent. Being encouraged by this success, they next laid siege to *Laon*, a city strong and well fortified, where the king kept his court, and indeed almost the only place that belonged to him. *Lewis*, being well assured the place would make a good defence, went into *Burgundy* to raise an army, with which he came time enough to save it; but had the misfortune to be afterwards beaten by them in battle, from whence he had much ado to escape; and retiring to prince *Charles Constantine* in *Dauphiny*, who was descended from the kings of *Provence*, he received him with great respect, and promised him all the assistance in his power¹. In the mean time the king applied to *Stephen* the eighth, who sent a legate into the kingdom, with letters, requiring the great lords to submit themselves to the king, and put an end to the troubles with which the kingdom was distracted. *Otho*, king of *Germany*, consented to a truce for two months, and, under the mediation of *William* duke of *Normandy*, a peace was concluded; by which an end was put to this civil war².

The king endeavours to deprive the young duke of Normandy of his dominions.

THE tranquillity of *France* was not of any long continuance; for the author of it, *William* duke of *Normandy*, being basely assassinated, by the procurement of *Arnold*, count of *Flanders*, and *Herbert*, count of *Vermandois*, dying about the same time, things wore quite a new face. *Lewis* had just reason to dislike that family, and this led him to think of despoiling them; but besides, the children of the deceased count being very formidable, and living in strict union with each other, they were protected by *Hugo*, duke of *France*, with whom the king would not quarrel³. On the contrary, he was so bent on gaining him to his interest, that he not only confirmed to him, in the most solemn manner, the county of *Paris* and the duchy of *France*, but likewise bestowed upon him the other moiety of the duchy of *Burgundy*, and thereby rendered him, beyond comparison, more formidable than himself: a thing so contrary to the rules of policy, and to the disposition of the king, that historians are able to account for it no otherwise, than by supposing he made him privy to his designs, and obtained his consent to them. If this was the truth, and there is great appearance it was so, it does very little honour either to the king or to the duke; for the design of *Lewis* was to deprive *Richard*, the son of duke *William*, then a child, of the country of *Normandy*. With this view he detached some of the *Norman* lords from their duty on one side, while the duke of *France* did the like on the other; and then, under pretence of correcting these disorders, he went in person into *Normandy*, and made his entry into *Rouen*, where he was received, with all possible submission, by *Bernard* the *Dane*, to whose care duke *William* had committed his son⁴. The king, seeing himself punctually obeyed in all things, ventured to seize the person of the young prince, which excited a general insurrection: and the king was intimidated thereby to such a degree, that he brought out the child to the populace, and assured them he had no other intention than to breed him up as his own son. Having thus put an end to the tumult, he received the homage of *Richard* publicly, and made such professions of kindness to the child, that the *Normans* suffered him to carry their young prince to *Laon*. He had not been long there before the count of *Flanders* caused it to be insinuated to him, that, this young prince once removed, nothing could hinder his re-uniting that duchy to the crown⁵. Black as it was, the king was too much inclined to this advice; of which *Osman*, who was governor to the duke, having notice, he bid the child feign himself sick; and this creating some confusion, and rendering those about him less watchful, *Osman*, in the disguise of a groom, bundled up the boy in a truss of hay, and clapping him on his shoulder, carried him to the stables; and, having mounted him on a fleet horse, carried him to the castle of *Bernard*, count of *Senlis*, his uncle by the mother's side, who positively refused to deliver him up either to the king or to the *Normans*⁶.

Is over-reached by the Normans, his army beaten, himself made prisoner.

IN this conjuncture, *Hugo*, duke of *France*, with several other great lords, interceded, on the behalf of the young prince, and laboured to engage the king to leave him in the quiet possession of his duchy. *Lewis*, on the other hand, suggested to *Hugo*, that, if he would consent to the execution of his scheme, he should have part of the spoil. This had its effect; the king, at the head of a body of troops, marched to *Rouen*, where he was received with the most profound submission, and where *Bernard* the *Dane*, and his associates, who had administered the government, did not appear averse to the king's project; but seemed to listen with satisfaction to his promises⁷. But duke *Hugo* entering with his forces into the country of *Bayeux*, which was to be his by the agreement, *Bernard* the *Dane*, and the count *de Senlis*, represented to the king, that the inhabitants of the whole duchy were willing to become his subjects, and thereby prevailed upon him to send an order to *Hugo* to retire; which he obeyed indeed, but with great discontent⁸. Soon after *Aigrol*, king of *Denmark*, made a descent on

¹ FLODO. Chron. LUITPRANDI Chron. AIMON, lib. v.

G. GEMET. ² AIMON, lib. v. CORDEMOY, DUPLEIX.

GLAB. Hist. sui temp.

³ FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii.

⁴ FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii.

⁵ FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii.

⁶ GULIELM. GEMETIC. FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm.

Chroniques de Normandie.

⁷ FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm.

⁸ AIMON, lib. v. Chroniques de Normandie. GULIELM. GEMETIC.

- a the coast of *Normandy*. This prince, being driven out of his own dominions, had taken shelter there in the time of duke *William*; who having generously protected him, he now acted on behalf of his son. *Bernard* pretended to act zealously for the king, till, the armies being near each other, he prevailed upon him to consent to a conference: in which being betrayed, the *French* army was suddenly attacked, and, the *Normans* joining with the invaders, were totally routed, with the loss of eighteen counts upon the spot, the king himself being taken in the pursuit, and carried prisoner to *Rouen*^a. He reproached *Bernard* the *Dane* as the author of his misfortune; who very calmly answered, that deceivers had no right to complain of deceit; and that fulfilling the will of his dead, and being faithful to his living, master, he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself. But, complaints availing nothing, the king was forced to
- b have recourse to intreaties^b.

THE queen *Gerberg*, in order to recover the king's liberty, applied herself first to her brother *Otho*, who absolutely refused to intermeddle, being highly displeased with his brother-in-law's conduct. Upon this she was constrained to address herself to duke *Hugo*; who not only behaved towards her with great respect, but entered very zealously into the design of procuring the king's liberty; which was effected by a treaty with the *Normans*, upon condition that the former grants of the duchy should be renewed and confirmed, not only by the king, but by all the bishops and great lords of the kingdom^c. It was farther stipulated, that two prelates, and one of the king's children, should be given as hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and, all this being punctually executed, the *Normans* delivered *Lewis* out of his captivity into the hands of the duke of *France*. But he quickly found that this was only a change of prisons; for *Hugo* kept him a full year, nor would he restore him to freedom at last, till the county and city of *Laon* were delivered up to him, as a reward for the trouble he had taken in this negotiation, which he granted to the count *de Chartres*; and thus, at the issue of this difficult and dangerous affair, the king found himself in worse circumstances than ever^d. He had all the resentment possible against the duke, but little or no power to make that resentment be felt. He carried his complaints to *England* and to *Germany*; and having prevailed upon his brother-in-law *Otho* to consent to an interview, he offered, in case he would enter into his views, to make a free-cession of all his rights to the kingdom of *Lorrain*. That prince had other reasons, though that was the avowed motive, for accepting of the proposition; for duke *Hugo*, having given his daughter *Emma* to *Richard* duke of *Normandy*, was become thereby formidable even to *Otho* himself; and, indeed, it was owing to the great strength of this potent lord, and to the methods he took to augment it daily, that king *Lewis* found himself in a condition to form a new alliance^e. A. D. 946.

ARNOLD, count of *Flanders*, and *Conrade*, king of *Burgundy*, entered immediately into this league, and their forces, having joined those of the two kings, formed altogether a very numerous and potent army; with which they threatened absolute destruction to duke *Hugo* and the *Normans*^f. The first part of the storm fell upon the city of *Rheims*; which archbishop *Hugo*, son to the deceased count of *Vermandois*, very gallantly defended, but at length was forced to submit, and to surrender at discretion; and upon this archbishop *Artaud* was restored. The two kings, *Otho* and *Lewis*, attempted next to reduce *Senlis*; but the place being strong, and gallantly defended, they were obliged to raise the siege^g. They next entertained thoughts of attacking *Paris*, after ravaging all the duchy of *France*; but the count of *Flanders* persuaded them that was impracticable, and, to gratify his private resentment, drew the confederate army into *Normandy*, under pretence of surprising *Rouen*. Finding this not to be done, they besieged it, and, what between the badness of the season, and the fatigue given them by a vigorous resistance, they were so reduced, that *Otho* called a council of his own generals, to propose the delivering up of the count of *Flanders* to the *Normans*, in order to obtain their permission to make a retreat^h. The council rejected this proceeding, of which count *Arnold* had a hint. Upon this, about midnight, preceded by his baggage, his troops began to march, and the rest of the army, not having the least suspicion of it, took it for a corps of *Normans* advancing to the relief of the place; and, decamping hastily, made such a retreat as differed little from a downright flight, the *Normans* falling into and cutting off the *French* in their rear. The next year duke *Hugo* besieged *Rheims*, as the king did *Monstreuil*, both without effect; upon which followed a truce. King *Lewis* had also another interview with his brother-in-law *Otho*, on the banks of the river *Kar*, then esteemed the boundary between *France* and *Lorrain*, as it anciently was between the kingdoms of *Austrasia* and *Neustria*ⁱ. 947.

^a FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. I. ii. GULIELM. GEMETIC.

de Normandie. P. FAUCHET. ^c GLAB. Hist. sui temp. Chroniques de Normandie. DUD. Hist. Norm.

^d AIMON, lib. v. GULIELM. GEMETIC. Chroniques de Normandie. ^e FLODO. Chron. GULIELM.

GEMETIC. ^f DUD. Hist. Norm. I. iii. P. FAUCHET. ^g FLODOARDI Chron. CORDEM. LE GEND.

^h Append. REG. Chron. DUPL. P. DANIEL. ⁱ AIMON, lib. v. P. FAUCHET, BOULANVIL.

But, notwithstanding this, duke Hugo compels the king to make peace.

A. D. 948.

949.

950.

951.

The death of Lewis, and the conduct of Hugo at that critical juncture.

THE next year there was a council held at *Verdun*, in which *Robert* archbishop of *Treves* presided, in order to determine the perplexed cause between *Hugo* and *Artaud*, each of them claiming to be archbishop of *Rheims*; where *Hugo* was condemned for contumacy. The pope, however, sent a legate into *France*, with instructions to call a general council of the bishops in that kingdom, and in *Germany*, to determine not only this, but the more important dispute between the king and duke *Hugo*. This council was accordingly held at *Ingelheim*, and the two kings, *Otho* and *Lewis*, assisted thereat in person; and in the end not only the archbishop *Hugo*, but also the count of *Chartres*, and duke *Hugo* himself, were excommunicated: the king of *Germany*, having furnished a considerable body of troops in support of the decrees of the council, took several places^k. The next year the king surprized *Laon*, but was not able to take the citadel; which, at length, upon the clapping up of a peace at an interview between the duke and duke *Hugo* for that purpose, was surrendered into his hands. The king took the advantage of this short interval of peace to make a tour into *Aquitaine*, in order to receive the homage of the great lords in those quarters, and to dispose them, if possible, to a greater degree of obedience than they had hitherto shewn; but, while he was thus employed, he met with two misfortunes; the first was, that the *Hungarians* made an irruption into *Champagne*, where they committed intolerable devastations^l; and the other was the elopement of his mother, the queen dowager *Egiva*, whom, not without reason, he had confined at *Laon*, and who, in his absence, making her escape, espoused, though she was forty-five years of age, *Herbert* count of *Troyes*, a younger son of *Herbert* count of *Vermandois*, who had held her husband and the king's father so many years in prison, and was the principal author of these confusions and troubles: neither was he less restless than his father^m.

THE quarrels between the two archbishops, as well as those between the king and duke *Hugo*, were rather suspended than composed by the late hasty peace; so that they broke out again into fresh excursions. The duke, however, who saw that nothing followed from these intestine wars but common destruction, consented to leave all his claims in the hands of his consort, who was the queen's sister; and *Lewis* readily following his example, the two princesses made a stable and settled peaceⁿ. This left the king at liberty to resume the affairs of *Aquitaine*, and to take other steps for the maintenance of his authority, as well as for repressing the *Hungarians*, who had pushed their ravages as far as the country now called *Picardy*. But while he was thus employed, as he was upon the road between *Laon* and *Rheims*, and had by chance started a wolf, as he was riding in full pursuit of the beast, his horse stumbled and threw him; by which he was bruised all over in so lamentable a manner, that it proved the occasion of his death, which happened on the 15th of *October*, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and the thirty-third of his life^o (D). He was interred at *Rheims*, in the church of

^k Concil. Ingelb. apud concil. Gall. tom. iii. ^l AMION, lib. v. J. DE SERRES. CHALONS. ^m FLODO. Chron. CORDEM. MEZERAY. ⁿ AIMON, Hist. lib. v. DUPL. LE GEND. ^o Epitaph. Ludovici Transmarini. FLODO. Chron. AIMON, Hist. lib. v.

(D) It is justly observed by the *French* historians, that the surnames of all the house of *Charlemagne*, from the decease of that emperor, were marks of contempt, this prince and his son only excepted. We may, indeed, collect from the reign of *Lewis* the fourth, that he did not want either parts or courage, though, at the beginning of it, he certainly wanted prudence. There is a strange story concerning them, which some writers, otherwise of credit, have copied, though the bare relation of it is sufficient to shew it fictitious, and at the same time absurd. The king, say they, pretended to have received dispatches of great importance from his uncle *Athelstan*, and, having summoned his great lords together, told them, that the king desired to consult him as to the judgment that ought to be passed on a vassal; who, having invited his lord to his own house, had betrayed him. The count of *Vermandois*, upon this, rose up and said, Such a man, without doubt, ought to be hanged. *Lewis* cried out immediately, Thou hast pronounced sentence on thyself, and ordered him to be taken to a mountain near *Laon*, from thence, as they say, called *Mount Herbert*), where he was hanged upon a gibbet. *Flodoart* the historian, who was once his prisoner, and hated him ever, is so far from saying this, that he mentions his dying in his bed. Another historian, whose testimony is of the greatest weight, assures us, that the traitor *Herbert*, being seized with a violent sickness, was put in mind of the necessity of repentance, in order to salvation; and he thereupon cried out, There were twelve of us who conspired against

Charles, there were twelve, there were twelve; repeating these words till he expired. *Lewis* had only one consort, *Gerbergh* of *Saxony*, daughter of *Henry* king of *Germany*, and the sister of the emperor *Otho* the first, by whom he had seven children; *Lothaire*, who succeeded him; *Carloman*, who died an hostage at *Rouen*; *Lewis*, who likewise died young; *Charles*, of whom we shall have occasion to say a great deal; *Henry*, his twin brother, who died in his cradle; *Maud*, who married *Conrad* the first, king of *Burgundy*, by whom she had *Conrad* the second, *Rodolph* the third, *Burchard*, archbishop of *Lyons*, *Bertha*, who married the count of *Blois*, and *Gerberg*, who married the emperor *Conrad*: the youngest of this monarch's children was *Aldrade*, married to *Rainauld*, count of *Rouci*. At the time of this king's death, he had but two sons surviving, *Lothaire* and *Charles*. To the latter, contrary to the customs hitherto in use, he gave nothing in partition, either because he was in his infancy, or, which is infinitely a stronger and better reason, because he perceived that this pernicious custom had been one of the many causes that had sunk the crown so low. But, whatever were his motives, his example was of such weight with his successors, though not of the same line, that they followed it steadily; so that, from his time, we meet no more with divided territories or dominions, cantoned out, like a private patrimony, to gratify the private affections of the parent, contrary to his duty as a prince, often at the expence of the family for whose sake it was done, but always at the expence of the people.

- a *St. Remy*, and was much regretted by his subjects. Duke *Hugo*, whose power was greater than ever, might easily have made an advantage of this accident; but either his virtue or his politics dictated a nobler conduct, so that, as soon as he received this news, he offered his service to the queen dowager, and promised to see the crown set upon the head of her eldest son, who was then in the fourteenth year of his age^p. It is true that the late king had the precaution to cause his son to be saluted by the regal title in one of the last assemblies he held; but this would have signified little, since he had no army to support him, no treasure sufficient to raise one, and no territory in possession, comparable, in any degree, to the estates held by the duke; who was, at this time, not inferior in credit to the old mayors of the palace.
- b In discharge of the promises he had made to the queen, *Hugo the Great*, as he was now commonly stiled, came to *Laon*, attended by several great lords and prelates; and, having conducted him from thence to *Rheims*, caused him to be there solemnly crowned by the archbishop *Artaud*. The king, in recompence of this service, created him duke of *Aquitaine*. This gives us some light into the distinction that is to be observed in respect to persons honoured with this title^q. Some, though but few, preserved it in right of the countries they held by descent, such as the duke of *Gascony*; but for the most part it was a title, and very often no more than a title, implying, that the person who bore it was invested with the king's authority, and was to be considered as his lieutenant in the county to which it was referred. An instance will make this plain; *Hugo*, of whom we are speaking, was count of *Paris*, and lord of many other places, in virtue of his descent; we cannot say by hereditary right, because this was hitherto contested by the crown; but he held the title of duke of *France*, and also that of duke of *Burgundy*, by royal grants; which titles the crown might at any time resume, if they were in a condition for exacting obedience^r. But the transactions of the succeeding year will set this matter in a yet clearer light. *Lothaire* resided, as his father had done, at *Laon*; which was at least the most considerable domain that was left to the crown, and so much the more valuable, as it was a strong place, in which they might safely reside, without fear of being surprized. The king had besides some other small estates, and many royal houses scattered through his dominions, the revenues of which served to defray the expences of his court. When he had occasion for troops, they were furnished him by his vassals, that is, by such as were in a humour to furnish them; for, though they were alike bound to this service, yet if they had any private or particular war of their own upon their hands, had entered into contrary engagements, or were not disposed to obedience, they made very light of the commands of a king, who was not in a condition to punish their contempt of them. This was the case more especially of the great lords; such as the counts of *Paris*, of *Vermendois*, of *Flanders*, and several others, who were each of them richer and more powerful than their master^s.
- c
- d

THE next spring *Hugo*, duke of *France*, came with a powerful army to *Laon*, in order to carry the young king into *Aquitaine*, to establish him in his new dignity; which hitherto had been possessed by the count of *Poitiers*, who opposed him, in conjunction with many of the nobility. *Hugo* thereupon laid close siege to the place, and made himself master of a fortress that was built to cover it; but finding the city made a stronger resistance than he expected, and being intimidated by a clap of thunder that broke over his tent, he thought fit, at the end of two months, to raise the siege^t. The count of *Poitiers* intended, with his new-raised forces, to attack him in his retreat; of which *Hugo* having intelligence, shewed his military skill in disposing his troops in order of battle, and advancing to meet him. The dispute was short and bloody; but in the end the count was beat, and made his escape with great difficulty^u. The next year this great man died, who, without wearing the crown, had for the best part of his life held the supreme power in *France*, being the son, and, as it afterwards proved, the father, of a king, and brother-in-law to three kings^v (E). He left his eldest son

Hugh

^p FLODO. Chron. P. FAUCHET. DU TILLET. LE GEND.

Append. REGIN. Chron. ^r P. FAUCHET. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.

LANVIL. ^t FLODO. Chron. DU TILLET. MEZERAY.

^w GULIEL. GEMETIC. lib. iv. FLODO. Chron. P. FAUCHET.

^q AIMON, lib. v. FLODO. Chron.

^s LE GEND. DUPL. BOU-

^u AIMON, lib. v. P. FAUCHET. P. DANIEL.

(E) The courage and conduct of duke *Hugo*, joined to his hereditary estates and illustrious descent, naturally gave him, more especially considering the times in which he lived, that extensive influence, of which the reader has seen so many instances in the text. He was the son of king *Robert*, who, while he held the inferior title of duke, is allowed to have fixed the *Normans* in *France*; for which reason the princes of that line had always a great affection for his family. He was slain, as some assert, by the hand of *Charles the Simple*; but his son,

notwithstanding, obtained the victory. This duke was likewise the nephew of *Eudes*, or *Otho*, king or regent of *France*, in the minority of *Charles the Simple*. Both these kings, *Eudes* and *Robert*, were the sons of *Robert le Fort*, count of *Anjou* and duke of *France*, under the reign of *Charles the Bald*; who, as some say, espoused his sister. Higher than this the genealogy cannot be traced with certainty. Cotemporary writers, indeed, say, that this *Robert* was a man of great quality, and very noble by his birth, the lustre of which, it seems, made

A. D. 955.

King Lo-
thaire, failing
in two con-
spiracies
against him,
makes war on
the duke of
Normandy.

959.

Hugh Capet especially recommended to the care of *Richard* duke of *Normandy*, as he was then but sixteen years of age, and his other three sons were in their infancy, and under the tutelage of their mother, who was a sister to the queen dowager. This did not hinder great disputes between them, which might have been attended with untoward consequences, if it had not been for the influence of *Bruno*, archbishop of *Cologne*, brother to both these princesses, and uncle as well to the children of the duke of *France* as to the king^{*}.

THIS great prelate was intrusted by his brother, the emperor, with almost sovereign power in *Lorraine*; and that he might have a title suitable to his dignity, that of archduke was devised in his favour, which is the first time that we meet with any mention of this honour. It was by his influence over the children of duke *Hugo*, that the two eldest, as soon as they had attained to proper age, went to the court of *Lothaire*, and did homage for their lands; which was so acceptable to the monarch, that he bestowed on *Hugh*, the eldest, afterwards surnamed *Capet*, the title of duke of the *Franks*, which his father had enjoyed, as also the county of *Poitiers*; that is, he gave him leave to get possession of it as soon as he could; and intitled the younger, *Henry*, duke of *Burgundy*, in hopes of attaching them to his interest[†]. In this, perhaps, he acted wisely; but his conduct towards the duke of *Normandy* does not deserve the like commendation. *Arnold*, count of *Flanders*, and his son *Baldwin*, *Thibaut*, surnamed *the Trickster*, count of *Chartres*, and *Geoffrey*, count of *Anjou*, persuaded him to make a scandalous attempt upon the person of duke *Richard*, by inviting him to a conference, where he was to have been seized, that the king might have an opportunity of re-annexing that noble province to the crown; into which snare the duke had certainly fallen, if it had not been for two knights belonging to the count *de Chartres*. They meeting him upon the road, informed him of what was intended against him, and gave him an opportunity of retiring in time; for which he was so grateful as to reward the one with his sword, and the other with the gold chain which he wore. The king, finding the plot had miscarried, disavowed it in very high terms, summoned the duke to do him homage, and laid a new scheme for surprising him. But *Richard* took such precautions, that this also failed; and *Lothaire* and his confederates, perceiving that nothing could be done by fraud, had recourse to force, and invaded his dominions, but with no great success. In the course of the war, however, the duke of *Normandy* found himself so much pressed, that he was constrained to send for succours to *Denmark*; which brought a fleet and army of pagans into *France*, who committed most grievous ravages; which so irritated the clergy against the count *de Chartres*; who was considered as the author of these disturbances, that they threatened him with excommunication, and endeavoured to negotiate a peace with duke *Richard*, without asking the king's consent[‡].

^{*} FLODO. Chron. DUD. Hist. Norm. lib. iii. BOULANVILLE. [†] AIMON. lib. v. P. FAUCHET. Chroniques de Normandie. [‡] DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii. GULIEL. GEMETIC. Chroniques de Normandie.

made it unnecessary for them to be more particular; and this has plunged their successors into the greatest uncertainty. Some will have this *Robert* to have been of a *Saxon* family, and others of an *Italian*. An attempt has been made to trace his genealogy from *Clodian*, and consequently from *Pharamond*; but, with much greater probability, he is reckoned by many to have descended from *Childebrand*, the younger brother of *Charles Martel*. The truth of the matter is, that, after his son *Hugh Capet* was placed upon the throne, it was thought a point of consequence to do all possible honour to a line that, in reality, stood in no need of such inventions, as being in itself, and beyond all contradiction, sufficiently noble. For whether this duke *Hugo* did spring, or did not spring, from the brother of *Charles Martel*, or whether his grand-mother was or was not the daughter of *Lewis the Debonnaire*, it is very certain, that he was, by his mother, descended from *Charlemagne*, since she was the daughter of *Herbert*, the first count of *Vermandois*, the son of *Pepin*, the son of *Bernard* king of *Italy*, who was grandson of that monarch. He was also great in point of alliances; king *Rodolph* was his brother-in-law; the potent and restless count of *Vermandois* married his aunt, and they were cousin Germans before by the mother's side; the counts of *Chartres* and *Angoulême* were likewise his cousins. The great influence arising from these connections he maintained and augmented by his marriages; his first consort was

Judith, said to be the grand-daughter, by the mother's side, of *Charles the Bald*. His second was *Ethelinda*, the daughter of *Edward* the elder, and sister to *Athelstan*, king of the *West Saxons*. By neither of these had he any issue. He therefore espoused *Hadwiga*, or *Avoya*, of *Saxony*, daughter to *Henry the Fowler*, king of *Germany*, sister to the emperor *Otho the Great*, and to *Gerberg* queen of *France*. He had by her *Hugh Capet*, *Otho*, *Eudes*, and *Henry*, successively dukes of *Burgundy*, and two daughters, *Beatrix*, who espoused *Frederick* duke of the *Upper Lorraine*, and *Emma*, who became the wife of *Richard* the first, duke of *Normandy*. Nor was he less considerable in point of property; for, besides the duchy of *Burgundy*, part of which, as far as the *Saonne*, he claimed by descent; he held also the duchy of *France*, which, besides the two great cities of *Paris* and *Orleans*, comprehended the counties of *Gastinois*, *Chartres*, *Perche*, *Blois*, *Tours*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, together with the lands of *Sologne*, at least as much of them as lay in the *Orleannois*. By this means he had a great many noblemen who held immediately of him, and not of the crown; so that we need not wonder that he was capable of maintaining himself against monarchs, who, except the towns of *Laon*, *Soissons*, and *La Fere*, and a few country places that served them for subsistence, had in reality nothing that they could, properly speaking, call their own.

- a THE count, however, was before-hand with them. He sent privately to duke *Richard*, offering to come to *Rouen*, upon a safe conduct from him; which, having once obtained, he readily performed, and proposing to restore *Evreux*, which the king had taken and bestowed upon him, a peace was very speedily concluded, and, not long after, all points in dispute with the king were likewise adjusted; yet these treaties did not produce immediately that tranquillity which might have been expected from them. The *Normans*, lately arrived from *Denmark*, formed a considerable body of troops, and had a great navy upon the coast, ready to attend their motions. They totally disapproved this conduct in duke *Richard*; affirming that they did not come into *France* purely for his service, but also for their own, and in order to carve out for themselves a settlement by force of arms. The duke made use of fair words to pacify them, and at length brought them to agree to leave behind such as were disposed to embrace the Christian religion, for whom he was in an ample manner to provide; and that the rest, before their return home, should each of them receive a considerable sum of money, in compensation of that plunder which they might otherwise have made. Thus both the kingdom and duchy were stripped of a vast sum, in order to get rid of these troublesome invaders^a.

- THIS war was no sooner extinguished, than there broke out another against the young count of *Flanders*, grandson to *Arnold*, from whom the king was desirous of taking a part of his lands. The duke of *France*, *Hugh Capet*, and his brethren, who were successively dukes of *Burgundy*, assisted the king powerfully in his expeditions, by which he held himself much obliged. At length, by the interposition of the duke of *Normandy*, when much blood had been shed on both sides, peace was made, and the young count of *Flanders* received all the places of which he had been spoiled^b. The king, to strengthen himself, as well as to secure the succession, espoused *Emma*, the daughter of *Lothaire*, king of *Italy*, and gave his sister *Matilda* to *Conrade*, king of *Burgundy*, and took other steps for reviving and sustaining the house of *Charlemagne*; though these endeavours, as we shall see hereafter, proved but ineffectual, notwithstanding that, at this time, his power was far superior to that which either his father or his grand-father had enjoyed, the dukes of *France* and *Burgundy* adhering as steadily to him as their ancestors had been obstinate in distressing his predecessors^c.

- THE kingdom remained in quiet, and *Lothaire*, by a prudent management of the prerogatives still left in the crown, found means to augment his own authority, and to diminish the power of the nobility, by involving them in wars with each other; and, when they were sufficiently weakened, acting as a mediator. In process of time an opportunity seemed to offer for extending this sort of policy beyond the bounds of *France*, and *Lothaire* was resolved not to let it slip^d. The country of *Lorraine* had been long in dispute between the kings of *France* and *Germany*; the lords, who were in actual possession of this great country, were more inclined to pay their homage (and that was all they were meant to pay to any monarch), to the descendents of *Charlemagne* than to the kings of *Germany*; and since the death of the archduke *Bruno*, and of his brother the emperor *Otho*, they thought themselves much more at liberty to discover their affections than before. *Lothaire* was very willing to encourage this, as he inherited from his mother very considerable estates in that country; and, that these might the better answer his purpose, he resigned them to his brother *Charles*, who, by espousing the cause of every turbulent lord in *Lorraine*, and setting up for the protector of those who had been deprived of their estates by the archduke *Bruno*, threw *Lorraine* into confusion, and paved the way for effecting what his brother desired^e. *Otho* the second, who had many troublesome affairs upon his hands, discerned very clearly the purposes of both the brothers; who, notwithstanding, had been far less formidable enemies, if, in all their attempts, they had not been abetted by *Hugh Capet*; and, to make himself easy, and to disappoint them, *Otho* offered the duchy of the lower *Lorraine* to *Charles*, on no harder condition than that of doing him homage; which he readily accepted, to the irretrievable injury of his brother's affairs; for by this the point in dispute, that is, the homage for *Lorraine*, was given up to *Otho*, and the *French* looked upon the honour of the crown to be so much affected thereby, that their indignation to *Charles* grew to such a height as could never be appeased^f. A circumstance which, however unreasonable, is, notwithstanding, very instructive.

LOTHAIRE, exceedingly provoked at this refined specimen of policy, by which the benefit conferred upon his brother reflected such discredit upon himself, resolved to vindicate his claim to *Lorraine* by arms. In pursuance of this project, which was equally acceptable to the nobility and the nation, he marched with a numerous army to *Metz*, the gates of which were opened on his first appearance; and, having received the homage of many of the nobility, he prosecuted his design, and marched with all possible expedition to *Aix la Chapelle*, where *Otho*

978.

^a FLODO. Chron. AIMON. l. v. DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii.

^b GULIELM. GEMET. l. iv.

FLODO. Chron.

DUD. Hist. Norm. l. iii.

^c FLODO. Chron. GLAB Hist sui Temp. AIMON. l. v.

^d GLAB. Hist.

sui Temp. SIGEB. Chron. P. FAUCHET.

^e FLODO. Chron. Chron. NANGII. P. DAN.

^f AIMON.

l. v. SIGEB. Chron. LE GEND.

kept his court in all manner of security, and where he was so near being surprized, that he left a his dinner just as it was placed upon the table. *Lothaire* plundered the palace of all his rich moveables, spoiled all the adjacent country, and returned home^s. *Otbo*, breathing nothing but revenge for such an affront, entered *France* in the autumn with an army of sixty thousand men, and advanced as far as the gates of *Paris*, waisting all the country before him with fire and sword. But when he came to retire, *Hugh Capet*, and *Geoffry* count of *Anjou*, followed him with a considerable body of troops, harrassed his forces exceedingly, and cut off such numbers in their passing the river *Aisne*, that the stream, being choaked with dead bodies, overflowed the adjacent country^h. The next year *Otbo* came to *Rheims*, and concluded a peace with king *Lothaire*, by which he was left in possession of *Lorrain*; but, as the *French* authors say, was content to hold as a fief of the crown of *France*. However that might be, this is very certain, that the *French* lords were highly displeased with this treaty, which altered the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their king, and brought them to look upon him in very near the same light as they had done his brother; who, instead of embracing this opportunity, as he might have done, of retrieving the false step he had made, ran into a still greater, by attaching himself more closely than ever to the interests of *Otbo*, and thereby heightening that distaste which the *French* nobility had conceived against him, that rose but too high alreadyⁱ. So natural it is, when one has once trod awry, to proceed in the same road.

A. D. 980.

The death of
Lothaire,
who, by some,
is thought to
have been poi-
soned by his
queen.

Otbo dying about four years after in *Italy*, *Lothaire* undertook the defence of his son, *Otbo* the third, against *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, who laboured to deprive him of the kingdom of *Germany*. This gave the *French* monarch an opportunity of making a fresh irruption into *Lorrain*, where he became master of *Verdun*; it appears also, that he made an attempt upon the city of *Cambray*, in which he miscarried, through the opposition given him by his brother *Charles*, who was in arms on the side of the *Germans*^k. This rivetted the aversion of the *French* against that prince, who otherwise had both merit and valour. As for the king, the prudence and spirit he shewed in the latter part of his reign had restored his credit in a great degree, and brought the great lords in his dominions to treat him with the respect due to their sovereign, and to acquiesce in his associating his son *Lewis* in the government. But at the time when his affairs were in the best posture, and when he was most capable of turning things to his own advantage, and to that of his family, he was unfortunately removed by death; which happened at *Rheims* on the second of *March*, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirty-second of his reign^l (F). There were some suspicions of his being poisoned by the queen; which were countenanced by his brother *Charles* duke of *Lorrain*, who lost no opportunity of spreading reports to the prejudice of that prince's reputation. But there is a letter of the queen's yet preserved, addressed to the empress-dowager, her mother, which seems to destroy this story entirely; for she therein expresses so high an esteem and so tender an affection for the person of the deceased king^m, that it is very difficult to believe a princess of her birth could be capable of so vile an action, or that, with so much good sense as that letter shews she had, she should be so deep a dissembler.

986.

Short reign
and sad end of
Lewis V. the
last monarch
of the line of
Charlemagne.

Lewis the fifth, upon whom some writers bestow the opprobrious name of *Faineant*, was, at the time of his father's decease, in the nineteenth year of his age, and, as the writers of those times say, committed by his father, in his last moments, to the care of *Hugh Capet*, who had served him faithfully during his whole reign. With his assistance he succeeded without any difficulty, and the nobility renewed their oaths of fidelity. His short reign was a continual scene of tumult and trouble. He quarrelled immediately with the queen-dowager; and upon some difference with the archbishop of *Rheims*, who was a *Lorrainer* by birth, surprized that city, not without considerable effusion of blood: he also chased the bishop of *Laon* out of the kingdom, whom he reproached with being his mother's gallantⁿ. That princess was supported

^s GLAB. Hist. sui Temp. Chron. NANGII. CORDEMOY. ^h AIMON. l. v. SIGEB. Chron. DU TILL.
ⁱ ADEM. Chron. Chron. NANG. DUPL. ^k GLAB. Hist. sui Temp. CORDEM. P. DAN. ^l AIMON.
Hist. l. v. DUPL. MEZ. LE GEND. CHALONS. ^m In codice GERBERTI, epist. 75. ⁿ AIMON.
lib. v. CORDEM. P. DAN.

(F) It is very difficult to collect the character of this king *Lothaire* from the writers of chronicles, and the old historians of *France*, as appears from the different judgments passed thereon by the moderns, after reading and reflecting on these memoirs. *Mezeray* says of this prince, that he was brave, active, and very attentive to his affairs; adding, that, as he was a prince of great virtues, he deserved to live in better times. The count *de Boulanvilliers* says, that he was active and warlike, but, at the same time, perfidious, as all the princes of that age were. In reality, what seemed to be the greatest errors in this monarch's administration, flowed from the vast disproportion between his parts and his power. His ambition

was great, and his means were little. He acted, however, with more prudence than his father, since he kept the dukes of *France* always on his side, and had such a confidence in them, that he went to *Paris*, and was highly feasted there. He formed great designs, and went as far as it was possible for him to go in the execution of them; but, when he found this impracticable, as he frequently did, he was apt to make short turns, whence he came to be thought inconstant. He was generous, or rather profuse, for he gave like the old monarchs of his house, without reflecting on the scantiness of his revenues.

- a by the *German* court, and *Otbo* the third was on the very point of declaring war against the monarch of *France*, when *Beatrix*, the sister of *Hugh Capet*, and the consort of *Frederic* of *Alsace*, duke of *Upper Lorrain*, interposed; and coming to pay that prince a visit at *Compeign*, prevailed upon him to go to *Montfaucon*; where, in a conference, at which were present the queen-mother, *Charles* duke of *Lorrain*, the king's uncle, *Henry* duke of *Lorrain*, and the empress-dowager, all things were for the present adjusted °. It is highly probable this pacification would have been of no long continuance, if the king had lived; but it is allowed, that the queen his wife did for him what the duke of *Lorrain* charged the queen-dowager with doing for his father; that is, she poisoned him, when he had reigned a year and two months (G). Some writers say, that he died on the 22d of *June* ^p; but this is not certain, any more than
- b that he bequeathed the crown to *Hugh Capet*, as a person to whom he had been more obliged than to any of his own family. If we could believe him so weak a prince, this would be the more probable, since it is certain that *Hugh Capet* had almost the entire direction of affairs during his reign, and enabled him to act in the manner he did. Be that as it will; this prince was the last of the house of *Charlemagne*, whence some have fancied, that the name of *Lewis* was ominous to that family, the last emperor of that house being *Lewis* the second, the last king of *Germany* *Lewis* the third, and the last monarch of *France* *Lewis* the fifth; but these are fancies unworthy of credit, and which ought never to be mentioned with any other view than to be exposed. Besides, the line did not really extinguish in him; for his uncle *Charles* duke of *Lorrain* was clearly the heir male, and as such claimed the crown of *France*, and died in struggling for it, as we shall see in the next section. This family possessed the throne between two hundred and thirty, and two hundred and forty years (H).
- c

° ADEM. Chron. P. FAUCHET.

P CORDEM. MEZER.

(G) It is agreed on all hands, that this *Lewis V.* was but a weak young prince. In his father's life-time he married a lady, whose name, some say, was *Constance*, and that she was the daughter of *William* count of *Arles*; but the best part of the *French* historians call her *Blanche*, and affirm that she was the daughter of some great lord in *Aquitaine*, which is most likely to be true. An old writer says, that king *Lothaire* created his son *Lewis*, in his life-time, king of *Aquitaine*, which it is not at all impossible might be true; at least it is certain, that *Lewis* and his new-married queen went thither, where, it is said, she left him, and returned to her family, and that upon this *Lothaire* went and brought them back. His mother, queen *Emma*, was for carrying him to the court of *Germany*, but *Lewis* did not at all relish that proposition: on the contrary, he drove out the bishop of *Laon*, who, according to common fame, was her gallant, in which the duke of *France* did not interpose, though that bishop had been formerly his friend. *Charles* duke of *Lorrain* laboured to inflame the mind of his nephew against this princess, whom he openly charged with adultery and murder: on the other hand, the partizans of the queen-mother insinuated, that *Charles* held intrigues in the kingdom that were prejudicial to the interests of the king, and dishonourable to the royal family. Some ascribe the moderation of the duke of *France* to a secret design of transferring the crown from the head of the young king to his own; but there is nothing in his conduct, or in that of his sister, which can justify this charge. Some say that *Lewis* bequeathed his kingdom to that lord, upon condition that he married the queen. It is not impossible that both this, and the story of her poisoning him, might be contrived by *Charles* of *Lorrain*, or his friends, to render queen *Blanche* and the duke of *France* odious; but it is very certain that *Hugh Capet* did not marry her, or pretend to the crown in right of the king's designation.

(H) We find in *Mezeray* an enumeration of the causes which brought about the gradual declension, and at length the total exclusion, of the line of *Charlemagne*; and as these have been approved and copied by the count of *Boulanvilliers*, it cannot be amiss to present them to the reader's view. They are these; 1. The division of the empire into several kingdoms, which was necessarily followed by discord and civil war amongst their brethren. 2. The unreasonable affection of *Lewis le Debonnaire* for his favourite son *Charles the Bald*. 3. The imbecility of the greatest part of these princes, there not being above four or five, amongst a great number, who

had sense and courage joined together. 4. The ravages of the *Normans*, who, by desolating *France* for fourscore years together, afforded the great lords an opportunity of rendering themselves independent. 5. The many natural children of *Charlemagne*, whose descendents took occasion from thence to turn the estates, given for their subsistence, into so many principalities. 6. The sacrileges committed by these princes, if the ecclesiastics are to be believed, in rewarding their courtiers and captains with the possessions of the church. 7. This tree not bearing good fruit, says that historian, God was pleased to remove it, in order to make way for another, infinitely finer and more fertile, which, in its duration, shall extend to latest ages, and shall spread its glory to the ends of the earth. This is a pretty bold stroke for an author, who disclaims flattery upon all occasions. But may we not add, that the principal and unavoidable cause of the fall of this house, was the too great extent of that empire raised by the virtue and valour of *Charles the Great*? It is true that he framed the best and most prudent scheme that could possibly be contrived for preserving his dominions to his family, by erecting different kingdoms; and leaving the people to the enjoyment of their own laws and customs; but Providence set this aside, in a great measure, in his life-time; and the weight proving too heavy for his son's shoulders, he was reputed a weak man, not so much through his own want of abilities, as because he was not equal to *Charlemagne*. The very form of government which he instituted, though perfectly wise and prudent in itself, and if not the only one, at least the best, that could be framed for so vast a dominion, made way, notwithstanding, for all the inconveniences that followed. The maxim of that emperor to make a deliberate choice, and then not to change the ministers he employed, gave the governors of provinces an opportunity to establish family interests in them, to make such alliances, and to form such connections, as his successors had it not in their power to remove, and, from the circumstances of their affairs, found it frequently their interest to promote. Thus, by degrees, the constitution was changed, not in *France* only, but in *Germany* and *Italy*, and the rest of the countries possessed by the descendents of *Charlemagne*. When these princes were extinguished, or unable to maintain themselves, the supreme power became subject to election; and thus the new constitution became more thoroughly fixed, as appears from the state in which we find this kingdom at the extinction of the *Carlovingian* race.

S E C T. VI.

The reigns of Hugh Capet, Robert, Henry I. Philip I. Lewis VI. surnamed the Fat, Lewis VII. the Young, Philip Augustus, Lewis VIII. Lewis IX. Philip the Hardy, Philip the Fair, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, or the Tall, and Charles the Fair.

Accession of Hugh Capet, and means by which he attained the kingdom.

THE character of *Hugh Capet*, and his manner of coming to the crown, appear in very different lights in the works of *French* historians. Some labour to extenuate his conduct with regard to the duke of *Lorrain*; and some, out of a zeal to what they esteem the right of succession, treat his accession to the crown as a flagrant usurpation. As we have no authority to decide, we think it imprudent to enter at all into this question, farther than to observe, that the third race of *French* kings supplanted the second, as the second did the first; and that there was a great resemblance in the temper and manners of *Hugh Capet*, with those of *Pepin the Short*. It seems that *Hugh Capet* had taken his measures early and effectually, since in a few days he caused himself to be proclaimed king at *Nojon*, and was solemnly crowned at *Rbeims*, by the archbishop of that see, on the third of *July*^a. It is observed that this was done without any opposition, and that nobody stirred on behalf of the late king's uncle *Charles*, the last surviving prince of the race of *Charlemagne*. In this there is nothing extraordinary, nor can any thing be concluded from it. Those who were in the interest of the new king assisted at his coronation; but there were many great lords who did not approve this measure, who for this reason did not assist at it^b, and many more because they had not time to learn the news of *Lewis's* death, much less to settle in their own minds what party they should take upon this occasion^c. As for the king, he brought more strength to the crown than he received from it, since the duchy of *France*, the counties of *Paris* and *Orleans*, were in his own hands, the rich duchy of *Burgundy* in those of his brother *Henry*, and his brother-in-law the duke of *Nor-*

A. D. 987.

mandy, closely attached to his interest^d. Besides, the queen-dowager *Emma*, if not out of regard to him, yet in hatred to *Charles*, threw what weight she had into the scale; and the interest of his own queen *Adelaide*, who was a princess of high birth and admirable qualities, added not a little to his security^e. Besides, as we observed, his competitor was very ill beloved.

The duke of Guienne refuses to acknowledge the new king, but is beaten and submits.

CHARLES of *Lorrain* might probably have succeeded better in his pretensions, if he had acted earlier, or if he had taken the precaution to have brought all his partizans to take arms at once; but the character of this prince was a certain slowness in all his motions, and a want of timing things properly, rather than any defect in parts or in courage. While he deliberated, therefore, on the measures he was to take, the new king was at liberty to proceed as he pleased against such lords as had refused to do him homage^f. Amongst these, one of the most considerable was *William* duke of *Guienne*, or, as some stile him, of *Aquitaine*, against whom he marched with an army, and laid siege to *Poitiers*; but being informed that the duke of *Lorrain* had, by the assistance of *Herbert* count of *Troyes*, whose daughter he married, assembled a considerable army in *Champagne*, he raised the siege, and resolved to lose no time in repassing the *Loire*, in order to watch the motions of his competitor. The duke of *Guienne*, who lay with an army near *Poitiers*, endeavoured to cut off his retreat; when the king, following the example of his grandfather, disposed his troops in order of battle, and attacked those who thought to have fallen upon his rear. The dispute was short but bloody, and the victory so clearly on the king's side, that the duke submitted^g. The king, who was a man of good temper and sagacity, as well as of great moderation, made the best use of this gleam of prosperity; and, in an assembly of the nobles, proposed the association of his son *Robert*; to which when they had consented, he caused him to be crowned with great ceremony, upon new-year's-day, at *Orleans*, by the hands of the archbishop of *Sens*, whom the late victory had brought over to his party^h. By this act, having secured the crown to his family, he never afterwards wore the royal ornaments himself, or affected any extraordinary state or magnificence, but administered public affairs with great application, and with such an appearance of modesty, justice, and piety, as recommended him highly to his subjects, and more especially to the clergy; to whom he restored all the abbies he possessed, and the nobility followed his example.

988.

^a Chron. Centulense. AÏMON. l. v. LE GEND.

P. DAN.

^c Chron. Centulense. GLAB. Hist. sui Temporis. SIGEBERTI Chron.

Vetus. GLAB. Hist. sui Temporis. SIGEBERTI Chron.

^f Chron. MALLIAC. ADEMARI Chron. P. DAN.

Hist. sui Temporis. Cod. GERB. ep. 107. AÏMON. l. v.

^b Cod. GERBERTI, ep. 120. ADEMARI Chron.

^d Chronic.

^e Chron. NANGII. DU TILL. MEZERAY.

^g ADEM. Chron. DU TILL. MEZ.

^h GLAB.

- a CHARLES in the mean time besieged, and made himself master of, the city of *Laon*, and, Charles takes
wh. ch perhaps was more welcome to him, of the person of the queen-dowager *Emma*, and of *Laon by sur-
prize, and af-
terwards be-
comes master
of Rheims.*
the bishop whom he had represented as her gallant¹. The king advanced with a numerous
army, and in his turn besieged *Charles* in the city of *Laon*. The severity with which that
prince treated the queen and the bishop, by committing them both to prison, had a bad effect
on his affairs; for the court of *Germany* interposing on the behalf of the queen, and the pre-
lates in favour of the bishop, without success, became his enemies. He gave himself the less
pain about this, since, by a well-conducted sally, he cut off a great part of his competitor's
army, and obliged him to raise the siege². The king thought to balance this loss by detaching
from the party of *Charles* his nephew *Arnould*, the natural son of king *Lothaire*, to whom he
b offered the archbishoprick of *Rheims*, which was just become vacant. *Arnould* accepted it;
repaired immediately to the king's camp, put in hostages, and not only swore, but subscribed an
oath of fidelity, which was penned on purpose for him. Yet he was no sooner in possession
of the see and city of *Rheims* than he betrayed it to *Charles*; and though at first he took the
precaution of being made prisoner, as if he had been actually surprised; yet, not long after,
he threw aside all disguise, and appeared at the head of his uncle's troops³. The king, upon
this, applied to the pope, who did not think fit to interfere, till he saw the dispute as to the
possession of the crown determined by the law of arms, that the decrees of the church might
be on the side of the strongest⁴. A proceeding that favoured rather of human policy than
spiritual infallibility. A. D. 989.
- c THE king, having a numerous army, disposed all things as if he intended to lay siege to *Laon betrayed
to the king,
who takes
duke Charles,
his duchess,
and archbishop
Arnould, pri-
soners.*
Rheims; and *Charles*, on the other side, provided in the best manner he could for the defence
of it. But the king, being informed that the bishop of *Laon*, the most plausible and artful
man of his time, had obtained his liberty, and some degree of credit with *Charles*, entered into
an intrigue with him, and, all things being properly concerted, began his march as if he intended
to have invested *Rheims*, but turned hastily towards *Laon*, which, by the assistance of that per-
fidious prelate, he surprised, and made prisoner the duke of *Lorrain*, his consort, and the arch-
bishop *Arnould*, whom he caused to be transferred to *Orleans*, where they were closely con-
fined⁵. This put an end to the dispute; for all who had hitherto adhered to *Charles*, readily
submitted, and did homage to the kings *Hugh* and *Robert*⁶. As for the unfortunate duke
d of *Lorrain*, he remained a prisoner at *Orleans* as long as he lived, together with his duchess.
His son enjoyed the duchy of *Lorrain*, but died without issue male, and in him, as is generally
believed, the male line of *Charlemagne* was extinct⁷. 991.
- THE king, finding himself now firmly fixed in the throne, resolved to proceed against the
archbishop *Arnould*; and with this view called a council, which assembled at an abbey not far
from *Rheims*, in which the archbishop of *Sens* presided⁸. The priest was produced who
opened the gates of the city, and he deposed, that he did it by the archbishop's order. Not-
withstanding this, the president and some of the prelates were not inclined to condemn him.
The two kings, father and son, appeared in the council, for which the archbishop of *Sens*
reproved them openly; asserting, that it was unbecoming princes to influence judges, where
e themselves were parties⁹. At length *Arnould* subscribed his own confession and degradation;
and upon this *Gerbert*, a very learned monk of *Rheims*, who had been tutor to the emperor
Otho and the young king *Herbert*, was elected into the see. This, however, did not put an
end to the affair; for pope *John* the fifteenth sent a legate into *France*, who held a council at
Monson, where all was unravelled again, and in a second council held at *Rheims*, *Gerbert* was
deposed, and *Arnould* restored, merely to support the papal power; for the principal reason
assigned was, that the deposition of *Arnould* was null, as being without the consent of the holy
see; but, notwithstanding this decree, the king kept him prisoner as long as he lived¹⁰, believ-
ing he might do him more mischief at liberty than he had to fear from the pope. Disturbances
in France oc-
casioned by de-
posing Ar-
nould, and
advancing
Gerbert to the
see of Rheims.
- f THE government of this monarch was exactly suited to the situation of his affairs; he had
no title to expect any thing more than homage from the great lords of *France*, and it does not
appear that he sought any thing more. He suffered them to make war upon each other, as
some have suggested, through policy; but, in reality, because it was out of his power to
restrain them, as appears from what happened upon his interfering when the count of *Anjou*,
one of his own vassals, besieged *Tours* in a private quarrel. He sent to require him to raise the
siege; which he refused: the person, who carried the orders, asked him thereupon, who made
him a count? Tell your master, said he, the same who made him a king¹¹. Those who
Hugh Capet,
in order to
strengthen his
government,
acts with
mildness and
caution.

¹ SIGEB. Chron. Cod. GERB. epist. 1 9, 120. LE GENDRE.P. DANIEL. ² GERB. apol. pro Remiensi synodo.¹¹ SIGEB. Chron. DU TILLET.^m Epist. HUGO, ad Johannem papam.ⁿ SIGEB. Chron. DUPLEIX. MEZERAY.^o AIMON. lib. v. DU TILLET. LE GEND.^p DU

TILLET. MEZERAY. LE GEND.

^q Hist. depof. Araulphi.^r Acta synodi Remiensi.^s AIMON. SIGEBERTI Chron. P. DANIEL.^t GLAE. Hist. sui Temporis DU TILLET. LE

GENDRE.

ascribe the institution of the twelve peers to him, or to his son, are mistaken (A). *Paris* ^a became the seat of the government, and the capital of the monarchy, in virtue of its being the place of his residence, and the principal city of his hereditary estates. He fortified several places, under various pretences; and particularly, under colour of preventing the descents of the *Normans*, he established *Abbeville*, and made it a place of arms^u. He conducted all things with order and circumspection, and had the singular honour of establishing a new family, and in some measure a new form of government, without any remarkable circumstances of violence, and without shedding blood. He expired on the 24th of *October*, in the year of our Lord 997, in the 57th year of his age, and in the 8th of his reign^v, leaving his dominions in perfect quiet, and his son in the peaceable possession of the crown, by the precaution he had taken of associating him when he was very young, and shewing him to the people upon all occasions, with those ^b ensigns of regal dignity, from the use of which he abstained. Some have suggested, that his motive to this was a revelation, that the crown should remain in his family but for a certain number of descents; and that, by this artifice, he sought to render his own and his son's reign but one^x. A notion very suitable to a monkish chronicle, but very unlikely to occupy the attention of so wise and prudent a man. The plain reason was, he knew how to maintain his own dignity by his power, and was therefore desirous, that the ensigns of it might recommend his son to the public veneration, till he should be able to establish it on the better basis of his actions^y. His corpse was interred rather with decency than splendor, in the church of the abbey of *St. Denis*^z (B).

ROBERT

^u *Àimon*, Hist. lib. v. *SIGEB. Chron.* P. *DANIEL.*
^x *LE GEND.* Concil. Gall. *DUPLEIX.*
^z *GLAB.* Hist. sui Temp. *SIGEB. Chron.* *LE GEND.*

^v *Chron. Besuense.* *GLAB.* Hist. sui Temporis.
^y *Chron. Centul.* *DUPLEIX.* *LE GEND.*

(A) We have said in the text, that such as refer to the reign of *Hugh Capet* the creation of peerage or peerdoms in *France* are mistaken, and we say so, because they allege no authority, and the fact is in itself false; but those who carry this institution as high as *Charlemagne* are absolutely ridiculous, and ground their notions only upon some old romances, in which such stories are the pure effects of ignorance. Yet there were peers in the reign of *Hugh Capet*, and in that of *Charlemagne*; that is, the great officers of the crown, the governors of cities and provinces, the bishops and abbots, and, in short, all who were summoned to great courts, or parliaments, had a right to be tried in such an assembly for any crimes of which they were suspected; and, in this respect, those who tried them were their equals, or *peers*. Of this we have various instances, particularly that of *Tassilon*, duke of *Bavaria* (6). This maxim of being tried by their equals ran through their whole government; and from thence it was, that, in *Picardy*, they stiled their judges *Paris Bourgeois*. It is also true, that the successors of these peers, in the reign of *Charlemagne*, were those who attained to peerages, when they came to be dignified fiefs (7). It is commonly said, but it is not the truer for that, the new king confirmed all the great lords in their estates, and rendered them hereditary. But it appears very doubtful, whether those lords would have esteemed their titles much the better for his confirmation; very possibly not; for though it is uncertain whether he made them peers, it is very certain they made him king. In right of that dignity he demanded homage, which implied an obligation to the usual services; but this was no more than they had yielded to former kings; so that it does not appear he conferred, or they received, any thing (8). But, that we may not seem to pull down without building up, let us assume the liberty of observing, that the origin of all titles, in almost all countries, is a subject extremely dark; that prerogatives and estates commonly follow titles, and therefore it is an easy mistake, at the distance of many ages, to suppose them of equal date. We conclude from thence, that it is scarce possible to assign exactly the origin of peerages; but as for the establishment of the twelve peers of *France*, that goes no higher than the coronation of *Philip Augustus* (9).

We have observed in the text, that the great lords, who held immediately of the crown, had an inferior class of nobility, who held of them, and these were peers to each other, and were stiled the peers, not of the kingdom, but of the fief to which they belonged; thus we find peers of *Champagne*, who held of the counts. In point of titles they were not exact, since many of the vassals of counts were counts; and as for the title of baron, it was common to all nobility, or rather it implied nobility, for, taking them in gross, they were stiled the barons of *France* (1). But in process of time, when nobility multiplied, this remained a separate title to those who had none higher (2). But though the great lords had secular peers, who held of them, yet we do not find that they had any ecclesiastical peers, as the king had; and to put an end to this subject here, let it be observed, that as the pre-eminence of the king over his peers was stiled sovereignty, so that of the great lords over their vassals was stiled suzerainty, a term, says a *French* lawyer, as barbarous as the superiority it expressed (3). But, barbarous as it is, it is a circumstance of importance to history, that it should be defined and known.

(B) This monarch appears on his great seal, with short hair, and a long forked beard. In his right hand he holds what the *French* call *La main de justice*; i. e. *the hand of justice*; which is a kind of sceptre, with a little ivory hand at the top; and in his left a globe; on his head a crown ornamented with flowers; the inscription thus, *Hugo Dei misericordia Francorum Rex* (4). His proper character was that of an able politician, who knew very well how to spread a specious covering over the effects of his ambition, and to set proper bounds to his own greatness, by the exercise of a spirit of moderation. He fixed himself upon the throne, and entailed the crown upon his posterity by recommending himself to all ranks and conditions, by seeming to prefer their interests to his own (5). We have shewn by what means he gained the clergy, to which we may add, that he carried his piety, or appearance of piety, so high, that he converted the palace, in which he dwelt, into a church, which is that of *St. Bartholomew* at *Paris* (6). He indulged the great lords in a degree of freedom that bordered upon independency; but, by taking little or no

(6) *Pasquier.* *Fauchet.* *Cordemoy.* *Le Gendre.*
Hist. l. ii. *Aimon, Hist. l. v.* *Sigeberti Chron.*

(7) *Laboureur.* *Fauchet.* *Le Gendre.*

(8) *GLAB.*

(1) *Laboureur.* *Favin.* *Le Gendre.*

(2) *Pasquier.* *Laboureur.* *Le Gendre.*

(3) *L'Oyseaudes,*

Seigneuries, &c.

(4) *Histoire de mœurs & coutumes des François, par Le Gendre.*

(5) *Pasquier.*

Le Gendre. *Boulanwilliers.*

(6) *P. Æmil. Antiq. de Paris.* *Le Gendre.*

(9) *Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 412.* *Favin. Vignier.*

- a ROBERT, when he came to govern the kingdom alone, was in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and possessed, in a very high degree of perfection, all the graces of body and mind, which rendered him universally beloved. He persisted steadily in the pursuit of his father's maxims, and acted, in all public or private concerns, with the greatest mildness and moderation. It must seem strange, that, after all this, the very first year of his reign exhibited a scene of the highest trouble and confusion. He had married, in his father's life-time, *Bertha*, the sister of *Rodolph*, king of *Burgundy*, and the widow of *Eudes*, count of *Blois*, a distant relation of his father's, and to one of his children *Robert* himself had been sponsor^a. The pope attacked this marriage, and *Robert* used every expedient to appease him. The match was merely political, and the queen without either youth or beauty to recommend her; yet he shewed the utmost unwillingness to part with her, out of regard to his own interest. The pope was nephew to the emperor *Otho* III. and valued himself extremely on maintaining the dignity of his see. He had directed that *Arnould* should be set at liberty, and restored to his archbishoprick; the queen-dowager and the queen-consort, believing that condescension in this point might render the pope more compliant in the business of his marriage, prevailed upon the king to do what his father would never have done, that is, to release *Arnould*, and place him upon the archiepiscopal throne of *Rheims*^b. *Gerbert*, who saw himself not only deprived of his see, but also of the episcopal character, retired to the court of his other pupil the emperor *Otho*, by whom he was presently made archbishop of *Ravenna*, and in that capacity assisted at a council held the next year at *Rome*, in which the marriage of king *Robert* with his queen *Bertha* was declared null, the prelate excommunicated who married them, and the king commanded to leave her, and to submit to seven years penance, under pain of excommunication. The king, however, persisted in keeping his wife; and, having thereby incurred the excommunication, was abandoned, not only by the prelates and nobility, but also by his menial servants, except two, who threw the remains of what was eaten by the king and queen to the dogs, and the vessels out of which they eat into the fire; the prevailing notions of those times being that they polluted those who used them. But, at length, the clamour of the people (an interdict being spread through the kingdom) compelled him to part with *Bertha*, who, notwithstanding, preserved the title and the state of a queen during her life, and was much regarded for her wisdom and magnanimity^c.
- d THE remark which some of the *French* historians have made, that if he had held out a little longer he might have saved his queen, since, upon the death of *Gregory* V. *Gerbert* ascended the papal throne, by the name of *Sylvester* II. seems to be erroneous; for, in the first place, it appears that *Gerbert*, while archbishop of *Ravenna*, subscribed next to the pope for annulling this marriage, and was thereby even with the two queens, who persuaded the king to give up his cause^d. After he became pope he confirmed *Arnould* in the see of *Rheims*, and shewed no great kindness to king *Robert*; who, finding himself without heirs, thought fit to espouse *Constance*, the wife of *William* count of *Arles*, a princess of exquisite beauty, and of a lively understanding, but so haughty, avaricious, and insolent, that the king hardly enjoyed a quiet hour after contracting this marriage. *Eudes*, the second count of *Brie* and *Champagne*, having accumulated, by descent and marriage, large estates, procured the town of *Melun* to be delivered to him by bribing the governor, and pretending to be in love with his wife^e. The

The king marries a second time *Constantia*, daughter to *William* count of *Arles*.

^a GLAB. Hist. sui Temporis. Concil. Roman. tom. ix. P. DAMIAN, lib. ep. 15. lib. v. P. DAMIAN, lib. ii.

^b AIMON, Hist. lib. v. ^c GLAB. Hist. sui Temporis. LE GEND. P. DANIEL.

^d CHRON. FLORIAN.

share in their quarrels, he maintained the strength of his own territories entire, while they were daily weakening each other. As he affected great modesty in his behaviour, and great simplicity of manners, so an exact regularity was observed in his court, and his finances managed with such frugality, that his subjects were much more at ease than their neighbours (7). This conduct, which induced the nobility to think him a mild and pacific man, and to frame, in which they were not mistaken, the same notion of his son, brought about that great point of consenting to crown him in his life-time, which he left as a secret of state to his posterity (8). As to his surname of *Capet*, it is but very indifferently explained; but undoubtedly it was what we now stile a nickname, signifying literally jolter-head, metaphorically a weak or an obstinate man. In the first of these senses it was applied to *Charles*, who is generally stiled *the Simple*, and perhaps in the latter to this prince in his youth (9). He had

only one consort, *Adelaide*, who is generally said to be the daughter of *William Teste d'Etoupe*, that is *Mop-pate*, from his having white hair, count of *Poitiers*, and duke of *Guienne*, or *Aquitaine*: but of this there is some reason to doubt, since the brother of this princess, supposing her so descended, was the very duke who took up arms in favour of *Charles*, and whom *Hugh Capet*, in the first year of his reign subdued (1). The writer of his son's life, who lived in those times, says expressly she was an *Italian* (2). By her he had *Robert* his successor, and three daughters, *Haarwige*, who espoused *Renier* IV. count of *Hainault*, and afterwards *Hugh* count of *Dassbourg*; *Alice*, who married the count of *Nevers*, and *Gilette*, who became the consort of *Hugh*, lord of *Abbeville*. He had also a natural son *Goffelin*, who was afterwards archbishop of *Bourges*, and a man of learning, piety, and virtue (3).

(7) Glab. Hist. sui Temporis. (1) Du Tillet. P. Daniel.

(8) Dupleix. Mazeray. P. Daniel.

(2) Helgaldus.

(3) Helgaldus, in vita Roberti Regis.

(9) Aimon, Hist. lib. v.

nobleman

nobleman to whom it belonged applied himself immediately to the king for justice ; for which a reason the monarch went himself to the siege, and having obliged the place to surrender, hanged up the governor on the walls. He afterwards condescended to act as an umpire between this lord and his own ally the duke of *Normandy*, and settled a peace between them on very moderate terms, and with which both parties were exceedingly well satisfied ^f.

By the death of the duke of Burgundy the king obtains that rich duchy.

HENRY duke of *Burgundy*, the king's uncle, dying without lawful issue, his territories fell, either by descent or by will, to the king ; but, before he could enter into possession, there started up two claimants. The first of these was *Eudes*, natural to the deceased duke, who bequeathed him the county of *Beauvais*; the other was *Otho-William*, count of *Burgundy*, the son of the duchess-dowager of *Burgundy*, by her first husband, who pretended to be adopted by duke *Henry* ; and the people, who were desirous of having an independent prince, shewed a great b inclination to support his claim ; and several great lords, but more especially *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, encouraged and assisted him^e. The war subsisted for several years ; and there is some reason to doubt, whether the king could have carried his point or not, without the assistance of the duke of *Normandy*, who led in person an army of twenty-two thousand men into *Burgundy*. *Eudes*, his nephew, compromised matters with the king, who confirmed to him what his father had given him by will ; and this facilitated the reduction of the country, with which the king thought fit to invest his second son *Henry*, that he might gratify the people in their desire of having a prince of their own, and, at the same time, please the great lords, who were jealous of seeing so great a fief united to the crown^h. The ending of this war gave the king great satisfaction, for he loved peace, and studied to preserve it by all methods possible. His household and his court were kept in the most exact order : he assisted regularly and frequently in his robes at chapel, and at churches on the great feasts : he composed music for the choir, and some of his responses and hymns still find a place in the public offices of the *Gallican* church. In short, he was, in every respect, a most incomparable prince, except that he was too submissive as a husband, to a woman who did not understand either her duty as a wife, or her interest as a queenⁱ.

The king associates his eldest son Hugh in the throne.

SHE solicited her husband to associate his son in the government, though he was then but in the seventeenth year of his age ; and *Robert*, who had a great tenderness for his children, came into it without much difficulty, being, in a great measure, swayed by the example of his father^k. Some of his ministers laboured all they could to prevent it, by representing d to him, that he had not the same motives which his father had ; and that the true reason which induced the queen to press it so earnestly was, that, in case of his demise, she might govern in the name of the young prince^l. The king hesitated a little upon this ; but the queen bore with impatience this delay, and the king was at last forced to comply, as not knowing how to deal with a woman, who taking offence at one of his ministers who opposed her designs, caused him to be assassinated in his master's presence. The point once settled, the king proposed it in an assembly of the nobility and prelates, who, out of respect to him, consented, and prince *Hugh* was solemnly crowned, though the ministers, as far as they durst, expressed a great apprehension of the event^m.

An insurrection headed by the young king Hugh which is speedily reduced.

THERE happened, in different parts of the kingdom, particular wars between the great vassals of the crown, of which accounts are preserved in the histories of those provinces which were interested in them : but, as the king took little or no share in them, except against *Eudes* count of *Champagne*, whom he would have hindered from reaping the succession of *Stephen* count of *Troyes* and *Meaux*, but failed in it, we shall take no notice of themⁿ. Upon the report of some heresies, resembling that of the *Manichees*, the king, who was very zealous, called a council to examine into the matter, which was held at *Orleans*, where some priests were burnt alive ; the king and queen, such was the religion of those times, being present. The same year the young king *Hugh* withdrew from court, with some noblemen of his own age, and was guilty of some disorders. He complained that his mother behaved towards him with insupportable arrogance, and kept him to so short an allowance, that he was unable to support his dignity^o. The queen was for reducing her son by force, which might have been easily done, as none of the neighbouring potentates gave him any countenance ; but the king was not at all of that mind : he knew there was some foundation for his son's complaints ; and having assured him of his pardon, and a proper allowance, the young man very readily returned to his duty, and never departed from it afterwards. Some say he granted him a larger measure of authority than before^p.

The king refuses the crown of the empire

HENRY king of *Germany* had been involved in a long dispute with the count of *Flanders* and some lords of *Lorraine*, which, at length, it was agreed, should be left to the arbitration of the king of *France*. In order to this, these two great princes had an interview on the banks of

^f GULIELM. GEMETICENS. Hist. l. v. P. DANIEL. EERTI Chronicon. DOARD Chron.

^g SIGEB. Chron. ^k DUPLEIX. LE GENDRE. ^a GLAB. Hist. sui Temporis.

^h GLAB. Hist. sui Temp. ⁱ AIMON. MEZERAY. ^o LE GENDRE. CHALONS.

^l AIMON, ^m SIGEB. ^p FLO-

- a the *Meuse*. As all meetings of this kind are commonly perplexed with disputes about ceremonies, the interview was very near being postponed on that account; but *Henry*, who was so good a prince that he had obtained the surname of *Saint*, preferred business to forms, and passing the river early one morning, surprized king *Robert* in his apartment¹. After this those princes saw each other as friends, and, without any state or ceremony at all, settled the affair on which they met, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, and parted with great regret. They had agreed to go into *Italy* together, in order to oblige pope *Boniface VIII.* to consent to certain terms, which they held it necessary to prescribe. The death of the pope prevented that journey, and the very next year *Henry* himself died. He was succeeded in his hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of *Germany*, by *Conrade*, duke of *Worms*, who
- b expected likewise to be received as king of *Italy*, and to be honoured with the imperial diadem². To this, however, many of the princes and prelates of *Italy* were by no means inclined: they were become weary of *German* masters, and had a mind to try what market they could make in some other court; and, with this view, they sent deputies to offer the imperial crown, and the kingdom of *Italy*, to the king of *France*, for himself or for his son. But *Robert*, very wisely considering that this must of necessity involve him in a war with *Conrade*: that the *Italians* were naturally very inconstant; and that settled peace, and the most perfect esteem of all his neighbours, would be very ill exchanged for an uncertain dominion A. D. 1023. and a pompous title, he dismissed the deputies, and declined their offer. His subjects in particular, and *Europe* in general, was quickly convinced that he had formed a true notion of
- c things, and judged right; for *William* duke of *Guienne*, who was both a wise and a powerful prince, having accepted this proposal, the greater part of those who made it deserted him on the first appearance of *Conrade*, who, partly by address, and partly by force of arms, obtained all that he sought, and secured to himself the kingdom of *Italy*; in consequence of which pope *John XIX.* placed the imperial crown upon his head. *Robert* was indeed inclined to have taken the advantage of those disputes to recover the kingdom of *Lorraine*, or at least the homage of the princes who held it; but finding this could not be done without a war, and perceiving that by his late success *Conrade* was become very powerful, he very prudently declined it³.

- d THE year following proved unfortunate to the king, in the loss of his eldest son *Hugh*, associated with him in the sovereignty, who died in the flower of his age, and when he was become both obedient and assisting to his father⁴. The king appeared very much chagrined, but the queen shewed but very little concern. *Robert*, as soon as he had recovered the free use of his thoughts, inclined to associate *Henry*, who was now become his eldest son, which his mother opposed with equal heat and obstinacy; so that it excited two factions at court; many, to gain the queen's favour, and from a persuasion that the king would yield at last, declaring in behalf of the younger son *Robert*⁵. But the major part of the nobility adhering to *Henry*, and the king, contrary to expectation, remaining firm, the queen changed her battery, and persuaded him to adopt neither, in hopes, if she survived him, to place her own favourite upon the throne. The king penetrated her scheme, and therefore, without
- e paying any deference to her counsels, associated, with the advice of his parliament, his eldest surviving son *Henry*⁶. Queen *Constance*, provoked in the highest degree, endeavoured to inflame her son *Robert*, and to embarrass him with his brother. In which, not finding him so ready as she expected, the affection she had hitherto shewn him turned into hatred, and she persecuted them both to such a degree, that they retired from court, and took up arms, not so much with an ambitious view to disturb the state, as that they might obtain some places in which they might live quiet. At length⁷, however, the flame rose so high, that the king was obliged to raise an army and march against his sons into *Burgundy*. An abbot interposed, with which the king was not at all displeased; and, having represented to him that the young princes did not mean to resist his authority, but merely to obtain a subsistence,
- f he admitted them to his presence, and compromised things to their satisfaction, employing his forces to reduce some lords of *Burgundy*, who had taken the opportunity of these troubles to raise fortresses on their estates, which the king would not endure⁸. He left the elections of bishops, in general, free: but finding it absolutely necessary, for the safety of his government, to have a prelate he could depend on at *Langres*, he named a bishop, whom the monks thought fit to poison; upon which he appointed another, and sent his son *Henry* to see him installed: and it was while the young prince was thus employed, that the king breathed his last at *Melun*, on the 20th of *July*, when he had reigned thirty-three, and lived about threescore years⁹. There is not any monarch in the *French* history more generally or more highly commended, or on whose death the lamentations of all ranks of people were

1026.

¹ MEZERAY. P. DANIEL. ² MARIANUS SCOTUS. ³ AIMON. Hist. lib. v. ⁴ GLAB. Hist. sui temp. lib. v. ⁵ HELGALDUS in vita Roberti Regis. ⁶ GLAB. Hist. sui temp. AIMON. ⁷ GLAB. Hist. sui temp. ⁸ CHRON. BESUENSE. ⁹ GLAB. Hist. sui temp.

louder or more sincere. The monks spoke the sense of the whole nation, when they deplored a him in these words; "We have lost a father who governed us in peace; we lived under him " in security, for he did not oppress or suffer oppression; we loved him, and there was " nobody whom we feared." He maintained his own authority amongst the nobility, by suffering them to exercise theirs^a.

Henry finds himself in danger of losing his crown through the malice of his mother.

HENRY, at the time of his accession to the throne, was about twenty-seven years of age, and, with all the vigour of a young man, had the sagacity and prudence of one more advanced in years, which secured him from having the crown shaken from his head, almost as soon as it was placed there. His mother, who mortally hated him, and who resolved always to govern, had drawn a great many lords and bishops to her party, whom she would have persuaded to set her son *Robert* upon the throne^b. At the head of this faction was the count of *Flanders*, and *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, the author of all the troubles that *France* felt during his life. Their views, whatever they might pretend to the queen, was to get something for themselves; and *Eudes* would not so much as take up arms till he had stipulated for half the town of *Sens*. This being promised him, he marched with a numerous army; and having reduced *Sens*, *Melun*, and *Soissons*, all the rest of the places in the neighbourhood, either through fear, or the intrigues of the queen dowager, opened their gates and declared for him^c. The king was so distressed, that, with his friends and servants, he made but the twelfth person when he retired to *Frescamp* to demand succour from *Robert*, duke of *Normandy*. He was received by that prince with all the respect possible, who assured him that the treasures and forces of his duchy were entirely at his disposal; and he kept his word; so that an army of *Normans* entered *France* on one side, while the king, when he had assembled a sufficient force, entered it on the other. *Robert*, though a mild and generous prince, burnt all the country before him, and gave no quarter to such as fell into his hands, from whence he obtained the surname of *Robert le Diable*; but, by this extreme severity, the duke soon made them sick of the war. The king, on his side, beat the count of *Champagne* thrice, and was very near taking him prisoner^d. At length *Foulques*, count of *Anjou*, interposed; and, by his mediation, things were compromised with the queen dowager and prince *Robert*, to whom the king gave the duchy of *Burgundy*: as to the queen, she died the next year of mere vexation^e. The king recovered all that he had lost; compelled the counts of *Flanders* and *Champagne* to submit; and as to the lesser nobility, he punished some, and humbled all. As gloriously as the war ended for the king, it cost the crown dear; for as the success was due to *Robert* of *Normandy*, *Henry* added to his duchy *Gisors*, *Chaumont*, *Pontoise*, and that part of the *Vexin* which yet remained to the crown^f.

The war of Burgundy, its causes and consequences in France, and the adjacent countries.

THE king, having now acquired the peaceable possession of his dominions, and a high reputation, thought it time to provide for his succession; and therefore contracted himself to *Matilda*, the daughter of the emperor *Conrade*, one of the worthiest princes who had worn the imperial crown since the days of *Charlemagne*; but it is doubtful whether this marriage ever took effect^g. The death of *Rodolph*, king of *Burgundy*, occasioned a great war, of which it is necessary to say something, though the king took no share therein. *Eudes*, count of *Champagne*, looked upon himself as the undoubted heir of this kingdom, as being the nephew of the king by his sister *Bertha*, who, after the decease of this count's father, espoused *Robert*, duke of *France*: and it is not impossible he had succeeded, but for his own petulant temper; for insisting that the king should acknowledge him for his presumptive heir, that prince, who was despised by his subjects, and apprehended he might dethrone him, had recourse to the emperor for protection; in gratitude for which, and in consideration of his being his great nephew by another sister, he sent him, on his death-bed, the regalia of the two kingdoms of *Burgundy* and *Arles*^h. *Eudes*, little regarding this, immediately made an irruption into the county of *Burgundy*, and, having long held a secret correspondence with some of the nobility, got possession of a great part of it, the emperor being embarrassed with a rebellion in the most remote parts of his dominions: but he quickly returned on the news of this event, and as quickly dispossessed *Eudes* of his new government. It was upon this occasion, that *Humbert*, count of *Maurienne* and *Savoy*, the counts in the county of *Switzerland*, of *La Bresse*ⁱ, *Dauphine*, and the *Lyonnois*, on the other side the *Rhone*, did homage to the emperor for their estates. *Eudes*, as soon as he had recruited his forces, attacked the country of *Lorraine*, made himself master of *Bar*, and might very probably have given the emperor much more trouble, if he had not been killed at a siege, which released that monarch from any farther disturbance on account of these pretensions, which might have prevailed in better hands^k.

A. D. 1033.

1036.

^a HELGALDUS. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.

CORUM. ^d GULIELM. GEMETICENS, lib. vi.

GEMETIENS, lib. vi. DU TILLET. P. DANIEL.

Hist. sui temp.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k SIGEBERT. LE GENDRE.

^b Fragment. Hist. Francorum.

^c Fragment. Hist. Francorum.

^e VILPPO in vita Conradi Chron.

^c Anual. Fran.

^f GULIELM.

^h GLAB.

EODES

- ^a Eudes, at the time of his demise, left his estates to his two sons, *Thibaud*, count of *Beauvais*, *Touraine*, and *Beauvoise*, and *Stephen*, count of *Champagne*, who were exactly of their father's temper, and set out with refusing homage to king *Henry*, asserting that the obligations between the lords and the vassal were reciprocal; and that the king having given their father no assistance in his war with the emperor, they were not obliged to own him for their lord, or to pay him homage¹. But in all probability, they had not ventured upon this, if they had not had something else in view. The king, besides *Robert* duke of *Burgundy*, had another brother, whose name was *Eudes*, but whether elder or younger admits of some doubt; some say that he was elder than the king, and set aside for his incapacity; others, with much more probability, that he was the youngest, that his discontent arose from his not having had some establishment assigned him^m. However it was, he took arms, in conjunction with the two counts, and the war proved fatal to them all; for the king having routed their forces, took *Eudes* prisoner, and sent him to *Orleans*, where he was confined for about three years. The count of *Champagne* lost a great part of his lands, and *Thibaud* was dispossessed of *Touraine*, *Galeran*, count of *Meulan*, who was likewise embarked in this design, was attainted of felony, and his country united to the crown, which was the first instance of its kind, and shews that the constitution began now to be settled on a firmer basisⁿ (C).
- ^b The troubles that arose in *Normandy* next occupied the king's thought. Duke *Robert*, according to the humour that prevailed in those times, thought fit to make a pilgrimage into the *Holy Land*, having first procured his son *William*, though born out of wedlock, for which he was afterwards surnamed *the Bastard*, to be acknowledged his heir, recommending him to the care of *Henry* king of *France*, and *Alain* duke of *Bretagne*^o. This did not hinder the whole country from falling into confusion; not only the principal lords, but even those of the least consideration in the duchy, threw off almost all dependence, and committed great disorders. The duke of *Bretagne* came to appease their quarrels; and, after being very indifferently treated, returned home with a slow poison in his body, of which he died. King *Henry*, forgetting the obligations he was under to the father of the young duke, inclining to avail himself of these troubles, invaded the frontiers, burnt the town of *Argentan*, and took the castle of *Thilleres*, which he pretended had been built without his consent, and which he had therefore a right to demolish^p. Soon after this disputes arose in that country about the succession; and the ministers about the person of the young duke, passing over what had happened, applied themselves to the king, representing the honour he would obtain in succouring an infant prince, in securing the affections of the *Normans*, and maintaining the same friendly intercourse with duke *William* as with his father. *Henry*, prevailed upon by these arguments, marched in person with a good army, and having joined the duke's forces, gave the malecontent lords battle at *Val de Dunes*; where, exposing himself more than was necessary, he was beaten from his horse, and very near being killed. At length, after an obstinate dispute, the malecontents were totally routed, and duke *William* to this victory stood indebted for the possession of his dominions^q.

- ^c The king afterwards had some disputes with *Geoffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, in which the duke of *Normandy* took part on his behalf: but *Henry* quickly compromised his share of the quarrel, and left the count and duke, who had great animosity against each other, to fight it out. This was chiefly owing to a spirit of envy in that monarch, to the insinuations of some of his ministers, or to the spirit of policy which prevailed in those times, and which induced *Henry* to grow jealous of the increasing power of the young duke. When therefore, new troubles broke out, and *William d'Arques*, count of *Thoulouse*, who was the son of *Richard II.* by a second wife, set up his title to the dukedom, in which he was powerfully supported by his brother *Mauger*, archbishop of *Rouen*, the king favoured the malecontents at first privately, and at length invaded *Normandy* in their favour, and in order to raise the siege of the castle of

*New dignities
awarded France
called by the
king, and the
county of
Meulan for-
feited.*

*Henry main-
tains William
the Bastard in
the possession of
Normandy.*

A. D. 1046.

*Groves jealous
of him, assists
his enemies,
and creates an
implacable
quarrel with
that prince.*

¹ Fragment. Hist. Francorum. Virudense.

^m DU CHESNE. LE GENDRE.

ⁿ Chronicon Vetus et

^o GULIELM. GEMETICENS. GLAB. Hist. sui Temporis. DUPLEIX.

^p Fragment.

Hist. Francorum.

^q GULIELM. GEMETICENS. P. DANIEL.

(C) The nobility in general stood on the same foot, and held the same authority, in this as in the former reigns, paid as little submission, and put the court as often under the necessity of flattering them as ever. The wars of *Normandy* served only to shew the weakness of the reigning monarch: neither was this the only power in the realm, which was singly in a condition to resist; the duke of *Burgundy* and the duke of *Guienne* had the same ability, whenever prompted to it by interest or inclina-

tion. It was this engaged *Henry* to proceed, through his reign, with so much circumspection, and, upon certain occasions, forced him to discover how much he was awed by them. Indeed, this third race of the *French* kings were so visibly the creatures of the nobility, and came so lately out of their maker's hands, that any airs of superiority and distinction would not only have been very improper, but even absurd (8).

(8) *Auſt. ſupra citat.*

d'Arques,

d'Arques, in which enterprize his forces received a very severe check, and the duke triumphed ^a over these, as he had done over his former enemies ^r. A peace followed, but no sincere reconciliation; for the king retained a deep sense of the disgrace he met with; and, on the other hand, the duke never forgave the assistance which *Henry* had given to those who would have dispossessed him of his dominions. In pursuance therefore of his old scheme, the king united himself with *Geoffrey Martel*; and having formed two armies, one commanded by himself in person, and the other by his brother *Eudes*, whom he had released out of prison, he once more invaded ^b *Normandy*, but with the same ill fortune that had attended his former enterprize; since his own army was harrassed and beaten by repeated disadvantages, and that of his brother totally defeated at *Mortemer* in the *Paix de Caux*, which constrained him to make peace upon such terms as were agreeable to the duke: but the rancour between them never ceased, and was ^c in reality the latent cause of that implacable aversion, which, for a long series of years, produced perpetual quarrels between the kings of *France* and the *Norman* princes, when possessed of the realm of *England*. A rancour equally fatal to both realms ^d.

The king causes
his son to be
crowned, and
soon after dies
of poison.

1059.

THE king finding his health decay, though he was far from being old, judged it expedient to provide as well for the security of the kingdom, as for that of his family. He had married a second time a princess of *Russia*, by whom he had three sons; and the eldest of these, *Philip*, then about seven years of age, was, with the consent of the whole assembly, crowned by the archbishop of *Rheims*, on the feast of *Whitsunday*, with much solemnity, for many great lords assisted there in person, and others by their deputies; but there is nothing clearer than that as yet the twelve peers of *France* did not exist ^e. There is still remaining a copy of the oath, taken by the young monarch, which is but short, and of which three-fourths regards the clergy, their privileges and immunities; at the close he promises the people, that he will employ the authority conferred upon him to the maintenance of the laws. At the same time the king declared *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders* tutor and guardian to the young king, in case he should die before he came of age: and this was a wise and well-timed precaution; for on the fourth of *April* following he departed this life; some writers say by taking a dose of physic, and drinking after it, contrary to the express direction of his physician; but others seem to think that the physician was not altogether innocent, but that, under the name of a medicine, he administered poison ^f. He deceased in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the thirtieth of his reign. In his time pope *Leo IX.* came into *France*, and held a council at *Rheims*, in which several canons ^d were made against incestuous marriages, simony, and other crimes, which, in spite of the seeming piety, or rather superstition of that age, were but too frequent; and some bishops were also deposed, not much to the king's good-liking, who had been better pleased if the pope had remained at home; and, therefore, when pope *Nicholas II.* entertained thoughts of making a like visit, the king opposed it with such firmness, that he was obliged to desist from the design ^e. This monarch was of an active disposition, intrepid in time of danger, and very generous. He was desirous of maintaining and extending his authority, in which he was not unsuccessful; but his attempts to the prejudice of the duke of *Normandy* were alike fatal to his quiet, his honour, and his interest (D).

Philip accedes
to the throne,
under the tuition
of the
count of Flanders.

KING *Philip*, at the time of his accession, was about eight years of age; and it might have ^e been supposed that either his mother, or his uncle would have been called to the regency, and intrusted with the care of his education; but, as we before observed, the king his father thought it prudent to make another choice. He knew the queen was very unfit for such an office. She had weak parts, and strong passions; and, being a foreigner, was without respect, and had but few friends amongst the nobility. Her conduct after his demise sufficiently justified her exclusion, though she made some struggle to prevent it, but without effect; the very opposite reasons induced the king to decline placing any confidence in the duke of *Burgundy*: he was rich and powerful, too nearly allied to the young king, had great interest amongst the *French* lords, and besides had once set up a claim to the crown: but *Baldwin V.* surnamed *the Pious*, earl of *Flanders*, to whom he committed the care of his son, and who was his brother-in-law, ^f had all the qualities that could recommend him to such a trust; he was brave in his person, but mild in his behaviour, and very cautious in his conduct; vigilant, but not suspicious; tender

^r Fragment. de GULIELMO Conquest.

^s GULIELM. Malmshuriensis.

^t Concil. Franc. tom. ix.

^u Chronicon Senonse.

^v Concil. Remense, Epist. GERVAS. Arch. Remens.

(D) *Henry* distinguished himself chiefly by his moderation, which was so much the more commendable, as it was purely the effects of his good sense, and not at all the effect of a heavy and phlegmatic constitution. This appeared particularly, when *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, did homage to the emperor *Henry III.* for when, upon

his complaint, this monarch received a cold, and, as he thought, a disrespectful answer, he made no scruple of replying by a challenge; and, as the emperor was a gallant prince, it produced in him a high opinion of the king's merit, and, in consequence of it, a right understanding.

of

a of the prerogatives of the crown, but more so of the welfare of the people; sincerely religious, and a man of strict honour *. He gave his pupil an education suitable to his rank and birth. He kept the nobility in awe, without giving any of them just cause of offence. He maintained peace by remaining always armed; and having intelligence that the people of *Aquitaine* were disposed to revolt, he, under pretence of repressing the *Saracens*, entered their country so suddenly with an army, that he prevented their design, by putting it out of their power to pursue it †. In a word, he governed with dignity and reputation, insomuch, that history scarce furnishes us with an instance of a minority more quiet, and none more happy than this. An example the more memorable, as the conjuncture was extremely delicate.

b THE only colour that count *Baldwin* gave for censure was in his conduct towards duke *William* of *Normandy*, who, under the specious pretence of being called to the succession by *Edward the Confessor*, in prejudice to *Eagar Atheling*, who had a better title to the crown than himself, was preparing to invade *England*. The count gave him leave, upon this occasion, to raise forces throughout *France* and *Flanders*, which, from the event, was judged impolitic. Yet the duke, being his son-in-law, he could not, with a good grace, deny him; but the *French* own that there was another more powerful motive. The *Norman* was so enterprising and so fortunate, that *Baldwin* was afraid of his resentment, being justly apprehensive, that, if he had crossed him in his design, he might have entered *France* with that army which he had raised against *England*, where he succeeded more speedily, and with greater facility, than could possibly have been expected. But, to balance as far as possible this increase of his power, *A. D. 1066.*

c an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the crowns of *France* and *Scotland*; which, though it did not prove effectual, was, notwithstanding, the only remedy that was left. Soon after this great event took place, count *Baldwin* died, and left the young king, his nephew and pupil, in the peaceable possession of his dominions, when he had attained the fifteenth year of his age, and had some able ministers about him ‡.

THE king, as we observed, had been perfectly well educated, and was not at all deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had a wrong turn, which appeared in all his actions from first to last, though at the beginning of his reign he was as eager and active as he was indolent and passive during the greatest part of it. *Geoffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, having no children of his own, left his estates to the sons of his sister; the elder, *Geoffrey*, surnamed *le Barbu*, was

d an honest worthy man; but the younger, *Foulques*, was of quite a different character, and from thence received the surname of *le Rechin*, which implies morose and cruel. Under pretence that he had not his full share of the succession, he made war upon his brother; and, having corrupted some of his principal officers, who betrayed him into his hands, put him into prison, where he was so ill treated, that it made a great noise, and many of the nobility, and even the king, threatened *Foulques*, in case he did not set him at liberty. He thought it more expedient to sacrifice the *Gastinois* to the king; and *Philip*, having a share in the spoils, troubled himself no farther about the unfortunate *Geoffrey* §. This in itself would be too minute a circumstance for our notice, if it did not afford us a perfect notion of this prince's character, and of that subtilty and want of sincerity which ran through his whole conduct. He had a strong propen-

e sity to interfere in all quarrels and disputes amongst his neighbours, under colour of mediating between them, or of supporting the distressed; but, in reality, he meditated only the aggrandizing his own power, and procuring either a recompence for his assistance, or a consideration for being quiet. He gave the strongest proof of this in a case where, of all others, it ought least to have appeared. His tutor *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders* left behind him two sons, *Baldwin*, who succeeded him in his dominions, and *Robert*, count of *Frize*. The elder made war upon the younger; but being killed in battle, *Robert* possessed himself of *Flanders*, and constrained the widow of the deceased to retire with her two sons, *Arnold* and *Baldwin*, to *Paris*, where they were received with all possible testimonies of respect, and had the strongest assurances given them of being restored to their dominions ¶.

f King *Philip* entered *Flanders* accordingly, with a numerous army: but, having the misfortune to be totally beaten near *St. Omers*, and the young count *Arnold* being unfortunately killed by his uncle, *Philip* soon after abandoned the widow and the orphan, who had recourse to the emperor *Henry III.* for his protection; and, in all probability, had recovered their dominions, if the monarch of *France* had not entered into the interests of count *Robert*, who, to bind him faster, engaged him to espouse *Bertha*, the daughter of the counts of *Frize*, by her first husband, which obliged

count *Baldwin* to content himself with the county of *Hainault*, and to make a cession to his uncle *Robert* of his hereditary dominions †. This did not give the *French* any high idea of their monarch; who, though he was so unfortunate in his foreign expedition, was haughty and oppressive at home, and governed his subjects as if he had thought the regal title gave him a

Conquest of England, and its consequences in regard to the crown of France.

Philip governs with no other view than to turn every occurrence to his own advantage.

1073.

* Fragment. Hist. Francorum. SIGEB.
Malmshurienfis. Fragment. Hist. Francorum.
Fland. DUPLIX. P. DANIEL.

† Fragment. Hist. Francorum. MEZERAY.
* MEZERAY. LE GENDRE.
c MEZ.

‡ GULIELM.
§ Histoire de

power to oppress ; and at the same time, took from those who felt the weight of his oppression the right of complaining, as well as of redress ; and the circumstances of the times were such as permitted him to do this, without meeting with any remarkable check ^d.

Engages in a war with William the Conqueror, in which he meets with success.

It is no great wonder that a prince of such a disposition should not be very careful of commerce, or pay a deep respect to the law of nations : and it appears that this was the case, since some *Italian* merchants were plundered in his dominions, and, upon their report, the then pope, *Gregory VII.* took the affair very high. He made it a pretence to enquire into the general character and conduct of the king ; and finding these such as they really were, he took from thence occasion to write to the duke of *Aquitaine*, exhorting him and the other great lords of *France* to remonstrate to the king, whom he stiles monster, wild beast, and tyrant, against his proceedings, promising to second their reproofs with the thunder of the church ^e. This did not immediately produce the effect that was intended ; the great lords in *France* saw that the king was diminishing his own power, by harrassing and impoverishing his subjects ; and as to those vices and crimes imputed to him by the pope, they were not so innocent themselves as to desire to see such precedents introduced : and the pope having the deposition of an emperor upon his hands, had not leisure to blow the coals long enough to raise a rebellion in *France*, which was very happy for the king ^f. He was no less fortunate in his first war against *William* surnamed *the Conqueror*, who came over from *England* with an army, in order to reduce *Hoel* duke of *Bretagne*, who refused to acknowledge him for his lord. The first fury of his arms was spent against *Del*, to which he laid siege, and from before which he was obliged to rise, with the loss of his baggage, by a numerous army commanded by king *Philip* in person ; and soon after, this quarrel being composed, a peace was concluded, which heightened the presumption of *Philip*, who thence concluded in favour of his forces and fortune ^g.

Enters into intrigues with Robert, eldest son to William, who revolts against him.

THIS tranquillity did not, indeed could not, last long, considering the situation of things, and the opposite dispositions of the two monarchs ; for *William* was open and violent, *Philip* malicious, which, however, he knew well how to conceal. He held a close correspondence with *Robert*, the eldest son of *the Conqueror*, a prince as ambitious of authority as he was incapable of executing it ^h. He had been the author of all the disturbances in *Normandy* ; and at length, pretending to resent a childish action in his younger brothers, retired from court, and broke out into open rebellion. *Philip* not only encouraged as he had excited this behaviour, but also gave to *Robert* the town of *Gerberoi*, in *Beauvoisin*, a place of some strength, and very well situated for the purpose of disturbing *Normandy*. King *William* followed his son thither with an army, and besieged him ⁱ ; but the fortress, being well provided, made a good defence, and prince *Robert*, who, with all his faults, was one of the bravest men of his time, in a sally wounded and unhorsed his father, but without knowing him, till his voice discovered who he was in his fall. *Robert* then raised him up, threw himself at his feet, and set him upon his own horse ; which contributed somewhat to another peace, but never to a thorough reconciliation, the father being as little disposed to forgive as the son was to be quiet : and *Philip*, who affected upon all occasions being the mediator, was equally an enemy to both ^k.

A. D. 1081.

A new war with Normandy, which is ended by the death of the conqueror.

SOME years elapsed before things broke out again into a flame ; and even then *William*, who never fought quarrels, would not have entered *France*, if the flippancy of the king's tongue had not provoked him to a reply, which made it necessary. The *English* monarch, who was a very unweildy man, being indisposed, kept his bed for some time ; upon which *Philip* said often to his courtiers, “ Though *William* is so long lying in, I doubt, when he comes abroad, he will be as big as ever.” Which being reported to that prince, he said to those about him, “ It will not be long before I go abroad, and let him know that so many lights shall be carried at my churching (for the custom then was, upon such occasions, for women to carry a torch) as shall enlighten all *France*, and make him repent his jest ^l.” In execution of this threat he besieged the city of *Mantes*, ravaged the country round about, and, having taken the place, burnt it ; but was so excessively heated by approaching too near the fire, that turning his horse to retire, and finding a ditch in his way, he, in leaping it, received a contusion from the pomel of his saddle in his stomach, of which he died not long after at *Rouel*, leaving behind him three sons, who were upon the worst terms possible with each other, and consequently stood alike exposed to the efforts of their enemies ^m.

1087.

The king's false conduct, divorces his queen, mal-

Philip was by this means delivered from a potent adversary, and believed, as he had reason to believe, that he had nothing to fear from *Robert*, to whom his father left the duchy of *Normandy*. His ambition, as upon other occasions, outran his prudence ; he published his

^d LE GEND.

^e Histoire des Papes. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.

^f Epist. GREGOR. VII. lib. ii. Ep.

5, 32, 35.

^g DU TILLET.

^h Fragment. de GULIELM. Conquestor.

ⁱ ODERIC VITALIS.

GULIELM. GEMETICENS.

^k Frag. Hist. Franc. GULIELM. Malmes.

ROG. Hoved.

^l GULIELM.

Malmes. MAT. PARIS, lib. ii. GULIELM. GEMET.

^m Chroniques de Normandie.

GULIELM. Malmes.

GULIELM. GEMET.

- a claim to the realm of *England*, while his brother *William* was taking possession of it ; which not only frustrated his own designs, but brought *William* over with an army into *Normandy* ^{n. treats a prince as he pretends to espouse.} *Robert*, suspecting his brother *Henry* to be secretly embarked in his design, despoiled him of the *Cotentin*, and then had recourse to *Philip* for his assistance. The king made great professions, and entered *Normandy* with an army which might have made these good ; but *William* slackened his pace by the help of money, and, by the repetition of this argument, detached him from the cause that wanted it. *Robert* was forced to consent to a peace ; by which *William* kept what he had conquered, *Henry* was restored to what he had lost, and the unfortunate prince first mentioned was at the expence of all ^o. The politics of *Philip* were right for the present, which is the rock that cunning splits on ; true wisdom would have taught him to support *Robert*, and to have placed his security not in the division of the duchy of *Normandy*, but in preserving it for the lawful duke, and thereby making him his friend ^p. This was one false step ; he quickly committed another. He was grown weary of his wife, though he had by her two sons and a daughter. He recollected that she was related to him, though at a great distance ; or, perhaps, his flatterers forged a pedigree to make this probable. However it was, he found churchmen to divorce him, and sent her to *Montreuil* ; where, in process of time, she died of ill treatment and a broken heart. He then demanded in marriage *Emma*, the daughter of count *Roger*, brother to the duke of *Calabria* ; who, consenting to it, sent over the lady richly adorned with jewels, and with a large portion in ready money. The *Italian* writers A. D. 1092, say this was done purely to deprive her of them ; the *French* historians deny the intention ; but, if the fact be certain, it signifies little what was the design ^q. As to the apparent reason, why the king did not espouse her, that arose from another slip in the king's conduct ; which, as it was one of the foulest, so it was also the most fatal he ever made, and the effects of which pursued him to his grave.

- FOULQUES LE RECHIN, count of *Anjou*, whose character we mentioned before, though far in years, and though he had two wives already, having heard of *Bertrand de Montfort*, a young lady esteemed the handsomest in *France*, was bent on marrying her, and, not without some difficulty, brought it about, her family sacrificing her to their own interest. This woman, tired of an old, gouty, and surly husband, and hearing that the king had parted with his wife, privately invited him to come and see her. Upon this he framed some pretence for going to *Tours*, where the count of *Anjou* received him with all possible duty and respect ; in return for which he seduced his wife to elope, and follow him to *Orleans* ^r. He was not satisfied with the possession of this woman, but he resolved, at all events, to marry her, and to this end a divorce was procured between her and her husband ; but when this bar was removed, none of the bishops of *France* could be prevailed on to celebrate this marriage, or even to be present at it. He contrived, however, to get it done, with some kind of solemnity, by *Eudes*, bishop of *Bayeaux*, brother by the mother's side to *William the Conqueror*, in the presence of the bishop of *Senlis*, and the archbishop of *Rouen*, all *Normans* ^s. This did not hinder pope *Urban* the second from causing the whole matter to be closely examined, in a council held at *Autun*, where the king was excommunicated in case he did not part with this woman, whom he styled his wife. Some have pretended that his subjects were released from their obedience, and the kingdom put under an interdict ; but in this there is no truth, all the effects of the excommunication were, that he did not hear divine service in public, and that he did not wear his crown or robes of state. It is true, the pope threatened to proceed further ; but the king, promising to submit, obtained a stay of the censure. However, as he broke his word, the pope summoned another council at *Clermont*, in which he was excommunicated afresh ^t, the clergy of *France* making no manner of opposition.

- It was in this council that the first croisade was published for the recovery of the *Holy Land* ; it was about this time also, or rather a little before, that *Henry* of *Burgundy* went, with other *French* lords, to the assistance of the *Spaniards* against the Infidels, which procured that young prince a marriage suitable to his rank, and the county of *Portugal* in dowry with his wife ; but these examples wrought nothing on the king. His brother *Hugo*, indeed, took the cross, and his friend *Robert* duke of *Normandy* ; but as for *Philip*, though he humbled himself so far to the pope as to procure an absolution, yet wanting alike the fortitude of a prince and the true principle of a penitent, he relapsed into his former scandalous manner of living with the countess of *Anjou*, and was excommunicated a third time. His conduct, so unworthy of a prince, exposed him justly to the contempt of the people ^u. Too many of the nobility followed his example, and at the same time despised his authority ; not only making war upon each other, but spoiling and robbing his subjects with equal impudence and impunity. All

ⁿ GULIELM. Malmf. DUPL. LE GENDRE. ^p Chroniques de Normand. GULIELM. Malmf. P. DANIEL. ^q Chron. de St. Denis. MALAT. Hist. R. Guiscard. ^r ODERIC VITAL. DUPL. MEZERAY. ^s Concil. Gall. tom. x. J. DE SERRES. MEZ.

^t GULIELM. GEM. MEZ. P. DAN. ^u Chron. de St. Denis. MALAT. Hist. R. Guiscard. ^v GULIELM. Malmf. P. DANIEL. LE GEND. ^w ODERIC VITAL. DUPL. P. DANIEL.

this time *Philip* was soliciting and cajoling the court of *Rome*, till at length he prevailed with a pope *Paschal* to cause the whole of his affair to be reviewed in a council held at *Poitiers*, which, notwithstanding all the efforts that could be made by the populace, excited by his partizans, terminated in a new excommunication ^w. But notwithstanding this, the queen being dead, and the old count of *Anjou* offering, for a large sum of money, to give whatever assistance might be requisite to procure a papal dispensation for the king's marriage, he renewed his instances at *Rome*, offering at the same time to submit to whatever penance should be enjoined; and in the end, by the influence of presents and prayers, obtained absolution ^x.

Lewis his son, and heir apparent, associated with him in the government. But though this quieted in some measure, his domestic affairs, yet, in respect to his authority, it was so far from being re-established, that the nobility affected more and more a degree of independency, utterly incompatible with the respect due to him by the constitution, as it then stood. Some of them, indeed, such as *William* duke of *Aquitaine*, and even the count of *Anjou*, behaved in a very different manner; but this arose from their own notions of things, and particular connections, and not from a principle of obedience, or any awe they stood in of his power: for the lesser nobility, and even his immediate vassals, insulted him every hour, plundered his subjects, and cut off the communication between *Paris* and *Orleans*. All this did not rouse *Philip* from that idle and indolent course of life which he had led for many years, and, rather than it should, he associated his eldest son *Lewis*, or at least declared him, with the consent of his nobility, his successor ^y. This young prince was the very reverse of his father, active, vigilant, affable, free from the vices incident to youth, and in all respects one of the bravest and worthiest men this country ever produced. It may be the vices of the father, and the consequences of these vices, might be the best lessons to his son. He saw that, in a corrupted state, there was nothing to be done but by force; he kept therefore continually in the field, with a small body of troops about him, and these he employed against such as would not listen to the dictates of justice and equity, and even treated the laws of their country with derision. He demolished their castles, he compelled them to restitution, he forced them to abandon the estates of which they had deprived the bishops and the clergy; and he did this in so disinterested a manner, and with so indisputable a zeal for the public welfare, that, after a few victories gained, and some unavoidable instances of severity, he brought things into tolerable order, and at the same time gained the affection of the better part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people in general so absolutely, that all historians agree he saved the state from destruction, and the monarchy from being absolutely subverted ^z. A service so great, that it merited a return very different from that which it met with.

His mother-in-law first compels him to fly to England, and then poisons him. *Bertrade*, who now stiled herself queen of *France*, saw, with infinite chagrin, the good fortune of *Lewis*, and the universal respect that was paid him, notwithstanding that she could not but be sensible that *Philip* could scarce have preserved himself upon the throne, if Providence had not raised him up such a support. She had two sons by the king, and had the succession in view; to which she thought *Lewis* the only obstacle, his brother *Henry* being dead ^a. This induced her to practise all her arts, and none of her sex had more, to strengthen her own party, and to distress and disturb the young king. He was not at all of a temper capable of returning such usage; and therefore, when he found the realm in some degree of quiet, he thought it better to retire out of the reach of the storm than to run the risk of supporting it. It was chiefly with this view that he made a voyage to *England*; though probably with some plausible pretence, since it was with the consent of king *Philip*, and was received by *Henry* with the greatest testimonies of kindness and esteem ^b. He had not been long at court, before the *English* monarch received, by an express, a letter from king *Philip*, signifying that, for certain important reasons, he should be exceedingly obliged to him if he closely confined his son, or removed him altogether out of the way. *Henry*, instead of executing so infamous a request, shewed the letter to *Lewis*, gave him his best advice, and, having loaded him with presents, sent him home with all the marks of honour and regard possible. At his return, *Lewis* demanded justice for this attempt; at which the king appeared much amazed, as having in reality no concern in it ^c. But *Bertrade*, whose fear was now as strong as her ambition, thinking there was no time to be lost, no means to be left untried, procured poison to be given him; which wrought so violently, that the ablest physicians thought it impossible to save him. A stranger, however, undertook the cure, and succeeded in it, only a paleness remained in his countenance during life, notwithstanding that he grew afterwards so corpulent as to be surnamed *the Gross* ^d.

^w Con. Gall. tom. x. MEZERAY. BOULAN.

^y SUGER. vit. Ludovici Grossi, DUPL. MEZERAY.

^z ODER. VITAL. DUPL. MEZERAY.

VITAL. DUPL. LE GEND.

^x HUGO FLAVIN. ODER. VITAL. P. DANIEL.

^a ODER. VITAL. SUGER. vit. Ludovici Grossi.

^b MEZERAY. LE GEND. P. DAN.

^c ODER.

^d DU TILLET. DUPL. MEZERAY.

- a UPON this new and flagrant act of violence, *Lewis* was on the point of coming to extremities, and of having recourse to the same methods for obtaining justice in his own cause, which he had so often employed to procure it for others. But the king, unable to part with *Bertrade*, and as unable to protect her, had recourse to the pity of his son, to whom he obliged her to make the most humble submissions; and it was upon this occasion that she shewed the utmost extent of her address, insomuch that it still remains undecided, whether she feigned or felt that penitence by which she totally disarmed *Lewis* of his resentment^e. We may the less wonder at this, since we are informed, that she had such an absolute command over the morose *Foulques le Rechin*, that he passed whole days at her feet like her slave; and it is certain, that he entertained the king and her at *Angiers* with all the pomp and magnificence possible, and waited on them in person at table. After this reconciliation, she shewed upon all occasions the most profound respect for *Lewis*, acknowledged that he merited the crown he had saved, and placed all hopes in providing for the safety and subsistence of her children in recommending them to his favour^f.
- WE meet with nothing after this, that can be styled memorable, in the reign of *Philip*, nor does it clearly appear whether, with all his submissions to the see of *Rome*, by which he disgraced himself so much in the eyes of strangers and of his own subjects, he obtained a full confirmation of his marriage; that is, such a confirmation as the pontiffs assumed to themselves a power of giving. It is, however, generally speaking, held probable that he did; since, towards the close of his reign, the historians give her the title of queen, and speak of her children as rendered capable of the succession^g. Yet *Mezeray* suspects this, and says, with great freedom, that the bishops of *France* flattered the king's infamous adultery, by bestowing on it the honourable title of marriage^h. But, however this might be, he remained as much attached to her as ever, to the last hour of his life. He died at *Melun*, on the 29th of *July*, A. D. 1108, in the 50th year of his reign, reckoning from his coronation in his father's life-time, and in the 47th from the decease of that princeⁱ. There were many great actions performed by the *French* nation while he sat upon the throne, though there was little done by him; but as these actions must be treated of in other places, it would have been to no purpose to distract the thread of our narration by short and imperfect accounts of them, merely because they fell within this period of time (E).
- d LEWIS the sixth, called by the old historians *Lewis Thibaut*, and, from his size in the latter part of his reign, surnamed *Lewis the Gross*, assumed the sole administration of affairs on the demise of his father, when he was entering the 30th year of his age. The first thing he thought necessary was his coronation, notwithstanding, as most writers say, he had been actually crowned in the life-time of his father, and in this he met with some difficulty^k. There was at this time a schism in the church of *Rheims*; and therefore, by the advice of the bishop of *Chartres*, who was one of the most respectable prelates in *France*, the king caused himself to

^e Chron. Andegav. DUPLEIX. LE GEND. ^f Chron. Malleac. DU TILL. DUPLEIX. ^g GUL. Malmsf. DUPLEIX. P. DAN. ^h DU TILL. MEZ. P. DAN. ⁱ Epitaph. Philippi. GUL. Malmsf. LE GEND. ^k SUGER, vita Ludovici Grossi. MEZ. LE GEND.

(E) *Philip*, though he had few virtues, had many good qualities; he was courteous, generous, and compassionate, to persons in distress; which rendered him easy in private life, and in a great measure abated that hatred, which otherwise would have been excited by his vices(6). In his time it became a custom for the great officers of state to witness charters and other instruments of a public nature. Under his reign began the religious orders of the chartreux, cisteaux, and canons regular of *St. Augustine*. He took advantage of the first croisade to unite to the dominions of the crown the county of *Bourges*, sold to him by its lord to raise money for his equipage. The great indolence of his temper promoted that expedition, which a prince of a higher spirit would, perhaps, have prevented, and under an active king the great lords of *France* would have been less forward (7). His ancestors had done much towards reforming the morals of the people; in his time they became very corrupt, which was owing to several causes, but chiefly

to his own bad example, and the luxury of his court, the restraining priests from marriage by a decree of the council of *Troyes*, and by the effects of the croisade. By his queen *Bertha*, who died of a broken heart at *Monreuil*, he had his successor *Lewis*, *Henry*, who died young, and *Constantia*, who married first *Hugues*, count of *Troyes*, and, being divorced from him, on pretence of consanguinity, *Beaumont* prince of *Antioch*. His children by the famous *Bertrade*, who is said to have died a penitent, were *Philip* count of *Mante*, whose estates were confiscated for rebellion, and who died without issue, *Florence*, who left only a daughter, and *Cecilia*, who was twice married, first to *Tancred*, prince of *Antioch*, and next to *Pons de Toulouse*, count of *Tripoli* (8). *Philip*, by his own desire, was buried at *Fleury*, which is the same monastery now known by the name of *St. Bennet* on the *Loire*. He reigned longer than any of his predecessors except *Clotaire*, and than any of his successors except *Lewis* the fourteenth (9).

(6) Epitaph. Philippi. Paul. Æmilius. Annal Francorum. Du Chesne, tom. iv. (7) Albert. Aquensf. tom. i. p. 224. Gesta Dei per Francoi, p. 35. Gulielm. Malmsf. (8) Du Tillot. St. Marthe. J. de Serres. Dupleix. Chalons. (9) Mezeray. P. Daniel. Le Gendre. Henault. Boulanvilliers.

be crowned at *Orleans* by the bishop of that city. This, being done with great solemnity, might probably add some weight to his authority; but it was very far from procuring him that tranquillity which he expected. This disturbance did not arise from the great lords, who had an affection for his person, and had not the least cause to be jealous of his power; but from the insolence of his immediate vassals, who justly apprehending that he would put an end to those exorbitancies which they had hitherto committed with impunity, confederated together to give him all the trouble in their power. In order to conceive this, and without a clear conception of it what we have to say will be unintelligible, it is requisite to observe, that the domain, that is, the territory actually in possession of the king, consisted only of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Etamps*, *Compeigne*, *Melun*, *Bourges*, and a few other places of less consideration¹. Amongst the lords then in arms the principal were the lords of *Corbeil* and *Mante du Puiset*,^b in *Beauce*, *de Couci*, *de Montfort*, *de Monilherre*, *de Rochefort*, &c. Their fiefs lay so intermixed with the king's domain as put it out of his power to assemble, on any occasion, the whole of the little force he had, gave them the most favourable opportunities of making diversions, when any of them were attacked, and in short embroiled him in such a manner, that, though he had the lofty title of king of *France*, he had scarce the strength of a duke of *Burgundy*. Of this a more flagrant instance cannot be given, than his being obliged thrice to besiege the little castle of *Puiset*. The first time he was disappointed for want of provisions; at the second he was beaten by the confederates, and forced to raise the siege; but at last he became master of, and demolished, it. He treated in the same manner other fortresses, as soon as he reduced them; but what he chiefly relied on were the laws, with the execution of which he charged himself by force of arms; and acting in this matter with an impartial spirit of justice, he gained the respect of the clergy, and the love of the common people, whom he protected upon all occasions, not only against the oppressions of their lords, but also the officers of the crown and army, according to his own excellent maxim, that a king ought to have no favourites but his people^m.

Finds a very formidable enemy in Henry I. king of England.

It was not till he had reduced most of these malecontents, of whom he left very few in a capacity to give him farther trouble, that he began to take notice of his capital enemy, without whose encouragement those lords durst not have stirred, and but for whose assistance they must have been quickly subdued: this was *Henry* king of *England*, one of the ablest, and at the same time one of the most ambitious, princes of that age; who, while he held fair correspondence, and professed the utmost kindness and friendship for the two kings *Philip* and *Lewis*, held, nevertheless, a close correspondence with the malecontents, and encouraged them to remain in arms to the very last, that he might have nothing to fear for his duchy of *Normandy*; and that, by wasting and harrassing each other, their strength might be so far reduced, as to afford him an opportunity of making certain acquisitions, upon which he had set his eyes, to these his favourite dominionsⁿ. The point upon which *Lewis* demanded satisfaction, was the demolition of *Gisors* on the *Epte*, which had been stipulated by treaty; but which, by various pretences, *Henry* had hitherto eluded. When their armies were on the point of coming to a battle, *Lewis* proposed an accommodation; and, when that failed, offered to decide the dispute by a single combat; at which *Henry* smiled, and said, that he could but keep the place if he was victorious, which was already in his hands without fighting; so that the king of *France* staked his life against a place of importance, whereas he was to stake his life, and that too, against nothing^o. A battle ensued, in which the *Normans* were beat, and not long after a peace was concluded, and *William*, the only son of *Henry*, did homage to king *Lewis* for the duchy of *Normandy*: which the king his father constantly refused to do, as thinking it inconsistent with the dignity of a crowned head, or rather of so potent a prince^p.

His vessels give him fresh trouble, and oblige him to remain almost always in the field.

This war was scarce ended, before the king found himself again involved in fresh broils with his vassals, against whom he was continually fighting battles, with various success, and very frequently at the great hazard of his life^q. It may seem strange that a king of *France*, able to lead numerous armies into the field, and maintain them against the *English* monarch in *Normandy*, should not be able to crush the little lords in his own dominions, whose own insolence was the sole ground of their quarrel, and the single object they had in view plundering the poor people^r. But this difficulty will be solved, by observing, that, in his wars with *Henry Lewis* was assisted by the great vassals of the crown, particularly by *Robert* count of *Flanders*; who with their forces served at their own expence, not only because it was their duty, but because they were as jealous of the power of *Henry* as *Lewis* himself: but, in the war against his own vassals, they took no share at all; or, if they did, it was by way of confe-

¹ Chron. Senonse. DU TILLET. P. DAN.

ⁿ ODER. VITAL. SUGER. vita Ludovici Grossi. LE GEND.

^p GUILIELM. Malmf.

^q Chron. Senonse.

^m Fragment. Hist. Francorum. DUPL. J. DE SERRES.

^o SUGER. vita Ludovici Grossi, & al.

^r SUGER. vita Ludovici Grossi.

a deracy with the king, and then the opposing party had their confederates likewise. This also A. D. 1110. accounts for the encouragement given by kings to those repeated expeditions into the *Holy Land*, which depopulated their dominions, and deprived them of their subjects, but delivered them at the same time from those mutinous noblemen, who, if they had not been thus fighting abroad, would have been continually embarked in rebellions at home^r.

THE count *de Blois*, likewise styled count of *Champagne*, who was nephew to the king of *England*, quickly revived the war between the two kings, though it was carried on in his name; and *Lewis*, to shew that he could negotiate as well as fight, drew in *Foulques* count of *Anjou*, the son of *Foulques le Rechin* and *Bertrade*, to refuse homage to *Henry* for the county of *Maine*, which he had acquired by marriage; but this war did not turn at all to his advantage, since his army was not only totally defeated by that of the count of *Blois*, but also the gallant earl of *Flanders* trampled to death^t. Soon after the king of *England* arrived in *Normandy*, and having got *Robert de Belesme*, one of the lords who revolted from him, into his hands, sent him to prison, from whence he was discharged only by death, and so frightened the rest of the malecontents, that they speedily submitted; and, the two kings meeting at *Gisors*, a peace was concluded, entirely to the king of *England*'s honour and interest, to whom not only the count of *Anjou* did homage for the county of *Maine*, but also *Alain* the third for his duchy of *Bretagne*; and, what strengthened him still more, he married one of his daughters to *Conan*, the son of that duke, the other being already married to the emperor *Henry* the fifth, and at the same time his son *William* espoused the daughter and heiress of the count of *Anjou*^u. The king, after this peace, thinking it high time to settle himself, and to secure the succession, espoused *Alix*, or *Adelaide*, the daughter of *Humbert* count of *Maurienne*, or of *Savoy*, for whom he had a strong and lasting affection during his whole life. This marriage did not, indeed, add any immediate strength to the king; but the new queen rendered herself so acceptable to the nobility, and acted on all occasions with so much wisdom and discretion, as proved of great use to *Lewis* during the remaining part of his reign^w.

THE misfortunes of the last war chagrined this monarch exceedingly, and therefore he readily listened to the intercession of a young prince, who, after traversing several other courts, though a perfect youth, came at last to take shelter in his. This was *William*, the son of *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, and grandson to the conqueror, who earnestly pressed him to intercede for his father's liberty, and for the restitution of the duchy of *Normandy*, which he claimed as his right. The king advised him to form as strong a party as he could in *Normandy*; to engage the counts of *Flanders* and *Anjou* in his interest; and that, whenever they were ready to act, he should not find him backward. In this *William* succeeded to his wish; and, when all things were perfectly ripe, he signified to *Henry* his desire that an end might be put to duke *Robert*'s imprisonment^x. This being peremptorily refused, the king and the earl of *Flanders* entered *Normandy*; upon which the nobility began every-where to rise, and proclaimed *William* their duke. In his whole reign *Henry* was never so much embarrassed; a conspiracy broke out in his court, which alarmed him more than all the rest. The earl of *Flanders* advanced to the very gates of *Rouen*, and burnt the suburbs; some places of strength were taken, others revolted, and his affairs fell very low; yet he made no overtures of peace. On the contrary, he disputed every inch of ground, brought over forces from *England*, and kept his fortified places well garrisoned and well supplied, till the duke of *Bretagne* and the earl of *Champagne* marched to his assistance^y. *Lewis*, with his victorious army, acted with great vigour, and marching to reduce *Nojon*, were surprised to find *Henry* in their way ready to give them battle; the action was very brisk, though not very bloody; the kings were respectively very near being killed or taken; but at length, through the military skill of *Henry*, *Lewis* was totally defeated, and forced to fly on foot, and with much difficulty arrived at *Andely*^z. Soon after pope *Calixtus* the second held a great council at *Rheims*, at which king *Lewis* assisted in person, where he made great complaints of *Henry*; upon which the pontif undertook to mediate a peace between them: for which purpose he went to *Gisors*, where he conferred with the king of *England* about his own affairs, as well as those of *Lewis*; but found him equally firm as to both. This pontif had, in the council, excommunicated the emperor *Henry* the fifth, on the subject of investitures, and threatened the *English* king with the same treatment, but to no purpose. Besides, *Henry* had bought the count of *Anjou*, *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders* was dead of the wounds he received in the last battle, and most of the *Norman* lords were either ruined or reduced; so that *Lewis* was once more obliged to make peace with him upon his own terms. The joy of *Henry*, however, was quickly qualified by the loss

The methods
used by the
kings *Lewis*
and *Henry* to
strengthen
their respec-
tive interests.

1113.

A new war,
in which
Henry is
again victori-
ous, and forces
Lewis to
make peace on
his own terms.

1120.

* GULIELM. Malmf. DUPLIX.

Malmf. w SUGER. vita Ludovici Grossi.

HUNTINGDON.

z DU CHESNE.

t SUGER. vita Ludovici Grossi. MEZERAY.

u DE CIESNF. DUPLIX. LE GEND.

y GUL.

z HEN.

of his two sons, and a great multitude of his nobility, who were ship-wrecked in their passage to *England*, through their own ill-conduct, and the drunkenness of the seamen ^a.

A war with the emperor, in which Lewis brings a prodigious army into the field.

THE king of *France*, considering that *Henry* had now no issue male remaining, supplied duke *William*, the son of *Robert*, with large sums of money, and enabled him thereby to renew his intrigues with the nobility of *Normandy*; who, looking upon him as the last heir of their antient dukes, notwithstanding all they had suffered, had a very strong affection for him. The count of *Anjou*, seeing his daughter a widow, and without children, by the death of prince *William* of *England*, gave his second daughter *Sybilla* to that young prince, with the county of *Maine* ^b. *Charles* of *Denmark*, who had succeeded his cousin *Baldwin* in the earldom of *Flanders*, embarked likewise in this design, and the confederacy grew so strong, that at length they made but little doubt of carrying their point; but the prudent and fortunate *Henry* disappointed them once more. He had espoused the cousin of the pope, and by that means gained him so much to his interest, that, upon exhibiting the pedigrees of duke *William* and the daughter of the count of *Anjou*, their marriage was declared null, and that unfortunate prince left once more without any other support than his merit and birth; and coming in person into *Normandy*, before things were settled, he seized some of the malecontents, cajoled others, and defeated the rest ^c. It remained to complete his revenge to humble the king of *France*, and with this view he excited the emperor *Henry* the fifth, who quickly assembled all the power of *Germany*; giving out, that he would burn the city of *Rheims* to the ground, in resentment of the excommunication pronounced against him in the council held there. *Lewis* took advantage of this declaration, and summoned all the vassals of the crown to send their forces to *Amiens* at a short day, when it clearly appeared how different a thing it was to attack the kingdom and the king of *France*; for when *Lewis* put himself at the head of the army, it consisted of two hundred thousand men, and, on their beginning to march, the emperor abandoned his design; and dismissing the army he had raised in *Lorraine*, retired into the heart of his own dominions ^d. The king, willing to make use of so irresistible a force, would have led them immediately into *Normandy*, in order to establish duke *William*, to whom he had given another wife, with a considerable territory, on the frontiers of that duchy. His great vassals, however, told him plainly, that they would do no such thing; for that they assembled to defend the territories of *France* from the invasion of a foreign prince, and not to extend his power by destroying that balance which arose from the king of *England*'s possessing *Normandy*, which they looked upon as necessary to their safety ^e. On this occasion we first hear of the oriflame, which was, properly speaking, the banner of the abbey of *St. Denis*, being a crimson flag fixed to a gilt lance, from whence it derived its name; and from its being borne, on this occasion, before the king, came in after-times to be considered as the royal standard of *France*. At this time, however, every abby had its standard, and some lord who was its advoyer, or protector, who commanded their tenants and men of war, whenever, according to the strange custom of that age, they happened to have any quarrel with their neighbours, which they were inclined to decide, as all points of controversy were then decided, by the law of arms ^f.

William, the son of Robert duke of Normandy, declared count of Flanders, and killed there.

THE drawing together this amazing force inclined, and the death of the emperor, which happened soon after, made it necessary for, the king of *England* to conclude a peace, to which king *Lewis* was not at all averse; so that it was quickly settled upon easy and equal terms, and, which is somewhat extraordinary, was much better observed than any treaty between these two princes had hitherto been; and yet, under pretence of assisting their allies, these monarchs, from time to time, gave the world sufficiently to understand they were far from being reconciled. *Charles* earl of *Flanders*, being assassinated by some discontented subjects, *Lewis* entered that country with a small army; and, having surprized the offenders, punished them as they deserved. After this, the question was, how to dispose of the dignity, to which there were many pretenders, and amongst them *Baldwin* earl of *Mons*, whose grandfather had been deprived of the earldom by *Robert* count of *Frize*, and *Thierry* count of *Alsace*, who was sister's son to that count of *Frize* ^g. The king set them all aside to make way for *William*, the son of *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, which answered two purposes; it gave the king a right to resume what he had bestowed upon this prince, till he could obtain for him some establishment, and it put it much more in his power to support his claim to his father's duchy than hitherto it had ever been. *Henry*, on the other hand, resolving at any rate to gain the count of *Anjou*, married his only daughter, the empress dowager, to *Geoffrey Platagenet*, the son of that count, though a boy; and not long after the count himself, partly at the king's persuasion, and partly from ambition, went into the *Holy Land*, to receive the crown of *Jerusalem* ^h. Having thus secured himself

^a ROGER HOVEDEN.

^b ODER. VITAL. DUPLEIX. P. DAN.

^c HEN. HUNTINGDON.

^d SUGER. VITA LUDOVICI GROSSI.

^e SUGER. MEZERAY. P. DAN.

^f RIGORD. DU CANGE.

GALAND.

^g SUG. VITA LUDOVICI GROSSI.

^h GULIELM. MALMSBURIENSIS.

a from all apprehensions on that side, he directed his old ally, the earl of *Champagne*, to support *Thierry* of *Alsace* against his nephew count *William*, in which contest, however, that young prince had the better; but, receiving a wound in the hand, a gangrene seized the arm, of which he died. This gave his competitor an opportunity to make himself master of *Flanders*; upon which the king received his homage; which prevented *Henry*, who waited all A. D. 1128. this time in *Normandy* to see what turn the war would take, from breaking openly with *France*. A thing which he studiously avoided, unless secure of some advantageⁱ.

b As peace was now restored, the king thought it expedient to place the crown upon the head of his eldest son *Philip*; which was accordingly done, with all the usual solemnities, at *Rheims*. This being over, he thought himself more at leisure to correct many inconveni-
The king causes his eldest son Philip, and on his death his youngest son Lewis, to be crowned.

c encies which had gradually crept into different parts of the kingdom, and which, in those times, could be done no other way than by force; and if, in these his good endeavours, he met with opposition from some of the great lords, he was assisted and supported by others: so that, by executing the decrees of his supreme courts of justice, he rendered appeals frequent, and, with an apparent zeal for the public good, extended his own authority^k. Pope *Innocent* the second, finding himself constrained to leave *Rome* by his competitor, retired into *France*, where he was received with great respect, and kept his *Easter* with great splendour at *Paris*. But the joy of the court was quickly turned into mourning by the fall of the young king *Philip* from his horse, of which he died on the 3d of *October*. Before the close of the month a general council was held at *Rheims*, in which the king as well as the pope A. D. 1131.

d was present, and there the crown was set upon the head of *Lewis*, his eldest surviving son, at that time about twelve years of age. The suddenness of this coronation, after so unlucky an accident, is accounted for by an old historian, who reports, that a party was forming amongst the great lords and prelates for transferring the crown to another family, if the king, with the assistance of pope *Innocent*, had not prevented it, in the manner that has been related^l. With all his excellent qualities, and the more candid of the *French* historians acknowledge him the best of their kings, he had a failing, if it may be called so, which raised a secret dislike to him, and increased with his years. This failing consisted in a certain freedom of speech; honest, sincere, and well-meaning himself, he despised flattery, and he hated falsehood; pious, without hypocrisy or superstition, he treated very roughly such of the prelates as acted inconsistent with their character; obedient to the laws himself, his zeal for justice had led him to correct such of the nobility as acted tyrannically, with a degree of rigour that made them secret enemies to him and his family. But, while they meditated the humiliation of both, Providence placed the crown upon the head of the young *Lewis*, in the sight of four hundred prelates, assembled from different parts, the major part of the nobility, and the ambassadors and deputies of several foreign nations, with general applause^m.

e By long experience the greater vassals of the crown began to perceive, that the king's views were very honourable, and that, though he was very quick, he was no less steady in his resolutions; and therefore *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, and other great lords, reconciled themselves to him; so that all the arts of his rival could never detach them again from his interest. But, in the midst of his prosperity, he fell into a languishing state of health, being in a manner overwhelmed with fat. As his strength wore away, he prepared for death, by setting his affairs in order; and, when he thought it so near as to receive the sacraments of the church, he drew his signet ring from his finger, and put it upon that of his son, with these words: "By this sign I invest you with sovereign authority; but remember that it is no other than a public employment, to which you are called by Providence, and for the exercise of which you are to give a strict account in the world to comeⁿ." He grew better after this, but he would never use any of the ensigns of royal authority; but whenever he appeared abroad on horseback, he was surrounded by vast crowds of people, who, by loud acclamations, testified their zeal for his government, and their affection for his person^o.

f An accident contributed not a little to the revival of the king's strength. *William* the tenth, duke of *Guienne* and *Aquitaine*, resolving to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. *James* of *Compostella*, bequeathed his extensive territories to his daughter *Eleanor*, upon condition that she married the young king *Lewis*; and he dying in that pilgrimage, the king sent his son, most nobly attended, to *Bordeaux*, where the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and the young princess solemnly crowned queen of *France*, and the young king was inaugurated as duke of *Aquitaine* and *Poitiers*^p. In the mean time *Lewis le Gros*, unable to support the heat of the dog-days, died at *Paris*, on the 1st of *August*, in the 30th year of his reign, and 60th of his age^q. With the addition of certain qualities, the *French*
Marriage of the young king Lewis, and demise of Lewis the Gros. A. D. 1137.

ⁱ ROG. Hoved.
LIELM. Malmesb.
dovici Grossi.

^k SUG. vita Ludovici Grossi, LE GEND.
ⁿ SUG. vita Ludovici Grossi.
^q MEZERAY.

^l Chron. MAURIANAC.
^o Chron. MAURIANAC.

^m GU-
^p SUG. vita Lu-

historians say he might have made a better king; but, they allow, a better man never graced a their throne: posterity perhaps may think this no diminution of his character.

Lewis VII.
perplexed by
the remains of
the faction
formed against
his father.

LEWIS, at the time of his father's demise, was eighteen years of age, and, as all writers agree, was surnamed *le Jeune*. If this was only to distinguish him from his father, then we ought to stile him *Lewis* the younger; but a certain writer tells us, that this surname was given him on his separating from his wife *Elcanor*, and giving her back the duchy of *Guienne*; and then it has quite another signification, and implies, that *Lewis* was always a young man^r. The same troubles that perplexed the beginning of his father's, disturbed also the entrance of his reign; that is, several of the nobility indulged themselves in great excesses, which, as we have already shewn, were no otherwise to be suppressed than by force. The king, therefore, having put good garrisons into the fortresses of his new dominions, returned to *Orleans*; where, upon his attempting to assemble troops, the commons, who owed all their privileges to his father's favour, revolted: but *Lewis* quickly reduced and chastised them, as he likewise did the lords^s. It is remarked, and it deserves to be remarked, that he did not follow his father's example, in being crowned a second time. *Eustace*, the son of *Stephen* earl of *Bologne*, who had seated himself in the *English* throne, had done homage to *Lewis the Gros* for the duchy of *Normandy*; the king, to fix him more effectually to his interests, gave him his sister in marriage; which, however, made no impression upon *Thibaut* earl of *Champagne*, elder brother to the *English* monarch, and uncle to *Eustace*, who began to renew his old practices, and to form intrigues against a prince whom he thought too tenderly educated to lead the life his father had done, who was almost always in arms, and whose experience he thought insufficient to deal with one who had made the framing such kind of confederacies almost the sole business of his life. But in this he found himself exceedingly mistaken, and this notwithstanding he was more in the right than perhaps he had ever been in his life^t.

Source of his
difference
with the see
of Rome, and
of the count of
Champagne's
defection.

ALBRIC, archbishop of *Bourges*, dying, the chapter of that see elected *Pierre de la Châtre*, without having the king's permission; upon which *Lewis* swore he should not be archbishop, commanding the chapter to proceed to a new election, leaving them at full liberty to elect whom they pleased, *Pierre de la Châtre* only excepted, which they refused to do; and the pope declaring in favour of the new archbishop, he retired into the estates of the count of *Champagne*, and excommunicated the king's domain within the bounds of his archbishoprick. *Lewis*, upon this, pushed *Thibaut* so hard, that he was on the point of coming to terms, when a new accident excited still greater disturbances^u. *Rodolph*, count of *Vermandois*, who was the king's chief minister, and his near relation, obtained a divorce from his wife, under pretence of their being related, and married *Petronilla*, the queen's sister; but his first wife being nearly related to the count of *Champagne*, he solicited the pope to send a legate into *France* to review this divorce, who presently declared it null, and excommunicated *Rodolph*, in case he did not leave his second wife, and take back his first^v. This so provoked the king, that he made another expedition into *Champagne*; where having taken *Vitri*, he caused the church to be set on fire, in which thirteen hundred people were either choaked or burnt. But when he came to reflect on this cruel action, he not only admitted the archbishop, and made peace with the count, but resolved to expiate his offence by going to the *Holy Land*.

The characters
of St. Ber-
nard, abbot of
Clairvaux,
and Suger,
abbot of St.
Denis.

IT is necessary here to enter into the characters of two ecclesiastics, upon whom at this juncture the fate of the king and kingdom absolutely turned. These, though different in other respects, agreed in the singular qualities of unfeigned piety and absolute disinterestedness. *Bernard*, abbot of *Clairvaux*, was, for those times, learned, naturally eloquent, austere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, zealous in the highest degree, and withal inflexible. He had long before gained the reputation of a saint, he was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet^x. *Suger*, abbot of *St. Denis*, was a man of another kind, mean in his birth, and meaner in his aspect; he was so distinguished by his merit, that he had a great share in the administration during the former reign, and, which was not a little strange, was equally respected and beloved in his convent for his humility and strict manner of life, and admired in the council for his prudence and penetration. *Lewis the Gros* loved him for his sincerity; *Lewis le Jeune* respected him as his father. *Thibaut* count of *Champagne*, the most artificial man of his time, set so high a value on the friendship of the abbot of *St. Denis*, that he seldom refused him any thing, and never attempted to deceive him^y. *Bernard* earnestly pressed the king to make the expedition against the infidels in person; *Suger* persuaded him to contribute men and money, but to remain at home, and govern his people wisely. *Bernard* carried his point by his vehemence; and *Suger*, though he submitted, retained his own opinion, and made no scruple of foretelling the inconveniencies that would attend this measure; while

^r DUPLEIX.
ROG. HOVEDEN.
^t YR.

^s Gesta Ludovici VII.

^w NANG. Chron. Gesta Ludovici.

^y Gesta Ludovici VII. P. ÆMIL. Annales Franc. NANG. Chron.

^t ODERIC VITAL.

^x GAUFRIDUS. lib. iv. vitæ S. Bernard. GUL.

^u Gesta Ludovici VII.

- a *Bernard*, as if inspired, magnified the honour that would result from it, and made himself in a great measure answerable for its success².

A GREAT council of the nobility and prelates was called at *Vizila* in *Burgundy*, that a matter of this importance might not seem to be undertaken without the consent of the nation. Hitherto such assemblies had been stiled, by historians who wrote in *Latin*, *Conventus*, or *Placita*; but we find this denominated *Magnum Parliamentum*, which is the first time that we meet with this word; and from hence the reader will form a just notion of the parliaments of *France*, which, however altered or fallen from what they were, are all that is left of these ancient parliaments³. As there was not in *Vizila* a church capable of holding even a small part of so great a number of people, the assembly was held in the open air. The abbot

Lewis, at the influence of St. Bernard, assumes the cross, and, in imitation of him, great part of the nobility.

- b *Bernard* read the letter of pope *Eugene* the third, which he seconded by a vehement declamation. The king rose up, and received from his hand the cross which had been sent him from *Rome*, and then made a discourse of the like kind. His queen followed his example; and then *Alonso de St. Gilles* count of *Toulouse*, *Thierry d'Alsace* count of *Flanders*, *Henry*, son of the count of *Champagne*, *Guy* count of *Nevers*, *Renaud* his brother, count of *Tonnere*, *Robert* count of *Dreux*, brother to the king, *Yves* count of *Soissons*, *William* count of *Ponthieu*, *William* count of *Varenne*, cousin to the king, *Archambaud de Bourbon*, *Enguerrand de Couci*, *Geoffrey Rancon*, *Hugues de Lusignan*, *William de Courtenai*, and many other lords, spoke to the same purpose, the multitude of persons of inferior rank, who entered into the same engagements, almost exceeded computation⁴. The abbot *Bernard*, after appointing
- c another assembly to be held before *Easter*, went to preach the croisade in *Germany*; where, by the force of his irresistible elocution, he prevailed on the emperor *Conrad* the third, *Frederic* duke of *Suabia*, who was afterwards emperor, and an infinite number of all ranks, to embrace the same design⁵.

- An expedition of this nature could not be undertaken with too much deliberation, and therefore there were two more assemblies held before the king left *France*, in which *Rodolph* count of *Vermandois*, and *Suger*, abbot of *St. Denis*, were chosen and confirmed regents of *France* during the king's absence⁶. The forces assembled upon this occasion were suitable to the extent and grandeur of the *French* monarchy, though the writers of that age do not very exactly agree; the most authentic affirm, that it was composed of fourscore thousand horse, the
- d infantry was very numerous besides, and their very sutlers and attendants might have made a considerable army. There were many reasons which might have deterred the emperor, as well as the king of *France*, from taking the route of the first croisade by land, and by the way of *Constantinople*; but there were other motives so strong as to prevail over these, or rather the impossibility of transporting such armies by sea was so apparent, that they were in a manner compelled to overlook objections that could not otherwise have failed to deter them⁷. The emperor, with his troops, marched first through *Hungary* into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and, passing over the streights of *Constantinople*, entered into *Asia*. *Lewis* followed him, and was received with great complaisance, and the highest testimonies of respect, by the *Greek* emperor *Manuel Comnenus*. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, he
- e found the emperor *Conrad* with the miserable remains of his army, the far greatest part of which had perished by the swords of the *Turks* and the treachery of the *Greeks*; and it was not long before the king had his full share of the like misfortunes; at least so we find things represented by the historians of those times⁸.

The emperor and the king of France march by land to Constantinople. A. D. 1147.

- THE history of the croisades belongs to another part of this work, and therefore it is our intention to say nothing more here than is absolutely requisite to render the history of this reign coherent. Without entering, therefore, into any discussion of what some writers have charged upon the *Greeks*, or of what they have advanced in defence of themselves, we will proceed in our narrative, and inform the reader, that, after defeating the infidels on the banks of the river *Meander*, and being not long after beaten by them, and in great danger of
- f losing his life, *Lewis* at length arrived at *Antioch*, where *Raymond de Poitiers*, his wife's uncle, was then prince⁹. He was received with all possible demonstrations of kindness and politeness, his troops furnished with every thing necessary, and, by the arrival of succours from *Italy*, by sea, his army was once more become very respectable. This gleam of prosperity lasted not long. The king quickly found that the prince of *Antioch* had merely his own interest in view, and was desirous of employing the *French* troops in extending the bounds of his principality, by reducing several considerable places seated on his frontiers. *Lewis* grew likewise uneasy as to the behaviour of his wife, whose gallantries began to make a great

The progress of the king's expedition, to his arrival at Jerusalem. A. D. 1148.

² GULIELM. TYR. Gesta Ludov. GAUFRIDUS, ubi supra.

LUDOVIC. ad Suger. Odo de Dioglo. NANG. Chron.

³ Vit. Suger. Gesta Ludovici VII. PAUL. EMIL. Annal. Franc.

GULIEL. TYR. NICETAS, lib. i.

⁴ OTHO de Frising GULIELM. TYR. Chron. MAURINIAC.

⁵ Odo de Dioglo. Epist. LUDOVIC. ad Suger. Gesta Ludovici VII.

⁶ Epist.

⁷ Epist.

⁸ OTHO FRISING. Vit. Suger. Chron. MAURINIAC.

⁹ Odo de Dioglo.

¹⁰ Odo de Dioglo.

noise ; and on the other hand the prince of *Antioch* induced the queen to pretend some scruple ^a of conscience as to their nearness in blood, though in truth the king and she were hardly cousins. These, and other subjects of chagrin, at length determined the king to quit *Antioch*, and to repair to *Jerusalem*, where the emperor *Conrad* was already arrived. But the queen, who was very well pleased with the fine country in which they were, and still better with the prince to whom it belonged, was not in such haste ^b. However *Lewis* took a proper opportunity, and, seizing one of the gates in the night, marched out with his forces ; and, having assembled those that lay in the neighbourhood, sent her before him to *Jerusalem*, where *Baldwin* the third, who then governed that kingdom, received her very respectfully. On the king's arrival several councils were held, in order to fix upon some expedition worthy of so puissant a force, and of monarchs of so distinguished rank, and in such high esteem for their ^b personal qualifications ¹.

He is determined, by the disgrace of raising the siege of Damascus, to return home.

THE siege of *Damascus* was at length resolved upon, as the reduction of that important place would be attended with great advantages to all the Christian princes in the east, it having proved long an equal curb on the king of *Jerusalem*, as well as the princes of *Antioch* and *Tripoly*. This city was held to be very strong, though without any fortifications, even according to the mode of these times ; but being surrounded on all sides with gardens, and those being well walled, and having a numerous garrison, it was expected, and the event justified their expectation, that it would make a very obstinate defence ; but the gardens being gradually forced, it must have fallen, if the oriental Christians had not most scandalously entered into intrigues with the infidels, from an apprehension that, when taken, it would have ^c been given to the count of *Flanders* ^k. To prevent this, they altered the manner of the attack, suffered convoys of provisions to be surprised, and in the end brought the army into such distress, that the emperor and the king of *France*, detecting their perfidy, and despairing of success, raised the siege, and made the best dispositions they could for returning into their own dominions. The king, embarking at one of the ports of *Syria*, returned safely to *Calabria*, and taking *Rome* in his way, that he might confer with the pope, came at length, after this disastrous expedition, into his own dominions ¹. His brother, the count *de Dreux*, arrived there a little before him ; and had thrown out strong insinuations, that the losses sustained abroad, and the discredit reflected from thence on the armies of *France*, were chiefly owing to the king's incapacity ; by which he meant to raise his own reputation, and not without ^d some view, as many have suspected, upon the crown. But the abbot *Suger*, who had governed as wisely and happily at home as the king had done indiscreetly and unfortunately abroad, rendered these intrigues abortive ; upon which the count *de Dreux*, on his brother's arrival, laboured all he could to render that great man suspected ; but the king found his territories in so good condition, and the general voice of the nation was so loud in behalf of the minister, that the king treated him with all the respect and kindness imaginable, and afforded him all the marks of esteem and confidence that his great merit deserved ^m, who had preserved peace and plenty in his absence, and presented him with a full treasury at his return.

A. D. 1149.

Takes a weak and fatal resolution to repudiate queen Eleanor, and restore Guenée.

IT had been happy for *France* if that excellent person had survived longer ; for so long as he lived, the king was prevailed upon to dissemble his discontents with regard to the queen, ^e and had even consented to a reconciliation. But after his decease, growing more and more dissatisfied with her conduct, he pretended to scruples of conscience in regard to the lawfulness of their marriage ; submitted the case to an assembly of his prelates ; and, in consequence of their sentiments, repudiated that princess, who gave all the assistance she could to the divorce, and restored to her the dominions which he had acquired by their marriage ⁿ. It has been surmised, and not without great probability, that, before things came to this extremity, she had entered into a correspondence with *Henry* duke of *Normandy*, count of *Anjou* and *Maine*, son to *Geoffrey Plantagenet* and the empress *Maud*, so that he was presumptive heir to the crown of *England* ; and her espousing him in six weeks after the divorce rendered this suspicion so much the more probable ^o. This marriage, which the wise abbot of *St. Denis* foresaw, mortified the king extremely, and procured him the surname of *Le Jeune*, as we before ^f observed. By this great alliance, *Henry*, to the duchy of *Normandy* and the estates of the house of *Anjou*, added the county of *Poitou* and the duchy of *Guienne* ; so that he was at least as powerful in *France* as the king himself. *Lewis*, to correct this false step, entered into a league with *Stephen* king of *England*, received the homage of his son *Eustace* count of *Bologne*, in quality of duke of *Normandy*, and drew over to his party *Geoffrey* the brother of *Henry*, who had once a project of running away with queen *Eleanor* himself ^p. In consequence of this league, count *Eustace* attacked *Normandy*, and made a considerable progress

^b GULIELM. TYR.

Gesta Ludovici VII. PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

ad Ludovic.

^m Vita Suger, &c.

^c Chron. Norman. Gesta Ludovici VII.

¹ Gesta Ludovici VII. GULIELM. TYR. Epist. SUGER.

¹ Gesta Ludovici VII. Vita Suger. Epist. HADRIAN IV.

ⁿ Gesta Ludovici VII. GUL. de Nangis. Chron. Norman.

^p HEN. HUNT. NANGIS Chron.

a there; which might have been fatal to duke *Henry*, if his abilities had not been superior to his fortune. At the age of twenty he was a great captain and a greater politician, and took so much pains to soothe and to flatter *Lewis*, that, contrary to all the rules of policy, he concluded a truce with him; which afforded *Henry* leisure to transport himself, and his mother the empress, into *England*, where they created *Stephen* a great deal of trouble; and count *Eustace* dying, a treaty was concluded between them, by which the crown was left to *Stephen* during his life; and, having no children, he consented that *Henry* should be declared his successor; the more willingly no doubt, if, what some writers say be true, that the empress assured him he was the fruit of their amours in the life-time of her husband¹.

As soon as the truce expired, *Lewis* invaded *Normandy*, where he made some progress; but the death of king *Stephen*, and the accession of *Henry* to the throne of *England*, quickly induced the king to make peace. He certainly wanted not abilities to discern the danger he was in, not only from the great power, but from the great talents of *Henry*, who inherited all his grandfather's spirit, and was invested with much more authority; but, though he knew his danger, he had not sagacity enough to devise, and, it may be, wanted the firmness to apply, the proper remedies². But how much soever he fell short of being great, was supplied in being a good prince. His subjects adored, and his nobility loved him, insomuch that, at their persuasion, he married *Donna Constantia*, daughter to *Don Alonso*, king of *Castile*; and soon after, from motives which have been explained in another place, made a pilgrimage to the tomb of *St. James* at *Compostella*, which gave him an opportunity of conferring with his father-in-law, and with *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*³. At his return he held a council at *Soissons*, where he engaged his nobility to swear a peace for ten years; that is, they precluded themselves, during this space, from deciding their quarrels by the sword, which was their common method⁴.

AMONGST these great lords the count of *Flanders* was the most considerable; who going, not long after, into the *Holy Land*, committed his son and his dominions to the care of *Henry*, king of *England*; which was a new mortification to *Lewis*, who found himself in a manner blocked up on every side by this too powerful neighbour, yet *Henry* omitted no arts to mitigate his jealousy and apprehensions⁵. His queen had sufficiently instructed him in the temper of *Lewis*; and he managed him with such address, that he had scarce any pretence given him on which to found a quarrel: for *Henry* was continually writing to him, and sending him presents; treated him with the highest marks of deference and esteem, and proposed a marriage between his son *Henry* and the princess *Margaret*, the king's daughter by his second marriage, tho' they were but infants⁶. But at length a rupture happened; for *Henry*, unsatisfied with the great dominions he already had, surmised that the county of *Toulouse* belonged of right to his wife, as being not given, but mortgaged only by a duke of *Aquitaine* to the ancestor of the then count: he offered therefore the sum that he supposed to be due, and that being refused, marched with a great army, composed of all nations, and blocked up *Toulouse*⁷. The place was not strong by situation, nor was it fortified: but the count, brave in his person, and having a numerous army, made a gallant defence. He had married *Constance*, the widow of *Eustace*, count of *Bologne*, and sister to king *Lewis*, who immediately armed, in support of his brother-in-law; and having left a competent force under the command of his brother the count *de Dreux*, on the frontiers of *Normandy*, marched with the rest directly to *Toulouse*, where, having forced one of the posts of the besiegers, he threw himself into the place with the flower of his troops. *Henry*, perceiving it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to carry the town, sent a compliment to the king, importing, that he would not commit hostilities against any whom he had undertaken to protect, and thereupon raised the siege. This, however, did not put an end to the war, which continued two years longer, and then ended in a peace, on terms that were tolerably equal. *Henry* did homage to the king for his duchy of *Normandy*; his son *Henry* did the like for the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*; and it was agreed, that his second son *Richard*, already contracted to the daughter of the count of *Barcelona*, should quit her, espouse one of the king's daughters, and have the duchy of *Guienne*⁸. In this peace the count of *Toulouse* was included, but without any discussion of the point upon which the war began; for peace was necessary to *Lewis*, and *Henry* was resolved to keep his old claim in reserve⁹.

THE same year died the queen *Donna Constantia*; and the nobility being very urgent with the king to marry again, as he had only two daughters by her, he accordingly espoused *Ade-laide*, the daughter of *Thibaut*, earl of *Champagne*, by which alliance he gained all the princes of her family¹⁰. At this juncture a schism in the church was very near plunging the most considerable powers of *Europe* into a war: the kings of *France* and *England* supported *Alexander III.*; the emperor *Frederic* maintained the cause of *Victor IV.* went so far as to arm on

The king espouses *Donna Constantia*, and makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of *St. James*.

A war breaks out with *Henry*, in which *Lewis* hazards his person without gaining much.

A new war, accompanied with much slaughter and devastation, which at last ends in a new peace.

¹ ROGER HOVEDEN. Chron. Norman. Gesta Ludovici VII.

² NANGII Chron.

³ RODERIC

Toletan.

⁴ MEZERAY.

⁵ LE GENDRE.

⁶ ROBERT. DE MONT.

⁷ DU TILLET.

⁸ DUPLEIX.

⁹ GULIELM. Neubrigiensis.

¹⁰ BOULANVILLIERS.

his behalf, and threatened *France* with an invasion. *Lewis*, provoked by his behaviour, levied troops likewise, and the king of *England* marched a powerful corps to the frontiers of *Normandy*, that they might be in readiness to join the *French*, if it was necessary; and, upon this occasion, *Alexander III.* had the satisfaction of seeing *Lewis* on one side, and *Henry* on the other, at his stirrups, on foot, while he rode slowly to a magnificent tent prepared for him in the *French* camp, and held afterwards a council at *Tours* with great splendour^b. It was not long before new differences arose between the two monarchs, chiefly on account of *Thomas à Becket*, chancellor to king *Henry*, who, having raised him to the archiepiscopal see of *Canterbury*, found him less pliant than he expected, and therefore disgraced him. On this he retired into *France*, where he was received and treated with great respect, notwithstanding all the representations made by his master. From this discordance in sentiments, both kings fore-^bsaw that it would not be long before they came to an open rupture; and this at length happened, notwithstanding the empress *Maud*, so long as she lived, exerted her utmost endeavours to prevent it^c. In the prosecution of this dispute, several places were taken on both sides; some vassals of the crown of *France* took up arms for king *Henry*, and, on the other hand, most of the lords of *Poitou* armed on behalf of *Lewis*^d. At length, both parties, weary of seeing their countries destroyed to little purpose, and having other motives to wish for the return of quiet, amongst which was the birth of a son to *Lewis*, a treaty was set on foot, which, after a long negotiation, produced the peace of *Montmirail*, where *Henry* did homage in person for *Normandy*, his son *Henry* for the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, *Richard* for the duchy of *Guienne*, and prince *Henry* a second time for the county of *Bretagne*, which his brother *Geoffrey* was to inherit, in consequence of his marriage with the heiress of that country, and for which he was to do homage to him as presumptive heir of the duchy of *Normandy*, and he to *Lewis*, as *Bretagne* was a remote fief of the crown of *France*^e. In this we have been so much the more particular, as it serves to explain the titles to these countries, and the tenures then in use; points of such utility in this period of history, that it cannot be understood without being versed in them.

A. D. 1168.

King *Lewis* arrives over the seas and even the consort of *Henry*, who, nevertheless, prevails.

THE situation of affairs between these two princes was such, that, though they often made peace, they were never reconciled; and the intermarriages between their families, instead of contributing to their own and their subjects repose, served only to furnish fresh pretences for disturbing both. King *Henry* having caused his eldest son to be crowned in *England*, while his consort was in *France*, *Lewis*, to revenge the affront done to his daughter, invaded *Normandy*; but *Henry*, too wise to quarrel about a mere matter of form, promised the coronation should be performed over again, as it accordingly was^f. On the return of the young king to his father in *Normandy*, *Lewis* desired that his son and daughter might come and spend some time at his court, which was granted; and there such notions were put into the young prince's head, as, after his return, produced great heart-burnings between him and his father. At length the young king, pretending that he thought his person in danger, fled privately out of *England* into *France*, and was received with open arms by *Lewis*, who was now grown as thorough a politician as *Henry*, and believed the time was now come, in which he might revenge himself for all past affronts^g. He knew the pope was angry with the king of *England*; and that he was also odious to a great part of his subjects, on account of the assassination of archbishop *Becket*: he farther knew that the king was much feared by his neighbours, and that the disputes ran high in his family; so that he flattered himself that he should gain equal advantages by fraud and by force^h. The young king *Henry*, who served him zealously, drew his two brothers, *Richard* and *Geoffrey*, into the confederacy against their father; and, which is almost incredible, embarked his mother queen *Eleanor* in the same scheme. At the same time the king of *Scots* was in motion, and rebels and malecontents started up in almost all parts of the king of *England*'s dominionsⁱ. *Henry*, being surprised at this, offered fair terms; but finding this rejected, raised an army, and quickly restored his affairs at home and abroad. All this time he amused the king of *France* with negotiations, and at length consented to a peace, but it was upon his own terms; and though these were in appearance honourable enough for king *Lewis*, and very advantageous for the princes who had put themselves under his protection, yet the king of *Scots*, the earl of *Leicester*, and the earl of *Chester*, who had been made prisoners, being left at his mercy, shewed plainly that he was victor over this formidable league^k.

Lewis and Henry are on better terms than in any part of their

BOTH kings were now thoroughly weary of war; *Lewis* was afraid of suffering by that good fortune which constantly attended his rival; and *Henry* had so much reason to fear his own family at home, that he had no stomach to quarrels abroad. *Lewis*, however, conceived in his own mind, that he had good grounds to be offended with the conduct of the mon-

^b DU TILLET, MEZERAY.^c ROBERTUS DE MONTE.^d JOHAN. SARISEUR. Epist.^e P. DAN-NIEL. ^f ROGER HOVEDEN. J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX.^g GUL. Neubrig.^h LE GENDRE.ⁱ ROBERTUS DE MONTE.^k PETRI BLESENSIS Epist. MEZ. P. DAN.

^a arch of *England*, on account of his daughter *Alice*, whom the king retained at his court, *respectively* without marrying her to his son *Richard*. In order to obtain satisfaction, he applied himself *respects* to the pope; and his legate having expostulated with *Henry*, that prince very roundly declared he would have caused the marriage to be celebrated, but that *Lewis* had promised to give the city of *Bourges* in dowry with his daughter, as he had likewise promised the *French Vexin*, when the princess *Margaret* espoused the young king *Henry*. As the facts were controverted by *Lewis*, the decision of their difference was left to the pope¹. In the mean time *A. D. 1177.* all the antient treaties were renewed; and the two kings, to shew their cordial affection for each other, undertook to make a croisade together, the preparations for which were likewise settled, notwithstanding which neither of them went; *Lewis* being strongly dissuaded by his
 b consort, and by the principal nobility; and *Henry* finding his affairs still so embarrassed, that his presence was more necessary than ever in his own dominions^m. Some have attributed the making and the breaking this treaty to policy; but it is more probable that *Lewis* was very sincere, and made the first proposition of it to *Henry*, who could not but give his consent, having entered into an engagement with the pope to take the cross, whenever he thought it expedient, in order to expiate the murder of *Thomas à Becket*ⁿ; and we shall hereafter see, that, though this treaty was not executed by these princes, yet it was not altogether without its effect.

As the peace of the kingdom, as well as the continuance of the royal line, depended on the life of the young prince *Philip*, it is not at all strange that the king should be extremely
 c alarmed at an accident which brought him to the very brink of the grave. He was but just able to ride, when his horse ran away with him in the wood of *Compeigne*, in which he continued all night, and returned in the morning, so extremely frightened, that he fell into a grievous fit of sickness^o. This induced the king his father, according to the mode of those times, to resolve on a pilgrimage to the shrine of *St. Thomas*, that is, the tomb of *Thomas à Becket* *Pilgrimage of Lewis to St. Thomas's shrine, coronation of his son, his marriage, and the demise of the old king of a palsy.* at *Canterbury*. He was received there with great pomp by king *Henry*, made his offering, and returned back in the space of a week; but whether the fatigue of the journey, or the agitation of his mind was the cause, so it fell out, that he was struck with an apoplexy at his return; and tho' he recovered from this, by the help of his physicians, yet he continued paralytic on the right side^p. This induced him to hasten the coronation of his son, which
 d was performed with great solemnity by the cardinal archbishop of *Rheims*, the queen's brother, on the first of *November*. On this occasion, the young king *Henry* of *England* assisted, *A. D. 1179.* as duke of *Normandy*; and *Philip*, count of *Flanders*, carried the sword of state. At this time also the right of the archbishop of *Rheims* to perform the ceremony of the coronation was confirmed^q. Soon after the marriage of the young king *Philip*, with the niece of the count of *Flanders*, who now governed all, was settled^r; and the king, having languished about a year under this grievous malady, breathed his last on the 18th of *September*, in the sixtieth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign^s, being esteemed a pious and chaste prince; but as the *English*, as well as the *French*, historians observe, less a politician than was requisite for the conjuncture in which he lived^t (F). *1180.*

PHILIP,

¹ Annal. Francorum.
 Francorum.
 ipsius Regis Chronographo.
 in Caron.

^m PAUL. ÆMIL.

^p Histor. Eccl. Cantuar.

^r DU CHESNE, tom. iv.

ⁿ POLYDOR. VIRGIL.

^q Gesta Philippi Augusti descripta a Magistro RIGORCO

^s GULIELM. Neubrig.

^o P. ÆMIL. Annales

^t LABÆUS

(F) The wisdom of his ministers preserved him, in his youth, from the inconveniences that might have otherwise resulted from a temper so pliant and so mutable as that of *Lewis VII.* In his advanced years experience taught him to govern with more steadiness; so that from being the dupe, he became the formidable rival of *Henry II. of England*, which is in itself a great character, since *Henry* was one of the ablest princes of this age (6). He shewed himself, in the beginning of his reign, very jealous of his authority; it may be, tho' no historian has suggested it, he resented the insult offered him by the cabal against his coronation in his father's life-time; and, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, he did not take the precaution of being crowned again (7). His divorce from his first wife *Eleanor*, the heiress of *Guienne*, might be impolitic; but his behaviour towards her was honourable and equitable, beyond that of most of the princes of his time. That princess

died on the last day of *March 1204*, more than sixty-seven years after her marriage with *Lewis* (8). He had by her two daughters, *Mary* and *Alice*, the former married to *Henry*, count of *Champagne*, and the latter to *Thibaut* count of *Blois*, his brother. The second consort of *Lewis* was *Constantia*, daughter of *Alonso* king of *Castile*, by whom he had also two daughters; *Margaret*, who espoused *Henry* the younger, king of *England*, and duke of *Normandy*, by whom she had no children, and, after his demise, *Bela* the third, king of *Hungary*. Becoming a widow the second time, she resolved, according to the devotion of those times, to spend the remainder of her days in the *Holy Land*, and died at *Acon* in 1197 (9). Her sister *Alice* died unmarried, in a short time after their mother (1). *Lewis* married, a third time, *Adela* the fifth daughter of *Thibaut*, count of *Champagne*, a princess of great beauty, prudence, and spirit, by whom he had his successor *Philip II.* and two

(6) Gesta Ludowici VII. Oderic. Vital.

(7) Du Chesne.

(8) Rigord. vita Philip. August.

Nicol. Tri-

vet. Annal.

(9) Du Tillet.

(1) Recueil des Roys de France leur Couronne & Maison.

daughters :

Philip Augustus ascend: the throne, and governs from the beginning with great prudence.

PHILIP, surnamed *the Gift of God*, from the time of his birth, *the Magnanimous*, and *the Conqueror*, during his life-time, and, as if these had fallen short of his merit, stiled *Augustus* after his decease, was, in truth, one of the most extraordinary princes that ever sat upon this or any other throne, as giving very early marks of a great genius, and yet exceeding in the flower what he had promised in the first buddings of genius^u. He assumed the government from the time the crown was placed upon his head, though but in his fifteenth year: and though the count of *Flanders* is, by some writers, stiled regent of the kingdom, yet that was but courtesy; for notwithstanding the king took his advice, and probably did nothing without it, yet all was executed, not only by his authority, but by himself^w. He was jealous that his youth, and want of experience, might expose him to contempt; and, therefore, the first instance he gave of his authority was, in ordering jesters, jugglers, and buffoons, to quit his court, and he took care to be obeyed^x. He found the people complain loudly of the *Jews*, who had got into possession of one-third part of the lands in his dominions; and as, on the one hand, he found they had exercised the most oppressive usury, and, on the other, by choosing proper patrons, were powerfully supported by the nobility, he obliged them to quit his territories, allowing them to carry away their personal estates. This chagrined the great lords, but it pleased the people, and the king was obeyed^y. From this, which was a very difficult and disagreeable undertaking, he proceeded to another that was still more so. The mercenary soldiers, who had served his father and the king of *England*, being disbanded, and without means of maintaining themselves, assembled together in great bodies, and committed most enormous outrages. They were distinguished by the several names of *Cottereaux*, *Brabançons*, *Routiers*, and *Taverdins*, nesting themselves in different parts of the kingdom, and laying the country under contribution where-ever they were. The king directed the great towns to make head against them, assisted them with his own troops, and in one action cut off nine thousand; so that by degrees he either extirpated or expelled them all^z. He then directed the inhabitants of every great town, that held immediately of him, to surround it with walls, and to pave the streets; which, as it was expensive and troublesome, was not at all relished; but, however, the king making a circuit in person for that purpose, it was performed. Some of the nobility, taking the advantage of his father's infirmities, had committed excesses, more especially against the clergy, which the king redressed in person, and by force of arms; holding his grandfather's maxim, that the royal authority was to be extended by a zeal for justice, and by supporting the weak against the strong. As these great things required time to accomplish, so, as he began them early, he, until they were complete, made them the constant objects of his attention.

Factions, cabals, and insurrections, in the beginning of his reign, suppressed and subdued.

THE queen mother, the cardinal of *Champagne*, and the rest of the princes of her house and faction, laboured all they could, before and after the death of king *Lewis*, to ruin the credit of *Philip*, count of *Flanders*, with the young king, and more especially to prevent his completing his marriage with his niece *Isabel*, but without effect. That count was the king's godfather, from whom he received his name, and in those times this was considered as a sort of kindred; besides, he had adopted the young lady as his daughter, and bestowed upon her in dowry the county of *Artois*, and all the country along the river *Lys*^a. When the queen, and those of her party, found this, they quitted the court, and, having the young king of *England* with them, prevailed upon him to go over to his father to demand his protection. In the mean time, the king caused himself and his queen to be crowned at the abbey of *St. Denis*, by the archbishop of *Sens*, which piqued the cardinal archbishop of *Rheims* extremely^b. *Henry* king of *England* came over with his son into *Normandy*, extremely well pleased with

^u Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti. POL. VIRG.

^w RIGORD.

^x P. ÆMIL. Annales Franc.

^y LE GEND.

^z WILHELMII Britonis Philippidos libri duodecim.

^a RIGORD. Anonymus Aquicinctimus.

cinctimus.

^b DU TILLET.

daughters: *Alice*, who created so much dissension between the realms of *France* and *England*, and who, after having been for many years contracted to king *Richard*, married *William* count of *Ponthieu*; she deceased in 1195: the second daughter, *Agnes*, at the close of her father's reign, was contracted to *Alexius Comnenus*, son to the *Greek* emperor *Manuel*, and was sent to *Constantinople*, when she was scarce ten years of age. The marriage was solemnized the year following with great magnificence. Three years after, her husband being murdered by *Andronicus* I. who succeeded him, he also married her, but she had no issue by him; and he being deposed and murdered in 1185, she, instead of returning to *France*,

espoused *Theodore Bramas*, lord of *Adrianople* (2). *Lewis* was interred at *Barbeau* on the *Seine*, in a monastery of his own foundation, where his widow, queen *Adela*, caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to his memory. *Charles* IX. caused this tomb to be opened, and found his body intire; he had a gold cross hanging at his neck, and three or four rings upon his fingers. *Charles* made a present of the cross, and wore the rings himself, in honour of his predecessor (3). As for his relict queen *Adela*, after governing the kingdom as regent, during her son's expedition into the *Levant*, she died at *Paris*, June 4th, 1206, being upwards of threescore, and was buried at the abbey of *Pontigny* (4).

(2) Du Chesne.

(3) Le Gendre.

(4) Duplex, Mezerey, Henault.

a this opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the king's family ; but *Philip*, and the count of *Flanders*, marching directly towards him with a numerous army, *Henry*, who was unwilling to come to extremities, demanded a conference, which did great honour to the abilities of the young king ; for as, on the one hand, he remained firm in the measures he had taken, notwithstanding all the address of this wise and great prince, so, on the other, he would not listen to the arguments used by the earl of *Flanders*, to reject absolutely all propositions of peace. He professed great duty and respect for his mother, offered to pass by all that happened, with respect to the lords of her faction, and to receive them again into his favour ; which they thought fit to accept^c. It was not long before the count of *Flanders* began to take this in a wrong light, and to form intrigues in his turn, into which, amongst the first that entered, b were the cardinal of *Champagne* and one of the queen dowager's brothers ; the duke of *Burgundy* also, tho' a prince of the blood, embraced the same party, and the avowed motive to their confederacy was the young monarch's popularity^d. *Philip*, not caring to trust the nobility that still remained about him, raised an army with his own money, took one of the principal fortresses of the duke of *Burgundy*, and in it his son, on which the duke demanded pardon, and the rest, following his example, submitted^e.

THE death of the countess of *Flanders* caused new disturbances. She was a princess of the royal blood, and the heiress of the count of *Vermandois*. The king, as she died without issue, was for annexing her estates to the crown ; but the count pretended, that the late king had made him a grant of this succession, which *Philip* had confirmed : the king owned this, c but affirmed the grant to be only for the countess's life. However, both parties took the field ; the emperor threatened to take part with the earl of *Flanders*, who appeared to be highly irritated, and laboured to engage the nobility to make it a common cause, pretending the king had nothing else in view but to unite one fief with another^f. *Philip* pressed him so vigorously, and his friends assisted him so faintly, that the count first demanded a truce, and at length at was glad to make peace, the king leaving him the towns of *Perron* and *St. Quintin* for his life, and annexing the rest of the county of *Vermandois* to the crown. The young king *Henry* of *England*, dying in *France*, expressed, in his last moments, great regret for the continual disturbance he had given his father, which affected *Henry* so much, that he appeared inconsolable for his death^g. The same year he had a conference with king *Philip*, d who insisted upon the restitution of the town of *Gisors* and the *Vexin*, which had been given in dowry to his sister *Margaret*, on her marriage with the young king. In order to gain the affection of *Philip*, and prevent this restitution, the king of *England* did homage to him for all the lands he held in *France*, and, at the same time, promised, that in case the like dowry was given to the princess *Alice*, his son *Richard*, who was now become his heir apparent, should espouse her without any farther delay ; to which *Philip* assented, and the two kings parted, in all appearance well satisfied^h. A. D. 1182. 1183.

THIS harmony did not last long. *Henry* had it not at all in his intention that his son *Richard* should marry *Alice*, for whom he was thought to have a strong passion himself, to which the *French* writers ascribe the jealousy of queen *Eleanor*, and the king's keeping her as he did e a prisoner for twelve years before his death. *Geoffrey*, duke of *Bretagne*, *Henry*'s second son, and by much the best of them all, quarrelled with his father, because he would not add the country of *Maine* to his dominions, and went thereupon, in great discontent, to *Paris*, where, being thrown from his horse at a tournament, he died of the bruises he received ; king *Philip* retaining under his protection his widow, his daughter *Eleanor*, and his posthumous son *Arthur*, with which *Henry* was much offendedⁱ. The count of *Flanders* and the emperor gave the king some disturbance, but his firmness and good fortune soon extricated him out of these, as it had done out of former difficulties ; but on the side of the king of *England* he was able to procure no satisfaction. At length, therefore, he declared war ; and, having taken some places of less consequence, besieged *Chateauroux*, in which were the two princes of *Eng-* f *land*, *Richard* and *John* ; but they made so good a defence, that *Henry* had time to come to their relief ; upon which *Philip* raised the siege, and marched to give him battle^k. At this juncture arrived a legate from the pope, to intercede with the two kings, and to engage them to lay aside their private quarrels, and take the cross in favour of the Christians, from whom the famous *Saladine* had taken *Jerusalem*. *Henry* having solemnly promised, that, at their return from this expedition, all things should be adjusted to the satisfaction of *Philip*, the two kings, and, moved by their example, the most of the great lords in both armies, took the cross, which, of his own free will, prince *Richard* had taken before^l. A. D. 1187.

^c RIGORD. NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.^d WILHEL. Britonis Philippidos.

MEZERAY.

^e P. VIRG.^f Annales Francorum.^g R. HOVEDEN.^h P. DANIEL.ⁱ RIGORD. R. HOVEDEN.

DUPLIX.

^k P. DANIEL.^l Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti.

A new quarrel between the kings, in which Richard, count of Poitou, sides with Philip against his father.

KING *Philip*, in order to defray the expences of such a war, laid heavy taxes upon the clergy, at which they murmured exceedingly, but which the king, nevertheless, caused to be raised, and to which in those days they gave the name of the tax of *Saladine*. But while the king was thus employed, prince *Richard*, when it was least expected, made a furious irruption into the territories of *Raymond*, count of *Thoulouse*, in pursuance of the old quarrel, which, as we observed, *Henry* kept open, on purpose to afford colour for such incursions. The monarch of *France* was no sooner informed of this, than he made a diversion in favour of count *Raymond*, by invading the territories which *Henry* possessed in *France*^m. The monarch, with an alacrity little suitable to his years, advanced with an army to their relief; but his success was not equal to his spirit, and therefore demanded a conference, at which he desired, that, instead of *Richard*, the princess *Alice* might espouse his son *John*, which was rejected, there being a secret understanding between *Philip* and the prince of *England*ⁿ. The pope's legate interposed upon this, and went so far as to threaten *Philip* with an excommunication; but the king told him, that he held his crown from God, and not from the pope, who had no right to prescribe how he should behave to his vassal; insinuating at the same time, that the legate's zeal was prompted by king *Henry's* gold. As for *Richard*, he was so much incensed, that he was very near killing the legate upon the spot, and, being hindered, shewed his resentment by doing homage to king *Philip*, and retiring to the *French* camp; so that these broils, which had been so lately appeased, were now more inflamed than ever^o.

Peace once more restored, which is immediately followed by king Henry's death.

THE king, with prince *Richard*, as soon as they were able to assemble troops sufficient, attacked the city of *Mons*, which, though it was the strongest place in all *Henry's French* territories, was taken in the space of three days, by an accident; for the governor having given directions for burning the suburbs, this was performed in such a hurry, that the flame caught the town. King *Henry*, who was there in person, escaped with difficulty, being warmly pursued by *Philip* and *Richard*. He retired to *Chinon*, where he determined to defend himself to the last extremity; but, before things were brought to this pass, the count of *Flanders*, and other great lords, represented to king *Philip*, that they could not, with a safe conscience, serve him against a monarch who had taken the cross, and thereby impede the recovery of *Jerusalem*, which constrained him once more to admit of a conference^p. The two kings discoursing together on horseback, were parted by a dreadful clap of thunder, which fell between them. However, they came together again, and, after three hours conversation, the terms of the peace were settled; the places taken from the king of *England* were to be restored, king *Philip* was to have a large sum in ready money, *Richard* was to be crowned as his brother *Henry* had been, and then to espouse the princess *Alice*; but this solemnity was to be deferred till their return from the *Holy Land*, and, in the mean time, the princess was to be put into such hands as *Philip* should approve. When all was adjusted, *Henry* observed to *Philip*, that princes had a common interest against traitors; and insisted so passionately to see the association, by which he had been invited to invade his dominions, that at length he did^q. But as soon as *Henry* saw his favourite son *John's* name at the head of it, he flew into a transport of passion, which affected him in such a manner, that he was carried back to *Chinon*, and died there speedily, rather of discontent than disease^r. By this means *Philip* lost a dangerous and implacable enemy; and his friend *Richard*, whom he had always supported against his father, acquired that crown he had so eagerly pursued, tho', in some measure, at the expence of his reputation, the world in general condemning his conduct.

Philip and the young king of England prepare to go to the Holy Land against the infidels.

THE two kings seemed to be equally satisfied and at ease. *Philip* had considerable claims on *Richard*, on account of the succours furnished to him in his father's time; but, upon his declaring frankly that it would be very inconvenient for him to comply with them at that juncture, *Philip* very generously passed it by. They then concluded an alliance as kings, and swore perpetual fidelity as friends, without considering that their manners were too much alike for any oaths to restrain, or leagues to bind them. They were in their persons tall, well made, and robust men; active, brave, magnificent, free in their discourse, and full of a sprightly kind of wit, that however bordered upon levity: their vices also were much the same, for they were ambitious in a supreme degree, hasty in their tempers, addicted to women, avaricious, or rather greedy of money, that they might squander; and, in fine, immoderately fond of praise, and ready to run any hazard to acquire it. The expedition to the *Holy Land* appeared to these princes an enterprize that was to cover them with immortal glory; and having once entertained this notion, they could neither of them be brought to consider it in another light^s. Some of the wisest men in his council laboured to undeceive *Philip*, and to dissuade him from going in person; but his mother, and the cardinal of

^m RICORD. DU TILLET.

ⁿ WILHEL. Britonis Philip.

^o Appendix ad Chronicon Sigebert.

^p LE GENDRE.

^q NICOL. TRIVET. MEZ.

^r MATH. PARIS.

P. VIRG.

^s WIL. Brit. Philip.

POLYD. VIRG.

- a *Rheims*, out of an ambitious desire of governing in his absence, frustrated their intention. He took, however, the precaution of limiting their authority by an instrument, to which he gave the name and form of a *Testament*, and appointed overseers to look to its execution, which they did not expect. Before his departure he received the homage of the queen dowager of *England* for the duchy of *Guienne*, which she held in her own right; and, to defray the expences of this prodigious armament, exposed to sale the great charge of his household, the domain of the crown, and whatever else would fetch money. All things being adjusted, the two kings marched with their armies as far as *Lyons*; and there *Philip* took the route of the *Alps*, in order to embark at *Genoa*; and *Richard* proceeded to the coast, in order to meet his fleet, which was appointed to rendezvous at *Marseilles*, under a solemn engagement to meet again in *Sicily*, and to proceed from thence, in conjunction, to the coast of *Syria* ^c.

- TANCRED was at this time in possession of that island, with the regal title; but he was held to be an intruder in prejudice to *Constance*, the wife of the emperor *Henry*, with whom *Philip* was in close alliance: on the other hand, he held the queen dowager *Joan* close prisoner, who was king *Richard*'s sister, and consequently had no great reason to be fond of such guests. *Philip* arrived first, and was tolerably well treated, and behaved civilly on his side. When *Richard* arrived, he demanded that his sister should be presently sent him, and full satisfaction for the large legacies left to his father by the deceased king of *Sicily*, which *Tancred* laboured to decline. Upon this *Richard* attacked the city of *Messina*, and was very near coming to a rupture with king *Philip*, who, with part of his forces, was in the city when it was attacked. He consented, however, to admit of his mediation, and, by the decree of the *French* king, *Tancred* was to be left in peaceable possession, and to pay king *Richard* forty thousand ounces of gold in full satisfaction for his claims ^d. *Tancred*, who had flattered himself with the *French* king's protection, was so much vexed with the disappointment, that he made his court to king *Richard*, and produced to him a letter, whether forged or genuine is not very clear, in which *Philip* encouraged him to attack the *English*, and particularly their king, with a promise to assist him with all his forces. This produced, as he expected, a very high quarrel between these princes; *Richard* charged *Philip* with having attempted against his life, and *Philip* accused *Richard* of insisting upon a forged letter, and publishing many falsehoods ^e. But, after all, their interests obliged them to be friends; and they therefore thought it best to discuss the real dispute between them, which was the marriage of the princess *Alice*, a point which *Richard* without ceremony rejected for reasons before-mentioned, and because his mother was treating of another marriage for him in *Navarre*; but very honourably offered to restore the places that had been so long detained for her dowry. The treaty being, without much difficulty, adjusted, a new misunderstanding happened; for *Philip* insisted that *Richard*, with his forces, should depart with him, which the king of *England* declared to be impossible, because he had a mind to wait for his young wife, whom his mother had promised to bring thither. *Philip*, afraid that he should return into *France*, and attack his dominions in his absence, laboured all he could to induce the *French* lords that followed *Richard* to proceed with him; and, having engaged the greatest part of them, sailed for the coast of *Syria*, and left the king of *England* in *Sicily* ^f. These transactions are related with many more circumstances, and not a few variations, according to the disposition of the authors who committed them to writing. The nature of our plan requires we should be succinct; and therefore we have represented these facts with as much clearness and impartiality as was in our power, and with the least interruption that might be to the thread of our narration.

- AT the time of his arrival, *Philip* found the affairs of the Christians in a very untoward situation. They were engaged in the siege of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, having lain before it more than a year, which in reality was no great wonder, considering that, for the best part of the time, the army without was scarce equal to the garrison within. As if these difficulties had not been enough, the Christians were upon bad terms with each other, and this on account of a divided title to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which city was in the hands of the infidels. *Guy de Lusignan* had been acknowledged king in right of his wife, who was the eldest sister of the last monarch: but this princess being dead, without leaving any issue, the marquis of *Montferrat* claimed the crown in right of the youngest sister, who was his consort; whereas *Guy* insisted, that, having once been invested with the regal dignity, he was king for life ^g. When king *Richard* landed, after conquering the island of *Cyprus* by the way, he augmented the confusion, for he took part with *Guy de Lusignan*, who was his subject; and perhaps it was chiefly for this reason that *Philip* took part with the marquis of *Montferrat*. With much difficulty things were so far compromised, as to suspend all proceedings till the place was taken,

^c Annales Francorum. BOULAINVIL.
NIEL.
DEN.

^d WIL. Brit. Philip. lib. iv. Annal. Francorum. HENAUT.

^e GULIELM. NEUBRIG.

^f LE GENDRE. P. DAVY
RIGORD. R. HOVE-

which being vigorously attacked, was quickly yielded by capitulation. As soon as *Acon* was a in the hands of the Christians, *Philip* took a resolution of returning into his own dominions, because the climate was prejudicial to his health; and, which perhaps weighed with him more, that he might not remain in the same country with *Richard*, who, if the *French* historians are to be believed, was continually raising new quarrels, and always in the wrong; and, if we listen to other authors, these practices ought not to be ascribed to *Richard*, but to *Philip*^z. It is very probable they might be both in the wrong, but it is very certain they could never agree, and therefore *Philip*'s resolution of leaving the army might not be so injurious to the common cause as it is generally represented. At parting he left a considerable body of *French* troops under *Eudes* of *Burgundy*, with orders to obey *Richard*, to whom also he promised, A. D. 1191. with a solemn oath, not to attack his dominions, or to dispossess any of his vassals. But how b sincerely he acted in this matter may appear from hence; that, landing in the kingdom of *Naples*, he took *Rome* in his way home, and earnestly solicited pope *Celestin* III. to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to *Richard*, but without effect^a. He landed in *France* about *Christmas*, and was received with great joy by his subjects, tho' the manner in which he had left the *Holy Land* did not raise his reputation with other princes, who apprehended his taking advantage of *Richard*'s absence.

Philip espouses Ingerburge, a Danish princess, in hopes of ally- ing them against Eng- land. It appeared soon after his return, that he had an implacable aversion, and, at the same time, a deep dread of the *English* monarch. The marquis of *Montferrat* had been slain in the midst of the city of *Tyre*, by some of the *Assassins*; a bold and barbarous nation, from whose prac- tices this word has been adopted into most languages. *Philip* no sooner heard of this, than, c remembering that *Richard* was the enemy of the marquis, he conjectured that he had applied to the *Old Man of the Mountain*, so the prince of those wicked men was stiled, and had pro- cured from him these instruments of his vengeance; from whence he deduced this consequence, that, being no less hated by *Richard*, he might be in as much danger. Upon this, by the advice of his council, he formed a particular corps of guards, armed with iron maces, whom he had about his person night and day, and who suffered no stranger to approach him^b. He likewise dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, to pacify the prince of the *Assassins*; but, when they came to his court, the *Old Man of the Mountain* told them plainly, that he had no resentment against their master; that he had never been solicited by the king of *England* to his prejudice; and that he had caused the marquis of *Montferrat* to be killed, because he looked d upon him as his enemy, and without having any correspondence with *Richard*^c. *Philip* in the mean time had his head full of intrigues, entered into a close alliance with *John*, the brother, but the mortal enemy of king *Richard*; and his own queen *Isabella* being dead in his absence, he resolved to marry *Ingerburge*, the daughter of *Waldemar*, and the sister of *Cannute* king of *Denmark*, without any other portion than the transferring to him the whole claim of the *Danes* upon *England*, and affording him the assistance of a fleet; but the court of *Denmark* declining this proposition, he was content to take this princess with the small fortune that they offered; yet, before her arrival, the marriage was not very acceptable to the *French*^d, tho' her merit procured her afterwards the esteem of the whole nation.

A. D. 1192. It seems that *Richard* had intelligence of these proceedings in *Syria*; and on account of e them, as well as because of a grievous fit of sickness, he determined to return; but in his passage home he was shipwrecked on the coast of *Dalmatia*, and endeavouring to pass in disguise through the country of *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, whom he had highly offended at the siege of *Acon*, he was discovered and taken prisoner. After much ill usage, the duke sold him to the emperor, *Henry VI.* who was of a harsh disposition, necessitous, and avaricious. He gave notice of this as an acceptable piece of news to king *Philip*, who offered him a large sum of money for his prisoner, which he refused^e. The king and prince *John* now entered into a new bargain, by which the latter was to deliver up several places, and to leave the king at liberty to despoil *Richard* of what he thought proper in *Normandy*, while himself used his utmost endeavours to get possession of the crown of *England*. And in order to give these dis- f honourable measures some kind of colour, *Philip* sent to denounce war against *Richard* in his prison, and then assembled an army to invade his territories. The nobility of *France* obeyed him very unwillingly; they put him in mind of his oath, of the scandal of attacking a prince who was still under the cross, and the inhumanity of making war upon one who was in no condition to resist him. *Philip* pretended that he had no intention to spoil *Richard* of his dominions, or to take any thing but what of right belonged to himself, insisting chiefly on the treaty that had been made between them in *Sicily*, in which *Richard* had stipulated to deliver up the town of *Gisors* and the *Vexin*: he added, that he was bound to deliver up his sister,

^z WIL. Brit. Philip. lib. iv. N. TRIVET. Annal. CHALONS. ^a Monach. Acconens. MEZ. ^b Ap-
pendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti. ^c R. DE HOVEDEN. ^d RIGORD. DU TILLET. MEZ. ^e Annales
Francorum. LE GENDRE.

- a who was kept prisoner in the citadel of *Rouen*^f. He quickly regained the places which he claimed, and afterwards made himself master of *Evreux*, which he gave to prince *John*, the castle excepted, into which he put a strong garrison. He also besieged *Rouen* without effect. There is no doubt that this usage must have irritated *Richard*, who, notwithstanding, found himself obliged to dissemble; for having discovered that the emperor was inclined to sell him to *Philip*, or at least to take money to keep him in prison, he directed *William*, bishop of *Ely*, his chancellor, to pass over into *France*, and apply himself to king *Philip* to desist from these intrigues, and to allow him to make the best terms for himself he could; to which, out of A. D. 1177. mere shame, and to avoid the reproaches of his nobility, the king consented, and the old queen dowager, with infinite difficulty, procured him the best part of his ransom; but we may judge of the true disposition of *Philip* by the message he sent to prince *John*, when he heard that king *Richard* was at length released, "Take care of yourself, for the devil is unchained;" language unworthy of so great a man, much more of so great a king^g!

- TREATIES made by force, or with no just intention, seldom subsist long. *Richard* had prevailed upon the emperor, and the most considerable princes in *Germany*, to threaten *Philip* with an invasion, if he did not surrender all the places he had taken. Upon which the king, considering this as a declaration of war, invaded *Normandy*, and besieged *Vernueil*; and, as soon as he had the news, *Richard* passed with an army, and a fleet of upwards of a hundred sail, from *England*, and debarked at *Barfleur*, from whence he marched with great rapidity to give *Philip* battle^h. His brother *John*, who saw himself now at his mercy, resolved, if he could, to recover his favour, and if possible his confidence. The method he took was singular, as well as perfidious. He invited the *French* officers at *Evreux* to an entertainment, and, when they had drank plentifully, caused them to be cut to pieces, to the number of three hundred, and placed their heads upon stakes along the wall; which so far had its effect, as it convinced the king his brother that a reconciliation would never be in his power. *Philip* no sooner received this news, than, leaving his camp in the night with a choice body of troops, he marched with such expedition, that he easily surprised *Evreux*, put all the *English* he found to the sword, with most of the inhabitants, and burnt the place to the groundⁱ. His revenge cost him very dear: his army, not being in the secret of the expedition, finding the king gone, and having intelligence that *Richard* was very near, abandoned their camp and their baggage, and dispersed to their respective homes. There followed upon this a negotiation, which came to nothing, because *Philip* insisted upon an indemnity for those who had taken arms against *Richard*, to which he would not consent^k. *Philip* being again in the field, the *English* monarch laboured all that was in his power to bring him to a battle: and, at length, finding him in the neighbourhood of *Vendosme*, encamped so near that it could not well be avoided. *Philip* made use of an artifice, which failed him: he sent a message to *Richard*, that, if he remained on the same ground, he would give him battle; to which the king of *England* returned for answer, that he would find him ready, and that if he failed he would come the next day and attack him. The design of the king of *France* was to retire, which *Richard* penetrated, and began to advance as soon as the messenger returned, attacked and routed the army on their march, and took the *French* chancery which then attended the king; so that, by this unlucky accident, all the titles of the crown fell into the possession of *Richard*, to the irreparable loss of the *French* nation^l. *Philip*, notwithstanding, made an irruption, not long after, into *Normandy*, with success; and though the pope's legate made great efforts to bring about a treaty, yet they produced only a truce, which lasted but a little time, which was owing to a chimerical project of the emperor, who, with the assistance of king *Richard*, proposed to render the realm of *France* a fief of the empire^m. Upon this *Richard* recommenced hostilities, which were now carried on with unusual fury on both sides. In a little time, however, both kings perceived that wasting their country, and destroying their people, must necessarily turn to their mutual loss, without rendering either of them great; and therefore, in the month of *November*, they concluded a truce, and the next year a decisive peace, upon equal terms; by which the princess *Alice* recovered her liberty, and soon after espoused the count of *Ponthieu*, after being the source of so much discord and bloodshed between the two nationsⁿ.

THE peace of *Louviers*, as it was called, from the place where it was made, seemed to promise a lasting tranquillity to the dominions of the two kings; notwithstanding which it was broke in six months. *Philip* pretended to take offence at king *Richard*'s having dispossessed one of his vassals, and rased his fortress; and, without making any application for redress, renewed the war by besieging *Aumale*. *Richard* was very soon in the field, and hosti-

A new war between the monarchs of France and England, which is ter-

^f POLYDOR. VIRGIL. *nales Francorum.*

^g Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti. P. DAN.

GORD. R. HOVEDEN.

^h G. NEUBRIG. P. VIRG.

ⁱ Annales Francorum. P. ÆMIL.

^k P. ÆMIL. An-

^l Ri-

^m R. DE MONTE. MEZ.

ⁿ WIL. BRIT. ROG. HOVED.

minated by a
peace under the
mediation of
the count of
Flanders.

lities were carried on for some time with a variety of success. The *English* monarch, whom a
experience had taught caution, and his frequent mistakes address, managed his affairs at this
time in a way very different from what he had hitherto done. He detached the count of *Tou-*
louse from the party of king *Philip*, by giving him his sister *Joan* in marriage, the widow
of *William* king of *Sicily*; he brought over the *Bretons* to his interest, by insinuating to the
young duke *Arthur*, or rather to his ministers, that he might render him his successor; and
he engaged *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders* in his alliance, by suggesting that it was the only way to
recover the rich country of *Artois*, which, in virtue of his first marriage, *Philip* had re-
annexed to the crown. By these treaties, and by receiving all who were aggrieved, or thought
themselves aggrieved, by *Philip*, he caused him to be attacked on every side, and brought b
him into very great difficulties. *Philip*, however, brought himself into greater; for, giv-
ing a loose to his resentment, and relying upon that good fortune which hitherto had attended
him in his exploits, he exposed himself like a young man, without any consideration of the
numbers he attacked, or was attacked by; which, tho' not fatal to himself, proved exceed-
ingly so to the best of his troops, and to the nobility most attached to his person. Hearing
that *Arras* was besieged by the count of *Flanders*, he turned his whole forces on that side,
and marched against him with a very numerous army. The count, knowing his inferiority,
raised the siege, and retired: the king, hurried by his passions, followed him till he found
himself so entangled in a country full of marshes, dykes, and inclosures, that he was unable to
advance, or to procure provisions for his army. In these circumstances he was constrained to c
treat with the count, and, by fair promises, procured his leave to retire. Upon this *Bald-*
win became a mediator between the two kings, and laboured assiduously to make peace. His
good intention was not followed by the success that he expected; and all that it produced
was a truce for a year, when the war broke out again with greater fury than ever, till at length,
A. D. 1199. pope *Innocent* the third interposing, the two kings consented to a truce for five years. It was
on the point of being broken almost as soon as it was made, if it had not been prevented by the
activity and address of the cardinal legate, who managed several conferences between the two
kings, and at last brought them to relish a plan for a solid peace; but, before it could be
concluded, *Richard* was unfortunately slain before an inconsiderable castle, which he besieged,
in hopes of taking from one of his vassals a great mass of gold, which he had found hid in d
the earth.

King Philip
compelled to
return to
queen Inger-
berge, and the
death of his
mistress.

THE death of king *Richard* was one of the most fortunate events that could have fallen out
for king *Philip*; but, before we enter into any detail of the events that followed it, it may
be requisite to give a succinct account of the troubles that happened in *France* from the king's
second marriage. We have shewn the motives upon which it was concluded; and tho' *In-*
gerberge was a princess of great beauty and merit, yet the king was so disgusted the first night
of their marriage, that he separated from her immediately, and would have sent her home
again; but, as she appeared very averse, he contented himself with placing her in a monastery,
where she had a handsome allowance, and where her modesty, piety, and patience, gained her
universal esteem. This, however, did not hinder some of the bishops of *France* from gra-
tifying the king, on the old pretence of alliance in blood, made out from a pedigree not over c
well founded, with a divorce; in virtue of which he thought himself at liberty to espouse,
three years after the marriage of this princess, *Agnes de Merania*, daughter to the duke of
Dalmatia; but, upon the complaint of the king of *Denmark* to pope *Celestin*, he caused an
inquiry to be made into this matter, and declared the second marriage null. *Philip* solicited
pope *Innocent* for a reversion of his sentence, which was granted; yet it served only to create
delay; and at length the cardinal legate intimated the pope's sentence, "that he was to put
away *Agnes*, and take back his queen." The king not complying, the pope proceeded to
an interdict, which subsisted about seven months; at which *Philip* was so provoked, that he
seized the temporalities of the bishops, imprisoned the canons of cathedral churches, laid im-
positions on the inferior clergy, and at length taxed his lay subjects in a most oppressive man- f
ner; all which it was in his power to do, because, contrary to the custom of his predecessors,
he kept up a standing army of mercenary troops. All this having no effect, he grew tired
of living in such a state of violence, and, applying to the pope, promised intire submission, in
case he would suffer the divorce and the second marriage to be once more reviewed. This
was accepted, the interdict removed, and a council appointed at *Soissons* to examine every
thing afresh. Thither *Philip* repaired, and finding, in spite of all his authority and address,
that a decree would be pronounced against him, he sent the legate word, that he had settled the
affair himself; and then leaving *Soissons*, having first taken *Ingerberge* out of her convent

° RIGORD, NICOL. TRIVETI ANNAL. ROG. HOVEDEN.
Sigeberti. ° WIL. BRIT. GUL. NEUBRIG.
DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigebert. Gesta Innocent. III.

P ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron.
° RIGORD. Monach. Aquicinctinus. ° ROB.
° ROG. HOVEDEN. DU TILLET.

a there, carried her behind him on horseback to *Paris*, where he owned her publicly for his queen; for grief of which *Agnes* soon after died^u. But the son and daughter he had by her were legitimated by the pope; which an historian of that time says was but ill received in *France*, where they were by no means satisfied with the pontif's intermeddling in their affairs in such a manner, and more especially by pretending to regulate the succession^w.

ON the death of his brother, *John* mounted the throne of *England*, and took possession likewise of his *French* dominions, in prejudice to his nephew *Arthur*, who at the beginning, however, claimed only *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*. The old queen dowager *Eleanor* was still living, and, by doing homage for *Guienne*, prevented that country from becoming the seat of war. She sided with her son against her grandson, out of pique to his mother *Constance*, who was, like herself, a princess of a very high spirit^x. *Philip*, under colour of protecting *Arthur*, invaded *Normandy*, which *John* came in person to defend; however, from the fickleness of his nature, he grew desirous of making peace at any rate; and *Philip* no sooner perceived this, than he set accommodation at too high a price even for *John* to purchase, notwithstanding the count of *Flanders*, who charged him with breaking his word, had deserted him, and taken part with the king of *England*. At length the old queen dowager devised an expedient, which proved satisfactory to *Philip*^y. She proposed, that his son and heir apparent *Lewis* should espouse *Blanch*, the daughter of *Alonso* king of *Castile*, and the niece of king *John*; who, in case he died without heirs, was to entail the succession to his estates in *France* on the issue of that marriage, and in the mean time was to make a cession of the county of *Evreux* in *Normandy*, with the *Vexin* and other territories, the rights of which had been long contested, to the king. These terms once accepted, the old queen went into *Spain* to fetch the princess, who was to be the seal of this treaty; and the marriage being celebrated in *Normandy*, *Arthur*, whose cause was in some measure abandoned, did homage to his uncle for the duchy of *Bretagne*: and thus for the present, not without a great mixture of injustice, tranquillity was restored^z. Enters into a treaty with John king of England, which is ended by a marriage.

KING *John*, who was a very voluptuous prince, had repudiated *Havise*, the daughter of the earl of *Gloucester*; and having seen *Isabel d'Angoulesme*, who was contracted, if not married, to *Hugues le Brun*, count of *March*, caused her to be carried away from his house, and, by the consent of her father, married her. As this lady was nearly related to king *Philip*, he carried her to *Paris*, where they were treated with the utmost magnificence, and dismissed with all possible demonstrations of the most cordial affection^a. This situation of things very suddenly changed; the count of *March*, resenting the injury done him, and drawing many of the nobility to whom he was allied in blood to his party, began some troubles; which *John*, with great severity, suppressed. Complaints were made upon this to king *Philip*, who wrote in strong terms to the king of *England*; who promised to render justice more readily than he performed it^b. From these small sparks a great flame ensued. *Philip*, who had mighty things in view, encouraged the young prince *Arthur* to set himself at the head of the malecontents, conferred upon him the order of knighthood, and furnished him with a large sum of money to raise forces. The first exploit this young prince attempted with his half-formed army, was the siege of *Mirebeau*, where his grandmother the old queen dowager resided. King *John*, already landed in *Normandy*, marched with great forces to her relief, routed those of his nephew, and took him prisoner^c. This success, which might have been highly advantageous to his affairs, proved his ruin; for having first transferred the poor young prince to *Falaise*, and from thence to the castle of *Rouen*, when he found it utterly impossible to detach him from the *French* interest, either murdered him, as some historians say, with his own hand, or caused him to be murdered, as almost all writers agree. This cruel act rendered him justly odious to all his subjects in *France*; and his mother applying herself for justice to *Philip*, who summoned him to appear and answer to this charge before the court of peers at *Paris*; and, upon his refusal or delay, declared him, according to the ordinary course of justice, convicted of felony, and all the lands he held as fiefs from the crown of *France* confiscated^d. King *John* was at this time in a most deplorable situation; the old queen his mother lately dead, most of his nobility in arms against him, some of his ancient allies employed in the fourth croisade in *Syria*, some dead, and the rest detached from him; so that *Philip* had the fairest opportunity, as well as the most plausible pretence, for depriving him of *Normandy*, and the rest of his dominions in *France*, under colour of executing the sentence of the court of peers; and he was not a prince capable of letting slip even a less promising occasion^e. But That prince, by the murder of his nephew, affords Philip an opportunity of seizing Normandy.

A. 1202.

^u RIG. Invent. des Chartres, tom. vi. Monach. Aquicinct.^x PAUL. ÆMIL. Annal. Francorum.

MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

^c ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

ZERAY, LE GENDRE.

^y WIL. Brit. NICOL. TRIVAT, & al.^a RIGORD, NICOL. TRIVET.

NICOL. TRIVET.

^w CARTULAIRE M. S. de Phil. August.^z ROBERTI DE^b WIL. Brit. MAT. PARIS.^d MAT. PARIS.^e ME-

he did nothing precipitately ; he took care to have all the forms of law on his side, and, while a he was taking these precautions, he assembled a numerous army, with which he undertook the conquest of *Normandy*.

Methods used by Philip to extend the power of the crown at the expence of the great vassals.

A. D. 1203.

1204.

It is not our business to enter into a detail of the campaign, it is sufficient for our purpose to say, that, in less than six months, he either obtained, by intelligence of the principal inhabitants, or reduced by force, all the great towns in *Higher Normandy*, while *John* remained at *Caen* in such a state of inaction, as not only amazed that but all succeeding ages. The strong fortrefs of *Chasteau Gaillard* made a gallant defence ; and *John*, as if he had waked out of a sleep, assembled a strong fleet and army for its relief ; but a concurrence of unfortunate accidents rendering his efforts ineffectual, he, in a fit of distraction, returned to *England*, and seemed to abandon all^f. *Philip*, taking advantage of this, reduced all *Lower Normandy* with the same facility ; insomuch that *John* had nothing left but the city of *Rouen*, the inhabitants of which, from a true spirit of loyalty and independency, defended themselves bravely ; neither did they surrender, till, acquainting *John* with their distress, he returned them for answer, that, being able to afford them no relief, they must make the best terms for themselves they could : and thus, after a separation of three hundred years, *Normandy* was again united to the crown of *France*^g. This success, far from satisfying, served only to raise and inflame the ambition of *Philip*, who carried the war into the countries of *Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Touraine*, the best part of which he subdued with the same ease that he had done *Normandy*. He saw clearly the superiority he had, and resolved to press it to the utmost. The count of *Flanders* was in *Syria*, the count of *Champagne* a child under his tutelage, the count of *Thoulouse* embarrassed with the court of *Rome*, who treated him as a heretic ; in short he was free from all the restraints by which his predecessors were in a manner tied down, and he thought the best use he could make of it, was to transmit that liberty which himself enjoyed to his posterity and successors^h. The only error he committed was shewing his sentiments too plainly, and behaving towards some of the nobility as if that was already done, which was only in a fair way of being done ; a thing inexcusable in a politician ; but after all, even wise men are but men. *Guy de Tours*, who was become duke of *Bretagne* by the marriage of *Constance* the mother of prince *Arthur*, and the heiress of that duchy, had, during her life, acted as warmly as any against the *English* ; but that princess being dead, and perceiving plainly what was the intention of *Philip*, he laboured as much as in him lay to make king *John* sensible of the weak part he had acted, and to persuade him not to desert such of his subjects as yet remained faithful, and were willing to risque all to preserve what was still remaining of his dominions in *France*ⁱ. Moved by these remonstrances, and encouraged by his promises, that monarch came with a fleet and army to *Rochelle* ; but the fortune of *Philip* prevailed. *John* received at the beginning various checks, which made him glad to accept a truce for two years, and the duke of *Bretagne*, being left to the king's mercy, was forced to make peace upon the best terms he could obtain ; which was an event highly acceptable to *Philip*, who desired nothing so much as an opportunity of punishing or humbling his vassals^k.

From the same motive connives at the pope's publishing a croisade against the count of Thoulouse.

In the midst of these transactions, a new and very extraordinary scene opened itself in *France*. The popes having found a way to raise armies when, where, and against whom they pleased, by the preaching of a few hair-brained furious monks, resolved to make trial of it in *Europe* against those they stiled heretics, as they had done in *Asia* against the infidels. *Raymond* count of *Thoulouse*, who was a man of free principles, permitted persons of all opinions to reside in his territories, provided their morals were sound, and they did nothing against the public peace. These heretics, as they were stiled, did not agree intirely in sentiments, and it was no wonder, since, in reality, they were driven out of the church of *Rome* by a clear sense of her corruptions, or were the remains of the ancient *Gothic* churches, who were never infected with them^l. To these people, because they lived about *Albi*, they gave the name of *Albigois* ; against whom, at the instance of *Dominic* and his disciples, pope *Innocent* the third published a croisade, in order to exterminate with the sword such as would not be converted with preaching^m. This pious commission was offered to king *Philip*, who refused it, but connived at the execution of it, or perhaps durst not oppose it. *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, and afterwards *Simon de Montfort*, were at the head of these miscreants, who stiled themselves the army of the church, and most blasphemously intitled God to all the sacrileges, robberies, and murders, which they committed ; desolating all the fine provinces in the south of *France*, destroying not only those they stiled heretics, but also the catholics that lived amongst them : upon all which *Philip* looked with silence, believing that the miseries the

^f J. DE SERRES, P. DANIEL.
ÆMILIUS, Annal. Francorum.
MAT. PARIS.

^g ROB. DE MONT. ad Chron. Sigeberti.
^h RIGORD. NICOL. TRIVET. POLYD. VIRG.

ⁱ MEZERAY, CHALONS.

^k ROG. DE HOV. Hist. Albig.

^l MAT. PARIS, P.
^m WIL. BRIT. Phil.

a people suffered, and the destruction of the nobility in those parts, would pave the way for extending his authority, the only object of which he never lost sight ^a.

THE pope, having once got this new weapon in his hand, imagined himself to be invincible, and was consequently for employing it where-ever he found the least resistance. *John* king of *England* had refused to admit cardinal *Stephen Langton* in quality of legate from the holy see, because he looked upon him as a man wholly devoted to *France*; and this provoked the pope to such a degree, that he put the kingdom of *England* under an interdict ^b. This brought a furious persecution on the bishops who obeyed it, inasmuch that they were obliged to take refuge in *France*. Pope *Innocent*, upon this, resolved to keep no farther measures, excommunicated the king, and gave his dominions to the first occupier, assigning the same indulgences to such as fought against this prince, as if they had taken the cross against the infidels. The legates from *Rome* having proposed this expedition to *Philip*, he readily accepted it, knowing that some time or other an attempt would be made to wring *Normandy* from him, believing it rather his interest to carry the war into *England* than to expect it at home; and besides, being desirous to employ his son prince *Lewis*, who, without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention, had taken the cross against the *Albigensis*; which, he supposed, might be dispensed with by his service against the *English* ^c. Many of the great lords, either out of vain-glory, the desire of obtaining estates in that island, or out of pure caprice, applauded his design, and promised to follow him. *Philip* spent much time in forming an army suitable to so great an undertaking, and in preparing a vast fleet, which, if the *French* authors are to be credited, consisted of no less than seventeen hundred sail. The king of *England*, on the other hand, made also great preparations, gathered together an army of sixty thousand men, and had also a formidable fleet at *Portsmouth*, upon which he might have relied; but either from his own suspicions or the fidelity of his subjects, or from the natural fickleness of his temper, he changed his scheme on a sudden, made the meanest submissions to the pope in the person of his legate cardinal *Pandolph*, by which he procured absolution; and when *Philip* expected all the assistance that the authority of the see of *Rome* could give him, he was threatened with an excommunication if he proceeded in his attempt; but this was not the motive that induced him to desist ^d.

THE great peril he was in had awakened so much sense in king *John*, that, with great secrecy and much address, he had negotiated a league upon the continent for the destruction of *France*, and, as it was perfectly well concerted, they had proceeded to divide the bear's skin; *Ferdinand* count of *Flanders* was to have the city of *Paris* and the *Isle of France*, the count of *Bologne* the *Vermandois*, *John* himself the provinces beyond the *Loire*, and his nephew the emperor *Otho Burgundy* and *Champagne* ^e. *Raymond* count of *Toulouse*, and the rest of the princes who had been so ill treated by the crusade, had likewise promised to make a diversion on their side. *Philip* was no sooner acquainted with this confederacy, than he turned all his forces against the count of *Flanders*, ravaged all the flat country, and laid siege to *Ghent*; to facilitate which, he ordered his fleet to repair to the port of *Dam*. He was quickly obliged to raise the siege, by the news that the squadrons of king *John* had taken three hundred of his ships laden with all sorts of ammunition and military stores, sunk a hundred more, and blocked up all the rest in the haven and canal ^f. They had likewise the boldness to debark a small body of troops, which, marching directly towards the *French* camp, *Philip* surprised and cut the best part of them to pieces; which trivial success could not console him for the loss he had already sustained, and much less for that which followed; since, having no other way to keep them out of the hands of the *English*, he was constrained to order all the rest of his fleet to be burnt ^g. King *John*, animated by this little gleam of prosperity, transported a considerable army to *Rochelle*, where he no sooner landed than the *Poitevins* revolted in his favour; he afterwards made himself master of *Angiers*, the fortifications of which had been demolished, and were by him repaired: in fine, he ravaged all the country as far as the frontiers of *Bretagne* ^h. *Philip*, foreseeing the ill consequences that might attend this unexpected diversion, sent his son *Lewis* with a considerable force to oppose him. Some of the *French* historians say, that, upon his approach, king *John* decamped so precipitately, that he left his heavy baggage and engines of war behind him; but others assure us there were faults on both sides, that the *Poitevins*, afraid of being treated as rebels, abandoned the field; and that a great part of the *French* army, being seized with the like panic, behaved as ill; but, however this matter passed, it seems to be certain, that king *John* retired to his castle at *Partenai*, resolved to wait there for the event of the campaign in *Flanders*, where the best of his own troops were, and indeed the combined forces of the whole confederacy,

Is deceived in his hopes of gaining England in quality of a papal champion.

Finds himself, on the contrary, attacked by king John, and a most powerful confederacy.

A. D. 1213.

^a ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. Annales Francorum. ^c WIL. Brit. Phil. l. x. Chron. Belgii.

^b WIL. Brit. Phil. ^d MAT. PARIS. ^e P. ÆMIL. ^f MAT. PARIS, PAUL. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum, ^g DUPLEIX.

under the command of the emperor in person: and as there never was a campaign of more importance to *France* than this, we shall be obliged to treat it more particularly, tho' at the same time as succinctly as possible ^w.

The important
victory at
Bouvines.

A. D. 1214.

KING *Philip* believing it more honourable, and not at all more dangerous, to meet than to expect his enemies, advanced as far as *Tournay*, with an army of fifty thousand men, the flower of his forces, and commanded by the principal nobility of *France*, such as *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, *Robert* count of *Dreux*, *Philip* his brother, *Peter Courtenai* count of *Nevers*, all, in the modern stile, princes of the blood, *Stephen* count of *Sancerre*, *John* count of *Ponthieu*, *Gaucher* count of *St. Paul*, twenty-two other lords carrying banners, twelve hundred knights, and between six and seven thousand gens-d'armes ^x. The emperor *Otho*, on the other side, had with him the earl of *Salisbury*, bastard brother to king *John*, *Ferdinand* count of *Flanders*, *Rainald* count of *Bologne*, *Otho* duke of *Limburgh*, *William* duke of *Brabant*, *Henry* duke of *Lorrain*, *Philip* count of *Namur*, seven or eight *German* princes, thirty bannerets, and an army superior in number to that of *Philip*. The two armies met near the village of *Bouvines*, on the 27th of *July*^y. The emperor laboured to outstretch the *French* line, giving the command of the right wing to the earl of *Flanders*, the left to the count of *Boulogne*, and remained himself in the center, encircled by his great lords. The army of *France* was disposed in order of battle by brother *Guerin* of the order of the knights hospitallers, and bishop elect of *Senlis*; and to the excellent disposition he made cotemporary writers ascribe the fortune of the day. The king was in the center, the duke of *Burgundy* commanded the right, and the count *de St. Paul* the left. The right was broke in the beginning of the action, but rallied and recovered their ground; the left sustained the attack of the allies, without giving way; but the heat of the battle was in the center, where the emperor was once taken, but rescued; *Philip* wounded in the throat, dragged from his horse, and in the same instant of time exposed to the most imminent danger of being cut to pieces, taken, or trampled to death, if the brave men who were about him had not delivered him. This engagement lasted from noon till about five o'clock, when the allies were totally routed, chiefly through the misfortune of having the sun all the time in their eyes, whereas the *French* had it on their backs. The counts of *Flanders* and *Bologne*, three other great counts, four *German* princes, and twenty-five bannerets, were taken prisoners. *Philip* returned to *Paris*, which he entered in triumph, the two counts of *Flanders* and *Bologne* following in chains^z. He afterwards advanced towards *Poitou*, with an intent to crush *John* and his adherents to pieces; but upon the interposition of the pope's legate, the submission of *John* by *Randal* earl of *Chester*, and a present of sixty thousand pounds sterling, he was prevailed upon to admit of a truce for five years; for which he is exceedingly blamed by the modern *French* writers, who are amazed that he should lose so fair an opportunity of completing the re-union of all that *John* held in *France*. The character of this prince considered, who was one of the best statesmen, and one of the most ambitious princes the *French* ever had, is sufficient to persuade us that he had reasons for acting as he did, and a sufficient attention to certain facts that lie scattered in the old writers will enable us to distinguish what these motives were^a. He was sensible before the battle of *Bouvines*, that it was his own power, rather than any regard for the king of *England*, that had raised so powerful a confederacy; he knew they had intelligence throughout his dominions, and even in his very camp; nay, he was so suspicious of some about him, that, when he heard divine service before the action began, he caused a crown of gold to be placed upon the altar, and told all the lords present, that, as they fought not for him but for the honour and independency of *France*, if they knew any one amongst themselves more worthy to wear it, he was ready to place the crown upon his head, and to fight under his command; which generous proceeding extinguished all disaffection on that important day: but, after his return to *Paris*, he came to know so distinctly how dissatisfied the bulk of the nobility were at the increase of his power^b, that he thought it an improper juncture to augment it, and chose rather to amass money that might enable him to pay an army of his own, than to risque his person any longer in one, where the troops of the crown bore but a small proportion to those of his vassals, whose army it was in effect more than his own. ^f

Lewis, heir
apparent to
Philip, is in-
vited by the
barons to re-
ceive the
crown of
England.

THE war being thus ended, the king suffered his son *Lewis* to perform his vow, in marching with a body of troops against the *Albigens*, who by this time were almost intirely reduced; so that he rather inspired with jealousy *Simon de Montfort*, who commanded the crosses, than did them any real service^c. While he was thus employed, a new occasion offered for gratifying his own and his father's ambition; the barons of *England* had taken up arms against king *John*, and had declared him as a tyrant fallen from his regal dignity; but as he had a good

^w NICH. TRIVET. ^x GUL. Brit. vit. Philip. August. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. ^a GUL. Brit. P. ÆMIL. Albigens. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.

^y NANG. Chron. ^z ROB. DE MONT. ^b RIGORD. Annales de Dunstaple. ^c Hist.

- a army and fleet at his devotion, they found it not so easy to reduce him to the state of a private man as they expected, and therefore they judged it expedient to set up another king; with which view they invited prince *Lewis*, on the report, as they said, of his virtues, to come and accept of the crown^d. The *French* historians insist, or rather dream, of a legal right, derived A. D. 1215. from his wife, who was the grand-daughter of *Henry* the second; forgetting that, besides king *John* and his family, the princess *Eleanor*, sister to *Arthur*, and daughter to *Geoffrey*, duke of *Bretagne*, was living. But election was a sufficient right for this purpose; and therefore *Lewis*, in the flower of his age, and full of heat, readily accepted the offer. How to furnish him with forces for this purpose was a point not easy to be solved, even by king *Philip*^e. It was likely to revive the jealousy of his nobility, it was a direct breach of the truce, and it was a
- b step that could not fail of provoking the pope. *Philip*, therefore, had recourse to a very strange expedient; he disclaimed having any thing to do with his son, he forbade him to meddle with the affairs of *England*, but furnished him at the same time with a good army and a numerous fleet. This address was altogether ineffectual; for his nobility were not deceived, the truce was plainly violated, and the pope threatened an interdict. However, *Lewis* went to *England*, landed in *Kent*, took *Rocheſter* and other places, proceeded to *London*, and was received there as king; but he committed a great error in leaving *Dover* castle behind him, which was very ill provided, and which king *John* immediately re victualled, augmented the garrison, and repaired and enlarged the fortifications^f. His father *Philip* having admonished him of his error, *Lewis* besieged the place, but without effect, as he did *Windsor* also with
- c the same want of success. While his forces were thus employed, *John* marched through the kingdom with his army, and took a severe revenge of his enemies, ravaging their lands, and demolishing their castles, till surprised by a sudden death^g. In the mean time the pope had excommunicated both *Lewis* and *Philip*, and had commanded the bishops of *France* to put the kingdom under an interdict; which though they refused to do, upon the king's declaring he took no part in this war, yet he was so much afraid of assisting his son, that *Lewis* was constrained to make a truce with the young king *Henry* the third, that he might have time to pass over into *France*, in order to obtain succours, without which he saw it was impossible to support his daily declining party^h. It may be remarked, that at this time a minority proved of singular advantage to *England*.
- d THE terror of the papal power was at this time so great, that king *Philip* refused to see his son, at least publicly, while he remained in *France*, and so many precautions were used in furnishing him with supplies, that he received no great benefit from this voyage; while in *Eng-* But in the close is obliged to capitulate, and so it the kingdom upon terms.
- land the defection became greater and greater, occasioned chiefly by a report, that the viscount of *Melun* had declared upon his death-bed, that *Lewis* looked upon the barons as traitors, and resolved, as soon as it was in his power, to rid himself of them at any rateⁱ. At his return, *Lewis* attacked *Dover* again with the same ill fortune; and though his army afterwards reduced the city of *Lincoln*, yet, while they were engaged in the siege of the castle, they were surprised and defeated by the earl of *Pembroke*, who, in this action, took no less than fifty-two persons of distinction prisoners; which so enfeebled the party of *Lewis*, that, in order to preserve
- e the city of *London*, he was obliged to shut himself up there with all his forces^k. In this distress he redoubled his applications to his father for relief; which *Philip*, not daring to assist him in any other way, recommended to the care of his consort *Blanch*, who very speedily raised a body of troops under the command of *Robert de Courtenai*, and embarked them on board a strong squadron commanded by *Eustace Le Moine*. But the *English* fleet attacked them at the mouth of the river of *Thames*, and, having taken the admiral, caused his head to be struck off, because he had been formerly in the *English* service; which so intimidated the rest, that, crowding all the sail they could, they returned into the *French* harbour^l. This left *Lewis* no other means of saving himself than by a treaty, which he made in person with the young king *Henry*, the legate, and the earl of *Pembroke*: the terms were, that *Lewis* and
- f the lords with him should take an oath to stand to the judgment of the church; to return quietly into *France*; to use their endeavours to procure the restitution of *Normandy*, and the rest of the countries possessed by king *Philip*; and, in case they should not succeed, to restore them whenever *Lewis* became king^m. On the other hand, the barons were restored to all their liberties and privileges, and the prisoners taken in the battle of *Lincoln*, and at the route of the *French* fleet, were to be set free. The legate, upon the execution of this treaty, absolved prince *Lewis*; who thereupon returned to *France*, where he was again absolved by the pope's legate with much ceremonyⁿ.

^d MAT. PARIS. NICH. TRIVET. POLYD. VIRG.^e GUL. BRIT. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.

VET. POLYD. VIRG.

^f ROB. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigebert. Annales de Dunstap.^g MAT. PARIS. NICH. TRIVET.^h PAR. S. NICH. TRIVET. POL. VIRG.ⁱ Annales de Dunstaple.^k RIG. GAGUIN. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.^l DU TILLET, & al.^m RIGORD. NICH. TRI-ⁿ RIG. P. ÆMIL. Annal. Francorum.^o MAT.

*Is sent against
the Albigeois.
A. D. 1219.*

AT the expiration of the five years truce, which had been concluded with king *John*, and which *Philip* affected to maintain, he sent his son *Lewis* to besiege *Rochelle*, which he reduced; but, upon the coming over of the earls of *Kent* and *Salisbury*, the truce was again renewed for four years more, and the city of *Rochelle* restored^o. By this time, the cruelty of the crosses, under the command of *Simon de Montfort*, had so wore out the patience of the people in the south of *France*, that they had restored the old count of *Thoulouse*, and *Simon*, besieging him in that city, was killed before it; upon which pope *Honorius* the third earnestly solicited king *Philip* to send *Lewis* once more against the *Albigeois*, and the monks were ordered to preach again the croisade^p. The king, after much intreaty, consented; *Lewis* took the command of the army, but made no great progress, either through want of zeal in himself, or in virtue of secret instructions from his father, who at length, in tenderness to his reputation, thought fit to recall him^q.

*The death of
Philip Augustus.*

1223.

THE principal motive to the recalling prince *Lewis* was to have him present at a great council of the nobility and prelates, which was to be held at *Paris*, to consider of the offer made by *Amauri de Montfort*, the eldest son of *Simon*; who, furnishing that *Lewis* had carried on the war against the *Albigeois* so coldly because the crown had no immediate interest in it, proposed, out of his zeal against the heretics, to resign to the crown his rights to the duchy of *Narbonne*, the county of *Thoulouse*, and all the lands that had been so liberally bestowed upon his father by pope *Innocent* the third in the council of *Lateran*. The king also returning out of his new conquest for the same purpose, fell ill of a fever at *Mante*, where he died on the fourteenth of *July*, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty ninth of his age^r. He is allowed to have been the greatest monarch that reigned in *France* from the time of *Charlemagne*, and that very deservedly, in whatever light he is considered. As a politician, he did more towards restoring the authority of the crown than all his predecessors, and indeed as much as could be expected; for at the time of his demise the balance between the crown and its vassals was destroyed, and the great check of the *English* power removed. As a captain, he was the first who introduced regular troops in his own pay; who reduced war to a system; encouraged the invention of military engines, and introduced a regular method of defending and besieging towns. As the patron of letters, he revived and augmented the privileges of the university of *Paris*^s; laid the foundations of the castle of the *Louvre*; caused most of the great towns in his dominions to be walled and paved; and, in the latter end of his life, expended the immense treasure he had amassed in making great roads, building bridges, and in constructing other edifices for public use; which shews that his laying up money did not arise from a spirit of avarice, but from a view to public utility, otherwise he would never have parted with it, more especially in his old age. But that for which he is most celebrated by the *French* historians, is, the re-uniting to the crown *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, *Poitou*, *Auvergne*, *Vermandois*, *Artois*, *Montargis*, *Guienne*, &c. so that he left the kingdom of *France* twice as large as he received it, and by this means made re-unions twice as easy to his successors^t (G).

LEWIS

^o P. ÆMIL. Annal. Francorum.

^p ROD. DE MONT. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

^q NANG.

Chron. ^r WIL. Brit. Phil. lib. xii. Gest. Ph. Augusti.

^s RIGORD. in Prolog. GUL. Brit.

Gest. Phil. Augusti. ^t DU TILLET, DUPLEIX.

(G) This famous monarch was of a middle stature, well proportioned, had regular features; but the misfortune to have two specks on one of his eyes. He was affable, and easy in his manners, had the general good of his subjects at heart, and, from a consciousness of this, acted sometimes a little bluntly towards the nobility and the peers. He loved decency in every thing, but was an enemy to gaudiness and useless expence, as appears by his prohibiting the use of scarlet and rich furs during the time of the croisade. His first queen was *Isabel*, daughter of *Baldwin the Brave* count of *Hainault*, whom he espoused the 28th of *April* 1180. Three years after, he banished her to *Senlis* for having spoke to him a little too warmly in behalf of the cardinal of *Rheims*. She died at *Paris*, *March* 15th 1190, in the 21st year of her age, in childbed of twins, leaving behind her only one son *Lewis*, who succeeded his father. He espoused at *Amiens*, *August* 12th 1193, *Isenburge*, or *Ingelburge*, sister to *Canute* the sixth, king of *Denmark*, whom he repudiated, and procured a divorce, as we have shewn in the text, under pretence of consanguinity. He had afterwards some thoughts of espousing *Joan* queen dowager of *Sicily*,

and in *June* 1196 married *Agnes*, the daughter of *Bertold* the fourth, duke of *Merania*, whom many historians call *Mary*. She died at *Poissy*, in 1201, of grief at his being obliged by the pope to take back his former queen. By her he had *Philip Hurspel*, that is, *the Rude*, created by his father count of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, but who, in right of his wife *Matilda*, or *Maud*, became count of *Dammartin* and *Bologne*, and gave great disturbance to the queen regent in the minority of St. *Lewis*. He had also by the same princess a daughter *Mary*, promised in marriage to *Alexander* prince of *Scotland*, afterwards to *Arthur* count of *Bretagne*, but married neither. In 1206 she espoused *Philip* count of *Namur*, and, after his decease, *Henry* duke of *Brabant*. These children were legitimated by the pope, and *Philip* had so good an opinion of his own birth, that he secretly aimed at the crown. But notwithstanding the king, to prevent an interdict, took back queen *Ingelburge*, and was seemingly reconciled, yet he very soon after sent her to *Eftampes*, where she remained twelve years, and then, when it was least expected, he sent for her to *Paris*, lived with her the remaining ten years of his life in great tranquillity, and.

- ^a LEWIS the eighth, surnamed *the Lion*, was crowned with his consort queen *Blanch*, on the eighth of *August*, at *Rheims*, by the archbishop of that city, in the presence of the titular king of *Jerusalem*, and the principal nobility of the kingdom. *Henry* of *England*, instead of coming in person, or sending any to represent him at this solemnity, demanded by an embassy soon after, that the king, in pursuance of his treaty and oath, should restore to him the dominions which his father had possessed in *France*¹. But the times were changed, and *Lewis* answered roundly, that he looked upon his title to the forfeited dominions, which his father united to the crown, as incontestible; and that, with respect to his own treaty, he looked upon it to be void, because he was informed the *English* barons were not restored to all their privileges, and that the *French* prisoners had been obliged to pay ransom². As it was pretty evident a war would ensue as soon as the truce expired, the king renewed his treaty with the emperor *Frederick*, and soon after made another with *Hughes* count *de March*, who had married the queen dowager of *England*. These precautions taken, *Lewis* resolved to prosecute his father's design, which was the total expulsion of the *English*: he raised for this purpose a numerous army, with which he besieged *Niort*: the place was defended by *Savari de Mauléon*, who had hitherto been the chief support of the *English* interest in *Poitou*. He made a gallant defence, but was at length obliged to capitulate, and retire with his garrison to *Rochele*. *Lewis* next made himself master of *St. John d'Angeli*, and afterwards marched his victorious army to *Rochele*. *Savari*, who had the reputation of being one of the greatest captains of that age, behaved in a manner suitable to that character, and solicited continually relief from *England*, more especially in money; but, being deluded with fallacious promises, and a quarrel arising between the garrison and the inhabitants, he was obliged to capitulate, and was permitted to embark himself and his garrison for *England*; where looking upon himself as very ill treated, he returned into *France*, and entered into the service of king *Lewis*³. All that the *English* now possessed was the city of *Bordeaux*, and the country beyond the *Garonne*. To preserve this, *Henry* sent a stout squadron, with a considerable corps of troops on board, commanded by his brother *Richard*, whom he made a knight, and created earl of *Cornwall* and count of *Poitou*, upon this occasion⁴. This had an extraordinary effect; the nobility, clergy, and people, naturally inclined to the *English*, were so pleased to have a prince of the royal blood amongst them, that they enabled him to make such efforts as induced king *Lewis* to make a truce for three years; for which he is, by some writers, very much blamed⁵.

Lewis VIII.
Immediately
after his ex-
pulsion he exe-
cutes the treaty
of London.

A. D. 1224.

- THE apparent motive of the king's conduct was his being warmly pressed by a legate from the pope to take the cross, and to march against the *Albigois*, with which he at length complied. He accepted, upon this occasion, what his father had refused, that is, the cession of the rights of *Amauri de Montfort*, to whom he promised the high post of constable of *France*, when it should become vacant. While he was preparing for this expedition, a very extraordinary affair happened. There appeared in *Flanders* a man who stiled himself *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, and consequently the natural sovereign of that country, and as such he was joyfully received by the people⁶. The countess, who had governed from the time of her husband *Ferdinand's* imprisonment, finding it impossible to resist, had recourse to the protection of king *Lewis*; who summoned this emperor *Baldwin* to attend him at *Peronne*. The man came thither with great intrepidity, related the manner in which he had fallen into the hands of the *Bulgarians*, the great hardships he had endured in his captivity, and the way by which he made his escape; but when they questioned him as to things that had passed before he left *Flanders*, he answered sullenly, that he would say nothing before such a multitude; whereupon the king dismissed him, but with a safe conduct, till he was out of his dominions. Upon this the people abandoned him, and, being seized by some of the countess's adherents, she caused him to be tortured to death as an impostor, which did not hinder her subjects from reproaching her with her ambition and avarice, that had instigated her to treat in this manner a person she knew to be her father⁷. After this, the king having assembled his army, and the cardinal legate having paved the way, by thundering out an excommunication against the young count of *Thoulouse* (which the world in general, and many bishops in particular, thought very unjust), marched directly to *Lyons*, and from thence, along the banks of the *Rhone*, to *Avignon*;

Enters into
the croisade
against the
Albigois,
and dies at
the siege of
Avignon.

¹ Gesta Ludovici VIII. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.

² NANG. Chron. Gesta Ludovici VIII.

³ P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.

⁴ MAT. PARIS, Annales de Dunstable.

⁵ DU TILLET. J. DE

SERRES.

⁶ Chron. Belgic. P. ÆMIL. Annal. Franc. Annales de Dunstable.

⁷ Gesta Ludo-

vici VIII.

and, besides her jointure, left her, by will, ten thousand livres, as a mark of his affection. She died at *Corbeil*, in 1236, in the 60th year of her age, and was buried in the priory of *St. John*, at the place before-mentioned, of her own foundation; but the king her husband was interred at *St. Denis*. It is necessary to observe, that, though no notice is taken of it by most historians, yet he

had certainly a bastard son, whose name was *Peter Carlote*, to whom *William la Breton* dedicated his poem, and, being his preceptor, he wrote also a poem in his honour, stiled *Carlotes*. This young prince became afterwards treasurer of *Tours*, and bishop of *Nojon*, where he died in 1249.

where the people would have submitted, but that they were afraid of being plundered. The king refusing to give them any assurance of the contrary, they shut their gates, and he immediately invested the place with an army of fifty thousand men^c. As the people were driven to despair, they made a very long and very obstinate defence, till at length the king, who had with him the principal nobility of *France*, forced them to yield to a capitulation; but found his army so much diminished, and in so miserable a condition, that he was constrained to defer the siege of *Thoulouse*, which he had likewise meditated, to the next year; and, retiring from thence into *Auvergne*, in his passage from thence to *Paris* he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died in a week at *Montpensier*, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and fourth of his reign. Some writers say, that his physicians thought he might have recovered, if he would have taken a woman to his bed; but that he chose rather to die than to commit a mortal sin^d. An *English* historian, however, who had reason to be well informed, and no reason to conceal the truth, gives a very different account of his death. He affirms, that it happened before the place surrendered; that the count of *Champagne*, who was amorous of queen *Blanch*, went to the king and told him, that, having served the full term of forty days, he would continue no longer at the siege; that thereupon *Lewis* threatened him, if he departed, he would lay his country waste with fire and sword; to prevent which the count caused him to be poisoned; and that the cardinal legate concealed his death till the place was taken^e. Thus much is certain, that the day on which he died is not exactly fixed; but, from various circumstances, it appears to have been some time in the beginning of *November*. He is thought to have foreseen the troubles that happened upon his death, by his requiring the oaths of the prelates and nobility that were about him, that they would place the crown upon his son's head; and though it is farther said, that he took this promise under their hands and seals, yet they were not very forward to observe it^f, having long expected such an opportunity of setting up what they esteemed their own rights against those of the crown.

Lewis IX.
afterwards
sided St.
Lewis, suc-
ceeds his fa-
ther, under the
tutelage of
queen Blanch.

LEWIS the ninth, commonly called St. *Lewis*, was about twelve years of age when his father died; and some of the prelates, who were near the person of that monarch, having deposed, that he declared his consort tutorefs and regent, the queen dowager immediately took upon her the title and power, got together what forces she was able, and resolved to carry her son to *Rheims*, though the see was then vacant, in order to be crowned: others speak very differently of this princess; for some make her a miracle of beauty and piety; others assert, that she was rather agreeable than handsome, and that, if she had her virtues, she had her weaknesses also^g. That she was beloved by *Thibaut* count of *Champagne* was the common rumour of that age, grounded upon the songs and poems written by him in her praise. In answer to the objection, that her lover was one of the first who declared himself a malcontent, it is said, that he did this from jealousy, the queen being wholly directed by the advice of the cardinal legate, who was suspected to love the queen, and who it was also suspected was not hated by her^h. But it is very probable these are but calumnies, since *Blanch* was at this time towards forty, and the count of *Champagne* little more than half as old; so that his passion was to be regarded rather as vanity, with which the queen ought to have been offended, and so at first it seems she was, since she gave express directions for arresting him, in case he had come to *Rheims*; but afterwards her affairs taught her to make another use of his folly, which, as we shall see, her son knew how to chastise. In the mean time, perceiving the disaffection of the nobility, she caused her son to be crowned by the bishop of *Soissons*, tho' there were only three counts, the great officers of the crown, and a few prelates, present at that ceremony; which was one of the wisest steps she could takeⁱ (H).

THE

^c P. ÆMIL. Annal. Francorum.

nales de Dunstaple.

Bibliothèque du Roi.

Ludovici IX. Francorum regis, descripta per GUL. NANGIACO.

^d Chron. NANG. GUL. DE PODIO.

^e Chron. NANG. GUL. DE PODIO, P. ÆMIL.

^f MAT. PARIS, Annales de Dunstaple, NICH. TRIVET.

^g MAT. PARIS, An-

^h PHIL. MOUSKES MS. de la

ⁱ Gesta Sancti

(H) The coronation of the young king was a point of so great importance, that, as we have hinted in the text, the king, on his death-bed, had exacted the strongest assurances from the chief lords who were about him, that it should be performed without delay; but, when they found this inconsistent with their interest, they judged that it gave them a right to perform their promise. The peers, it seems, thought that their presence was so essential, as that this ceremony could not be performed without them; and from this persuasion they stated their demands, which, when complied with, they were content to perform their functions in that solemnity. But the queen had two able statesmen about her,

who gave her right advice; the one was the cardinal legate *Bonaventure*, who, proceeding on the general maxims of policy, told her that the inauguration of her son could not be too speedily performed; and the other *Guerin*, bishop of *Senlis*, and chancellor of *France*, the same who won the battle of *Ecurvins* for *Philip Augustus*, and who had raised his post of chancellor to be the first civil employment in the state; and he told her what was requisite according to the laws of *France*. The late king *Lewis*, in 1224, had procured a decision of the peers in favour of the great officers of the crown, by which it was decreed, that the chancellor, the constable, the butler, and the chamberlain, had time immemorial sat, and of right

THE true state of the matter is, that the great lords, perceiving how much their power had been lessened, and their authority restrained, by the two last kings, thought this minority, which was the third from the death of *Hugô Capet*, a favourable opportunity to recover both; and therefore they made certain demands, which they insisted should be granted before they rendered homage to the new king. The chiefs of this confederacy were, *Philip* count of *Boulogne*, the son of *Philip Augustus*, who was suspected to have a design upon the crown: *Joanna* countess of *Flanders*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the queen regent; *Peter de Dreux*, second son to *Robert* count of *Dreux*, and grandson of *Robert*, fourth son to *Leopold the Great*, who, by the marriage of *Constance*, the daughter of the heiress of *Bretagne* by *Guy de Thours*, held that country with the title of count, and who was very desirous of rendering himself independent of the crown; *Thibaut* count of *Champagne*, out of vanity and pique; *Raymond* count of *Thoulouse*, in hopes of recovering and securing his dominions; *Berenger* count of *Provence*, from the strict alliance he had long held with *Raymond*. The points upon which they insisted, were, that as the queen was a stranger, she ought to give them some security that she would not violate the laws; that she should restore the estates of such as had been confiscated during the last kings reigns; and that she should release such as were prisoners, particularly *Ferdinand* count of *Flanders*; all which she peremptorily refused^k. In order to secure herself, and to make them sensible of her resentment, she marched immediately with an army against the count of *Champagne*, having with her the count of *Boulogne*, who had not as yet declared for the malecontents. Some writers say, that she compelled *Thibaut* to pay homage to the king, and to acknowledge his indiscretion; but others say, that she only signified to him that she had a mind to see him at court, and that thereupon he quitted his party, and went to throw himself at her feet. There is certainly the greater probability of this from her conduct towards the rest; for having twice summoned them to answer before the parliament, she at length condescended to treat with them all, and by a proper distribution of favours to them, and of money to their favourites, drew them gradually to submission^l. In one instance she shewed great dexterity: the countess of *Flanders*, whom the populace reproached with the murder of her father, and who, by pretending she could not raise his ransom, had left her husband *Ferdinand* so many years in prison, was now inclined to get that marriage dissolved, with a view of marrying the count of *Bretagne*. To prevent this, the queen set count *Ferdinand* at liberty, upon such easy terms, that he remained ever after attached to her service. It is also said, that she prevented *Henry III.* of *England* from coming to the assistance of the malecontents, by attacking the weak side of his minister the earl of *Kent*, who, with many heroic qualities, loved money too much, and for a large sum suffered the expedition to fail for want of a fleet^m. Yet, when she thought all quiet, she found herself in the greatest danger.

THE old count of *Boulogne*, who was taken at the battle of *Bouvines*, had been all this time in prison; and finding he was to remain there, when the count of *Flanders* was discharged, delivered himself, in a fit of despair, of life and chains together. The king's uncle, *Philip*, who had been restrained by the fear of the queen's setting his father-in-law at liberty, now joined the malecontents. Their first scheme was to seize the person of the king in his passage from *Orleans* to *Paris*; but the queen, being informed of this by the count of *Champagne*, carried the king to a strong fortress upon the road, and having given notice of his danger to the people of *Paris*, they came with a force sufficient to conduct him in safety to his capitalⁿ. This, tho' it disconcerted, did not dissolve the confederacy, except in appearance; for having taken their measures with the count of *Bretagne*, they separated, as if they had given all for lost. The count of *Bretagne* broke out into open rebellion; and the king having named the place of rendezvous on the frontiers, all the malecontents, with high professions of loyalty, promised to repair thither; and they did so, but with so slender a force, that the count might easily have made the king prisoner, which was what they designed: but the count of *Cham-*

^k Histoire et Chronique de Saint Louis Roy de France, par J. SIRE DE JOINVILLE, Senechal de Champagne. Annales Francorum. ^l MEZ. CHALONS. ^m NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. ⁿ Chronicon Alberic. JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis.

right ought to sit and vote with the peers. This gave them great weight; himself as chancellor, *Matthew de Montmorency* then constable, with the rest of the great officers, *Peter de Dreux*, a few other noblemen and some prelates, resorted to *Rheims*; where *James de Baisie*, bishop of *Soissons*, crowned the king on the first of *December*. The countesses of *Champagne* and *Flanders* were also present, and contended, on the part of their husbands, for the right of carrying the sword, which they at length consented should be borne by the king's uncle *Philip* count of *Boulogne*, without prejudice to their re-

spective claims; and thus, as it will ever happen in such cases, the peers, who were absent, not only lost their point, but with it, in a great measure, their principal prerogative, for till this time there had been some shew of an election preserved; but henceforward the coronation became a mere ceremony, in which, tho' the peers sometimes contended for precedency and their particular functions, yet these contentions were about their own right; and those of the king were intirely out of the question.

pagne, whom they had trusted in this as in the former plot, arrived, when they least expected it, with so great a force, that the count *de Bretagne*, instead of triumphing, was forced to submit, and to make the best terms with the king and queen regent that he could^o. The queen also having, by the assistance of the cardinal legate, drawn an immense subsidy from the clergy in *France*, assisted the army of the church so powerfully, that the count of *Thoulouse*, being reduced to extremity, made a peace on the hardest terms, and consented to give his daughter to the king's brother *Alonso*, and declare her sole heiress of his estates, by which they were afterwards annexed to the crown. So that the maxims of the late reign were thoroughly understood, and with great fortitude pursued in this^p.

They attack
the count of
Champagne,
who deserted
them, and who
is delivered by
the king.

A. D. 1228.

In the mean time the malecontents had drawn the count of *Champagne* back to their party, by offering to him the daughter of the count of *Bretagne*; yet the king, being informed of it, broke it by a letter sent to the count, when all things were prepared for its celebration, which so incensed the malecontents, that they sent for the queen of *Cyprus*, who had a claim to this country, and on her behalf entered *Champagne* with an army, which induced the revolt of a great part of the count's vassals; but the king came to his relief with a powerful army, and obliged his enemies to retire^q. At length the claim of the queen of *Cyprus* was compromised for a sum of money, which the king advanced, by the sale of a considerable part of the count's territories; so that, upon the whole, the crown was the greatest gainer by this whole transaction. A strong proof of the steadiness and prudence of their counsels, rather than their generosity^r.

Queen
Blanch's re-
gency no pre-
judice to the
king or king-
dom.

In the course of her regency, the queen gave repeated proofs of her firmness and address. She made use of the earl of *Flanders* to curb the count of *Bologne* when in arms; and at length, she totally detached him from the party of the malecontents, by convincing him he was deceived by them; and that, while they affected to flatter him with hopes of the crown, they in reality designed it for *Enguerrand de Coucy*, a nobleman of great merit and parts, but weak enough to believe that they were sincere in these propositions, and would be strong enough to effect it, by which he was wretchedly deluded^s. But *Philip*, count of *Bologne*, wisely accepted a good pension, and reconciled himself to his nephew and his mother. In short, she applied the money she received from the clergy so prudently, that very often those who appeared to be the most zealous amongst the malecontents were but her spies; and if there were any who refused her money, she gave out positively that they had accepted it; so that they were in continual disputes and jealousies of each other, and, except the count of *Bretagne*, though they had the best inclination in the world to rebellion, were never in a condition to attempt it^t. As for that count, he could do nothing without the king of *England*'s assistance; and the queen's liberalities were so acceptable to his ministers, that sometimes she hindered him from succouring the count, and rendered his expeditions fruitless when he did; so that, after taking one of the count's principal fortresses, in a manner under the king's eye, she forced the former to submit, and the latter to consent to a truce for three years: and thus the troubles of her regency were ended, without the least prejudice to the king's authority or domain^u.

Yet exposes
that princess
to great cen-
sure, which,
however, she
treated with
contempt.

AFTER all this she was far from escaping censure, and the great pains she took about the king's education was made the subject. Those to whom she entrusted it were chiefly clergy, who took more pains to impress on his mind sentiments of religion than politics, and who though they were attentive enough as to his exercises, were very strict in point of diversions. The courtiers, who were by no means pleased, gave out very different stories; some deplored the fate of the kingdom, the monarch of which was like to have no other abilities than those of a monk; while others whispered, that the young king could dissemble as well as his mother, and that, notwithstanding his modest appearance, he had privately his mistresses, with which the regent was not unacquainted, but that she was willing he should indulge other passions, while she indulged her ambition^v. The queen, being informed of this, took it in a right light; and to prevent their rendering that a truth which was at present a calumny, she resolved to marry the young king, in his nineteenth year, to *Margaret*, the eldest daughter of the count of *Provence*; and, executing that project without difficulty or delay, she kept the young king, and his younger wife, so much under her eye^w, and in such awe, as furnished materials for fresh stories, which, though not altogether groundless, she treated with contempt, and continued to take her measures according to her own sense of things, and without giving herself much pain about what was thought of them by others: and, indeed, considering how happily she conducted her administration in times of such danger and perplexity, we need not wonder that many historians have sounded her praises so high, and taken so much pains to apologize for her high spirit, and strong inclination to power, since they were the instruments

^o NICOL TRIVETI Annales.

^r NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.

^w JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis.

^p DU CHESNE, tom. v.

^s Idem ibid.

^x MATH. PARIS, DU TILLET.

^q Chroniques MS. de Mr. DE THOU.

^t MATH. PARIS.

^u DU TILLET.

a of so much good to the king her son, and contributed so apparently to the welfare of the state, and to the tranquillity of his subjects^y.

THE count *de Bretagne* remained still in the same mutinous disposition, and was, at every turn, labouring to bring an army of *English* auxiliaries over to his assistance. *Lewis*, by his mother's advice, resolved, once for all, to put an end to this, by attacking him with a puissant force; the queen, in the mean time, having drawn several of the lords in *Bretagne* from their attachment to the count, and having such an intelligence in *England*, as left her free from any apprehensions of a descent from thence. When, therefore, the king approached the frontiers with an army, the count, who had done homage to the king of *England* for his territories, desired leave to demand succour from that monarch, which if he did not receive, he promised to submit. This was indulged him; and *Henry* refusing to come with a fleet and army to relieve him, he returned, and presented himself before *Lewis* with a rope about his neck. The king, however, after some hard words, and the imposition of very rigorous terms, dismissed him, sufficiently humbled, and yet glad to escape even at that rate^z. The king, becoming of the age of twenty-one years, might, as the constitution of *France* then stood, have taken the reins of government into his own hands; but queen *Blanch* was not weary of ruling; and *Lewis* had so much deference for his mother, that, though she laid aside the title of regent, she exercised the same authority as before. *Thibaut* count of *Champagne* being become, in right of his mother, king of *Navarre*, and having found an immense sum in the treasury of that crown, began to surmise, that it was not a sale, but a mortgage he had made of the estates which some years before he had surrendered to the crown. But the king, notwithstanding the interposition of the pope, made him so sensible of the superior weight of his arms, that he was constrained to submit^a. The manner in which these potent vassals of the crown had been from time to time mortified, and the sense they had of the impossibility of giving the crown any remarkable disquiet at this juncture, induced them to follow the example of the king of *Navarre*, who had taken the cross, that they might go and display their courage and their power, at the same time that they indulged their spirit of independency in distant climates. Accordingly the count *de Bretagne*, having resigned his dominions to his son *Henry* count of *Bar*, the duke of *Burgundy*, with *Amauri de Montfort*, constable of *France*, and several other great lords, attended him^b. About this time it is said d that the prince of the *Assassins* sent two of his desperate attendants into *France*, with orders to kill the king; but being afterwards informed how mild and good a prince he was, sent a countermand, and those who brought it arrived before the *Assassins*. The king, apprised by them of his danger, instituted, as his grandfather had done, a new guard, with maces, for the security of his person. In a little time the two assassins were discovered and seized; but the king was so far from doing them any hurt, that he caused them to be kindly treated, and sent them back with a rich present for their master. But, perhaps, it was not the good character of the king solely that brought about this event^c. The *Tartars* began like an inundation to sweep all *Asia*; and the prince of the *Assassins*, and other *Mohammedan* powers, most earnestly implored the assistance of the Christians, to prevent their common destruction by these barbarous invaders^d. e

So long as the great lords remained abroad, the kingdom enjoyed a proper tranquillity. *Lewis*, as soon as he became of age, had settled his brothers in the manner prescribed by his father's testament, and omitted nothing that could contribute to place them in a state of grandeur and security, suitable to their birth. This chagrined some, and frightened others; and therefore, upon the return of the count of *Bretagne*, and other lords, from *Syria*, they began to cabal afresh, and to take all the measures they could devise for exciting a new war^e. At the head of this contrivance was the count *de la March*, who had married the queen dowager of *England*, a princess who could not bear the thoughts of doing homage to the children of queen *Blanch*, and who was bent, at all events, to recover for her son *Henry* the territories his father had lost in *France*. The count of *Thoulouse* was also of this faction, and with much much more reason than any, since he had been very hardly treated. *Henry III.* of *England* was the power chiefly depended upon; and, indeed, but for that dependence, there could have been none of these disturbances in *France*^f.

It was his foible to form very great designs, and to execute them weakly. But he had the misfortune to differ with his parliament; and, as they would give him no supplies, he was compelled to raise money at high interest: and this went but a little way in a war where

^y LE GENDRE. ^z POLYD. VIRG. ^a JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis. P. DANIEL. ^b NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. ^c MATH. ^d GUL. DE PODIO. ^e CHRONIQUE MS. de Mr. THOU. ^f CHRONICON. LE GENDRE. Chron. Alberic. PARIS. HENAULT. MEZERAY.

the authority
on a solid
foundation.

A. D. 1242.

Measures
taken by him
for this pur-
pose, and his
caution in re-
gard to the
pope.

1244.

Resolves to
make an expe-
dition into the
east, but pro-
vides for it
with extreme
caution.

his allies were very hungry, and where, though they were to reap all the profit, they notwith-
standing expected him to be at most of the expence^g. King *Lewis*, after trying all means to
quiet the minds of the malecontents, at length assembled a great army, the best part of which
was composed of troops in his own pay; and, having twice beaten the confederates, he con-
strained the count of *la March* to make a separate peace upon very hard terms, and concluded
another truce with *Henry*, who, finding himself disappointed by the greater part of the *French*
lords (who, upon reflection, were afraid to join with him), began to have a distaste for these
kind of proceedings, and therefore went to *Bordeaux*, to get his son *Edward* acknowledged
by the inhabitants of that city for his heir apparent^h. The triumphing over this confederacy,
which, if things had taken another turn, would have produced an universal insurrection, was
the most important, if not the most glorious, event in the reign of king *Lewis*, as it placed
his authority on a level, at least with that of his grandfather *Philip Augustus*ⁱ.

THE count of *Thoulouse* was the last who submitted; and though the king readily pardoned
his revolt, yet he was very strict in the precautions he took, that he should not revolt again.
His whole conduct was of the same tenure; and the point he kept continually in view was,
to put it out of the power of the great lords to disturb him with impunity. He had before
made an edict, with the consent of his parliament or council, that they should not marry their
daughters to foreigners without his permission; the pretence was to prevent strangers from in-
heriting lands in *France*, to the prejudice of natives, which was very plausible and popular;
but the principal aim was to hinder their having any connections, and of consequence obtain-
ing any support, from other princes^k. At this time he made another edict, that such as held
lands from him, and from the king of *England*, should make their election to which of the
kings they would render homage, and thereby put an end to the old custom of becoming sub-
jects to both kings, and adhering, either as their humours or their interests led them, to which
they pleased. This was considered as a great hardship, since, by making their option, these
vassals were sure to lose their estates either in one country or the other. To redress this, as
far as it could be redressed, *Lewis* indemnified those, who adhered to him, out of the lands
of those who chose to do homage to the king of *England*^l. Pope *Innocent IV.* being driven
out of *Italy*, was desirous of putting himself under the protection of *France*, which the king
declined, as foreseeing many inconveniencies that would attend it, but permitted him to hold
a council at *Lyons*, which was not then united to the crown, in which the emperor *Frede-
rick* was excommunicated. The king soon after fell sick of a grievous distemper, in which
he remained, for the space of twenty-four hours, so totally insensible, that many believed
him dead; and, upon his coming to himself, he immediately took the cross from the hands
of the bishop of *Paris*, making at the same time a solemn vow to go in person with an army
against the infidels, which threw the nation into almost as great perplexity as that from which
they recovered on the first news of his being out of danger^m. The wisest and ablest of his
ministers laboured all that was in their power to dissuade him from this resolution; but their
efforts were to no purpose, though he readily agreed to do nothing precipitately, but to take
all the precautions possible to prevent this expedition from being so prejudicial to his dominions
as those of his predecessors had been.

IT appears from the common consent of the historians of those times, that the king judged
it necessary to have the concurrence of the nobility before he undertook this expedition; and as
the obtaining this was no very easy matter, considering their general reluctance, and the little
hope there was of success abroad, or of tranquillity at home, if he went unattended by the
most powerful of his vassals, he was obliged to act with the utmost caution; and, from the
address he shewed in the management of his affairs, we may very safely pronounce, that never
was so imprudent a design so prudently conducted. He had an interview with the pope, in
hopes of reconciling him to the emperor *Frederick*, but without effect. However, though
he missed of doing another's business in this journey, he executed his own, by procuring *Bea-
trix*, the youngest daughter of the count of *Provence*, to whom, in prejudice of his other
daughters, and particularly the queen of *France*, her father had bequeathed his dominions
for his brother *Charles*ⁿ. The secrecy and art with which this business was managed, though
so many great princes, and particularly the king of *England*, married to another daughter of
the count's, employed all their skill and interest to prevent it, did him great credit. He was
no less successful in levying a tenth of their revenues upon his clergy, by the authority of the
pope; but when the pontiff would have extracted another sum for carrying on his war against
the emperor, *Lewis* interfered, which the clergy took so kindly, that, though at first they
had murmured against the tax for the croisade, they now applauded it^o. The many different

^g P. DANIEL.

^h P. MAUSKES.

ⁱ P. ÆMIL.

^k NICOL. TRIVETI Annales-

^l P.

ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.

^m NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.

ⁿ JOINVILLE Histoire de St.

Louis.

^o MATH. PARIS.

- a methods he practised, and the earnestness he shewed, in exhorting the nobility to follow his example, had by degrees a great effect, more especially after he had prevailed upon the count of *March*, and the old count of *Bretagne*, the two most turbulent men in *France*, to assume the cross^p. His greatest difficulty was about the king of *England*; for having, according to the custom of those times, upon all such occasions, made open proclamation, that if there was any person he had wronged, he was ready to do them right, and to make restitution to all who had a right to claim it; *Henry* sent over his brother earl *Richard*, who very boldly and plainly told the king, that he ought to restore to his brother *Normandy*, and the rest of the countries of which he had been despoiled, in case he hoped for success against the infidels^q. The king had so far regard to his application, that he submitted this as a case of conscience A. D. 1241.
- b to the bishops of *Normandy*, and, upon their declaring he was not bound to make restitution, he declined it. *Henry* consented, nevertheless, to the renewing the truce; and the king, having declared the queen mother regent in his absence, disposed every thing for his departure^r.

THE king carried with him in this expedition his queen, and his two brothers *Robert* and *Charles*. At *Lyons* he received the benediction of the pope, and passing down the *Rhone*, he embarked at *Aigues Mortes* on the 23d of *August*, and, having fair winds and a fine passage, landed his forces on the 25th of *September* following in the isle of *Cyprus*^s. There it was resolved to winter, which it was thought he might conveniently do, as he had taken the precaution of causing vast magazines to be previously constructed for the use of his army: but, notwithstanding this, they must have suffered considerably, if the emperor and the Venetians had not taken care to furnish them with vast supplies. It was resolved, during his stay in this island, that a descent should be made into *Egypt*, experience having shown that *Jerusalem* and the *Holy Land*, when conquered, could never be kept, while *Egypt* remained in the hands of the infidels. Here also he received ambassadors from *Armenia*, and from the *Khan* of the *Tartars*; the latter assuring him that he would find full employment for the Soltân of *Bagdat*, and the former promising to do the same with respect to the Soltân of *Iconium*^t. In the spring, having received a considerable reinforcement under the command of *Robert* duke of *Burgundy*, he disposed every thing for his second embarkation. It was, however, about the middle of *May*, before his fleet, which consisted of eighteen hundred sail, parted from *Cyprus*; but meeting with a tempest in their passage, it is said he had not a third, some affirm not a fourth, part of his forces at the time of his landing. This, however, produced no ill consequence; for though the enemy had twenty thousand men well posted to hinder his debarkation, yet they were struck with such a panic at the sight of his troops leaping on shore, that, after one discharge of their arrows, they retired in the utmost confusion, and, which was still more extraordinary, abandoned the city of *Damieta*, a place rich, of great extent, and extremely well fortified^u. A piece of good fortune they did not expect.

THE first success seemed to promise great things, with which, however, the following events did by no means correspond. They took possession of this place in the beginning of the month of *June*, and the rising of the waters of the *Nile* rendering it impossible to proceed to *Cairo*, they were obliged to stay several months where they were. *Lewis* considering the importance of *Damieta*, preserved with great care the magazines and military stores that were found therein, which displeased the bulk of his army exceedingly, who asserted, that according to the custom of the crosses, he had a right only to a third part of the plunder^v. They shewed from this time but little regard for his orders; for, composed as they were of different nations, being many of them persons of high quality, and all volunteers, discipline could arise only from a sense of duty. Instead, therefore, of providing for the next campaign, they thought of nothing but feasts, shows, and debauchery. When the season for action returned, after rejecting an offer made them by the Soltân of restoring *Jerusalem*, and all the places the Christians had once possessed, and resolving to listen to no propositions whatever, they marched, as to a certain victory, against the infidels^w. A canal of the *Nile* lay in their passage; they were equally unprovided with boats or bridges; this put them upon attempting to run a causeway, with infinite labour, across it, and with little success; at length they found by chance a ford, which the count *de Artois*, the king's brother, passed with two thousand horse, but, instead of intrenching on the other side, after dissipating a corps of the enemy, he pushed on to *Massoura*, and, finding the place open, began to plunder it. The infidels, perceiving that he was unsupported, barricaded themselves in their houses, and from thence threw wild-fire, stones, boiling water, and whatever else came to hand, upon the assailants; the troops too, whom they had dispersed, rallied and invested the place, so that,

^p P. MAUSKES:
DUPLEIX.

^w P. DANIEL.

^q NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.

^r N. TRIVET, Annales. Annal. Francorum.

^x DU CHESNE. CHALONS.

^s NANGII Chron.

^t MEZERAY. Annal. Francorum.

^u DU CHESNE,

surrounded by enemies on every side, the count *de Artois*, and the best part of his detachment, perished^r. The rest of the Christian army, however, passed the canal, and with great courage, though in great disorder, attacked the enemy, and gained some advantages, but were at length obliged to post themselves in a strong camp, where they suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of provision, the scurvy, dysentery, and other diseases, being closely blocked up by the superior enemy. The king might have made his escape by sea, but he refused it, and resolved to share with his forces the danger of a retreat, which was undertaken when there was scarce a possibility of succeeding. In their march they were continually attacked by the infidels; and at length, on the 5th of *April*, being intirely broken, the king and his brother were taken prisoners, with the poor remains of their army^z.

Lewis bears
this misfor-
tune with
great forti-
tude, notwith-
standing ex-
treme ill usage.

THE infidels made a most insolent and barbarous use of their victory, they used their prisoners cruelly, they took every method possible of shewing their abhorrence and contempt of the Christian religion, they insulted the king personally, they threatened him with fetters, and even with tortures; and it is very possible they had proceeded further, if the precaution he had taken of preserving the magazines and military stores in *Damieta*, repairing its fortifications, and leaving in it a strong garrison, for the security of the queen and other ladies, had not put it out of the power of the infidels to carry that place by assault^a. When, therefore, they saw the war was not at an end, and apprehended the Christians might send another army into *Egypt* if they continued in possession of this fortress, they began to alter their measures. But to understand this matter clearly, we must of necessity observe, that, during the progress of this war, great alterations had happened amongst the *Mamelukes*, who were then in possession of *Egypt*^b. Their Soltân, at the time *Lewis* landed, and made himself master of *Damieta*, was *Al Malec Al Salebi*, who died of a mortification in his thigh before the opening of the next campaign; his son and successor being at a distance, the army was commanded by *Phachro'ddin Othman*; but, before the last engagement, the young Soltân *Al Malec Al Moaddbemi* was come to the army, and his favourites having observed to him that he was a king only in name, and that the power was in the old Soltâna *Shajro'l Dorra*, and a few of the emirs who were in her confidence, they advised him to treat with the monarch of the *Franks*, that, by recovering *Damieta*, and putting an end to the war, he might establish his own power^c.

Makes a treaty
with the infi-
dels, recovers
his liberty,
and evacuates
Egypt.

HE, yielding to their persuasions, entered into a negotiation with *Lewis*, and agreed, that he should surrender *Damieta* in consideration of his own liberty, and pay a million of pieces of gold for the ransom of the other prisoners; to which terms it was added, that there should be peace between the Christians and *Mohammedans* in *Syria*, as well as in *Egypt*, for ten years. This negotiation ended, and on the point of being carried into execution, *Shajro'l Dorra* and the principal emirs having intelligence of what was intended, engaged part of the army to revolt, and murdered the unfortunate *Al Malec Al Moaddbemi* under the very eyes of his royal prisoner, who, with those about him, was very near sharing the same fate^d. However, when things were a little settled, these great lords, and *Phares Aktai*, whom they raised to the rank of Soltân, ratified the treaty, which was performed with great punctuality; for *Lewis* understanding that they were deceived in the tale of the money, and had received a considerable sum short, he was so far from availing himself of the fraud, that he caused it immediately to be made good^e, though in order to do it he was obliged to borrow the money from the knights templars. This done, and *Damieta* being evacuated by his troops, the king, with his queen and his two brothers, and about six thousand men, which was esteemed about a sixth part of the forces he brought into *Egypt*, embarked on board the galleys of the *Genoese*, and were safely transported to the port of *Acon* in *Syria*^f; all hopes of making any impression in *Egypt* being lost.

Restores the
affairs of Sy-
ria, while his
own concerns
in France suf-
fer by his ab-
sence.

THE wisest persons who were about the king disapproved his conduct in going from *Egypt* into *Syria*, more especially when they found him bent upon remaining there, and applying himself with as much assiduity to the affairs of that country as if they had really been his own concerns; they remonstrated to him freely, that his own kingdom was the proper sphere of action for his great virtues; and that, while he was so active and diligent in composing quarrels, redressing grievances, rebuilding fortresses, and forming alliances, in *Syria*, *France* suffered severely from his absence, and the truce of *England* being on the point of determining, his subjects would be exposed to the hazard of a war at home, whilst he was exhausting their force and wealth for the benefit of others abroad^g. To this the king opposed his duty as a Christian monarch, the honour of performing something worthy of his rank and dignity

^r J. DE SERRES.

^a P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX. MEZ.

SERRES.

^c NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.

^z NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX. Annales de Dunstaple. Annales Francorum.

^b JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis. NIC. TRIVETI Annales.

^d ANNAL. FRANCORUM. GREGORII ABUL-PHARAJII Historia Dynastiæ, p. 435. 496.

^f DU CHESNE, tom. v.

^g J. DE SERRES.

- a in such an expedition, and the broken condition of the Christian principalities in those parts; to which he added, that the prudence of the queen-mother's conduct, and the courage of the barons, relieved him from all apprehensions as to the interruption of domestic quiet, or the consequence of an invasion from *England*. In this, however, he was a little too sanguine, for the news of his imprisonment had thrown his hereditary dominions into great confusion, and, together with other afflictions, had so wrought upon the health and spirits of queen *Blanch*, that little of her former conduct appeared in her administration ^b. She had suffered an apostate monk, who was afterwards suspected to act as a spy for the Soltân of *Egypt*, to preach a new kind of croisade for the deliverance of the king out of captivity, by which he assembled near one hundred thousand people of low rank, to whom he gave the appellation of shepherds.
- b It quickly appeared they might, with greater propriety, have been stiled wolves; for, instead of living as they did at first by alms, as soon as they grew strong enough to force them, they demanded contributions, which ended in a civil war, by which they were partly dispersed, and partly extirpated ^c. This, with the remorse of having executed two persons as spreaders of false news, who first reported the king was made prisoner in *Egypt*, affected the queen regent to such a degree, that it broke her heart. She took, a little before her death, the habit of a religious order, and was buried in a monastery of her own foundation, with all the demonstrations of profound sorrow and sincere esteem that the nobility, clergy, and people, could give. This melancholy event had a very untoward effect on the affairs of *France*, and obliged those, upon whom the administration devolved, to send the most pressing remonstrances to the king to return, without further delay, into his dominions, where his presence was absolutely necessary ^d.

A. D. 1252.

- THE king received the news of his mother's death with the most sensible regret: but his consort queen *Margaret* was very easily consoled, for the old queen had kept her so much under, that she was not displeased to be free from her restraint. *Lewis*, convinced by the reasons assigned in the remonstrance before-mentioned, determined to return; but he executed this resolution with great deliberation. He left all the places the Christians still held in *Syria* in a proper state of defence; he placed in them garrisons of his own troops, and distributed his money freely, by which he acquired very justly the title of the father of the Christians ^e. These precautions taken, he embarked at *Acon* on the 24th of *April*, with a squadron of fourteen sail. He took the island of *Cyprus* in his route, and was in great danger upon those coasts; arrived in his own dominions about the middle of *July*, and made his entry into *Paris* the beginning of the month of *September*. He still wore the cross on his upper garment, appeared grave or rather disconsolate, observed great regularity in his court, but affected in his dress and manners rather the plainness of a private man than the state of a great prince ^f. *Thibaut* II. king of *Navarre*, and count of *Champagne* and *Brie*, having demanded his daughter *Isabel* in marriage, he readily consented to it, after settling the dispute between him and the countess of *Bretagne*. *Henry* III. of *England*, being at this time in *Gascony*, was desirous of paying him a visit, and was received with great pomp at *Paris*, where *Beatrix*, countess dowager of *Provence*, had the singular felicity of embracing her four daughters, the queens of *France* and *England*, and the countesses of *Anjou* and *Cornwall* ^g. *Henry* entertained the king with great splendor at the temple, where he took up his lodgings, and where *Lewis* would have yielded him the place of honour, if he had not absolutely refused it; the king likewise entertained him very sumptuously, and, when he would have retired in the evening, told him he was master in his own house, and he was resolved to have him one night in his power ^h. He was so well pleased with *Henry*'s frankness and condescension, that he could not help saying at supper, "I would willingly restore you *Normandy*, and all your dominions, but that" is a thing to which the twelve peers and barons of my kingdom will never consent." After a week's stay, *Henry* set out for *Boulogne*, and *Lewis* accompanied him the first day's journey. The truce was soon after renewed between the two crowns ⁱ.

Upon the death of queen Blanch, takes a resolution of returning into France.

1254.

- f THE king laboured with incessant diligence to correct abuses, to pacify disputes of every kind, and to promote peace throughout his kingdom; and, in order to this, he sometimes took very singular methods. As for instance; when the countess dowager of *Provence*, the queen's mother, and the count of *Anjou*, his own brother, consented to abide by his decision, in respect to certain castles which they both claimed, he decreed that the count should purchase them, and at the same time gave him the money ^j. He was no less desirous of terminating whatever disputes subsisted with his neighbours. With this view he concluded a treaty with

Applies himself with great diligence to regulate all things in his realm that had run into disorder in his absence.

^b N. TRIVETI Annales. P. DANIEL. Annal. Francorum.ⁱ Annales de Dunstaple. J. DE SERRES.^k DU CHESNE. MATH. PARIS.^l NANGII Chronicon.

Annales Francorum. P. HENAU.

^m Annal.

de Dunstaple. P. ÆMIL.

ⁿ P. DANIEL.^o NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.^p MATH.

PARIS. DUPELIX.

^q JOINVILLE Histoire de St. Louis. Annales Francorum.

the king of *Arragon*, and not long after with *Henry III.* of *England*, to whom he yielded the *Limousin*, *Querci*, *Perigord*, and some other places, in consideration that himself and his son prince *Edward* renounced, in the fullest manner, all their pretensions to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Poitou*. This compromise was equally satisfactory to the two kings, and disagreeable to both nations; the *English* thought their monarch had sacrificed his pretensions for a trifle, and the *French* looked upon that trifle as absolutely thrown away^r. His eldest son and heir, prince *Lewis*, dying, the king concluded a match for prince *Philip*, who was now become the eldest, with the princess of *Arragon*, who had been intended for his brother, and by this alliance secured the peace of his dominions on that side.

His brother,
Charles of
Anjou, de-
clared king of
the Two Sici-
lies by the
pope.

THE reputation of this monarch for candour and justice was so great, that the barons of *England*, as well as *Henry III.* consented readily to make him the umpire of those differences which had produced a civil war. This some of the *French* writers, not without cause, represent as one of the most glorious transactions of his reign. The king accepted the reference, and heard both parties fairly and coolly: his decision was, that the proceedings of *Oxford* were so indecent towards a crowned head, that they ought to be considered as null and void; but he decreed, at the same time, that the king should strictly observe the great charter, and not violate, on any pretence, the liberties and immunities granted to his subjects^s. This determination, fair enough in itself, was construed by both parties in their own sense. *Henry*, and those who continued firm to him, highly approved it, as restoring the king to his former state and dignity; but *Simon*, earl of *Leicester*, son of the famous count *de Montfort*, who had been general of the croisade against the *Albigois*, affirmed this decision was in their favour, since it confirmed the great charter, and obliged the king to perform its contents, which was all that was aimed at by the proceedings in the assembly at *Oxford*: and thus the good intentions of *Lewis* were frustrated, and this dispute once more referred to the sword^t. In the affair of the pope's conferring the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies* upon his brother the count of *Anjou*, the king was rather passive; and, indeed, it was such a kind of grant as a prince, of so great probity as *Lewis* certainly was, could hardly approve. The pope had before offered it the king for one of his own children, which he absolutely refused, and the pontiff thereupon bestowed it on prince *Edmund*, son to the king of *England*; but the situation of things in that kingdom putting it out of the young prince's power to avail himself of this grant, the pope, who knew *Charles* of *Anjou* to be a proper instrument of his resentment, as having a high degree of fierce or rather brutal courage, transferred the title to him^u. This title, such as it was, arose thus:

Charles passes
over into Italy,
defeats Main-
froi and Con-
radine, by
which he ac-
quires the
crown.

THE popes, perpetual enemies to the house of *Suabia*, had deprived the emperor *Frederic II.* of these kingdoms. *Mainfroi*, his bastard, had usurped them from his nephew *Conradine*, the sole heir of the house of *Suabia*, and paid little regard to the pretensions of the see of *Rome*, not only disclaiming all homage to the pope, but, in resentment of the provocations received from him, had made incursions into the papal territory. It was this that induced pope *Urban* to make a tender of the crown to the count of *Anjou*, and to use his utmost endeavours to remove the many obstacles that lay in the way of this prince's intended expedition; but before this could be done he died. His successor, *Clement IV.* prosecuted the same plan; and though he found *Charles* in circumstances very unequal to so arduous an undertaking, and both the king and queen of *France* very cold in promoting it, yet, by an assiduous application, and the practice of all the arts for which *Rome* has been ever famous, and particularly by proclaiming a croisade in favour of this new king of his creation, he put him at length in a condition to attack *Mainfroi* with a numerous force^v. *Charles* seconded the views of the pope with all possible vigour, defeated his competitor in the plains of *Beneventum*, where he was slain upon the spot, quickly gained possession of both the kingdoms which the pope had given him, and shewed himself resolved to maintain them by the same violent methods by which they had been acquired. The young *Conradine*, seeing the usurper slain, endeavoured to vindicate his rights, and had quickly a very formidable army, composed partly of the friends to his family, but chiefly of the enemies to the *French*. However, the fortune and the experience of *Charles* prevailed; *Conradine* was beat in a decisive engagement, taken prisoner, and by a shameful act of cruelty put to death, by the sentence of those who stiled themselves a court of justice. In this manner *Charles* fixed himself on the throne of the *Two Sicilies*, and gave rise to what the *French* stile the first house of *Anjou*, for reasons that, in the course of this history, will appear^w.

^r P. VIRG. Hist. Angliæ.
GIUS in vita Ludovici IX.
VILLE Hist. de St. Louis.

^s Compromissum Regis et Baronum Angliæ, Spicileg. A. D. 1263.
N. TRIVETI Annales.
^u P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.
^v Descriptio Victoriz Caroli ex vetere MS. Biblioth. Reg.

^t NAN-
^w JOIN-

- a** ALL this time *Lewis* was employed in settling the affairs of his kingdom and of his family, and was equally attentive to the general system of policy, by which his realm ought at all times to be governed, and the particular cases and events that fell out in his own time. He framed a code of laws, which bear the title of the establishment of *St. Lewis*: he reduced into order the policy of cities and great towns, which was in great confusion^y: he contrived, or caused to be contrived, those rules and regulations, in respect to traders and artificers, which have subsisted ever since: he married his children, and assigned them suitable provisions for their subsistence, without prejudice to the crown: he purchased and united to his domain several lordships, the owners of which were the last heirs of their respective families^z: he determined the claims that some of the nobility had upon the crown; and it is very remarkable, that neither he or they made any scruple of his being judge in his own cause; and it is no wonder, for, if the matter was but doubtful, he decided against himself, as in the case of *Matthew de Trie*, who claimed the county of *Dammartin*, as heir to *Matilda*, countess of *Boulogne*, in which he condemned himself to restore it, though it had been united to the crown: he compromised a dispute between the kings of *England* and *Navarre*, about the town of *Bayonne*; and, instead of availing himself of the troubles, he was continually interposing his good offices with all his neighbours; and tho' this proceeded, in some measure, from his disposition, yet he made it appear to be good policy, according to his maxim, that a reputation for probity and disinterestedness created an authority that was not to be overthrown^a. It is certain that, by this means, he maintained his dominions in peace, reformed the disorders of the state, and brought the affairs of the kingdom into very good order. All this was with a view to a new croisade, which, after his brother was settled in *Sicily*, the king undertook; and his example was so powerful, that, besides his three sons, and his nephew the count of *Artois*, most of the great lords of his court embraced it. He embarked again at *Aigues Mortes* on the first of *July*, and, by the counsel of the king of *Sicily*, directed his course for *Africa*, and landing on the coast of *Barbary*, made himself master of *Carthage*, and prepared for the siege of *Tunis*, the king of which, who was a *Mohammedan*, had promised him to become a Christian, but did not keep his word^b. There the plague infected his army, of which many persons of distinction and multitudes of private men died, and at length the king himself, on the twenty-fifth of *August*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign: he spent the last hours of his life in dictating instructions to his son *Philip*, which are excellent in their kind^c (I).

King Lewis enters on a new croisade, and dies before the city of Tunis in Africa.

A. D.
1270.

THE

^y MALASPINA. P. ÆMIL. nicon.
^b DU CHESNE.

^z DU CHESNE, tom. v. Annales Francorum.
^c NANGIUS in vita Ludovici IX.

^a NANGII Chro.

(I) The different qualities of *Lewis IX.* are such as were scarce ever united in one prince, which is the reason that authors, who have considered him in single, tho' in different, points of light, have given him inconsistent, and even opposite, characters (1). He was, without doubt, very obedient and submissive to the queen his mother, very familiar with his servants, and withal very devout, so as to spend a great part of every day in public or in private prayers. We find him from hence considered as a mild, harmless, superstitious prince, who had the obtaining the title of *Saint* in view, which he accomplished (2). But others again have thought him, with equal justice, a hero. His two foreign expeditions were certainly founded upon maxims of policy, as well as piety, however he might be mistaken. He shewed equal prudence and firmness in securing *Damieta*; his intrepidity in battle was, to the full, as conspicuous as his patience after his defeat. In short, his courage was of a very peculiar kind, without any tincture of fierceness, which shewed itself on every great and momentous occasion: in a word, he was ever at the command of his reason, but was never subservient to his passions (3). His abilities, as a politician, are apparent in his treaty with *James*, king of *Arragon*, on the marriage of his son *Philip* with the daughter of that prince, when he adjusted at once, in an amicable manner, the perplexed claim of both crowns, which had created frequent wars between their predecessors, and which, but for this treaty, must have had the like effect with respect to their successors. His probity was

no less remarkable in his behaviour to *Henry III.* of *England*, to whom he restored much, and would have restored more, if his nobility had not restrained him (4). Those who treat him as a weak man, and a feeble prince, know not what they say. It is true that his neighbours stood in no fear of his ambition, but it was because they confided in his justice; and on many occasions he gave law to them, not in right of his power, but of that authority which he had acquired by his equity, which he never violated or betrayed, in the greatest or in the smallest instance (5). His zeal for religion, though it carried him into two croisades, did not render him the dupe of priests, or a slave to the popes; on the contrary, he constrained his clergy to discharge their duties, and he fixed on a solid basis the liberties of the *Gallican* church. He was canonized by *Boniface VIII.* in the month of *August* 1297, and *Lewis XIII.* procured the day, dedicated to his honour, to be declared a general feast of the church (6). By his queen *Margaret*, daughter of *Raymond Berenger*, count of *Provence*, he had eleven children, six sons and five daughters. *Lewis*, the eldest, died at the age of sixteen, and was interred at *St. Denis*; *Philip*, who succeeded his father in the throne; *John*, who died a child; *John*, surnamed *Tristan*, born at *Damieta*, when his father was a prisoner among the infidels, espoused *Violante* of *Burgundy*, countess of *Nevers*, died at the siege of *Tunis*; *Peter*, count of *Alençon*, who espoused *Joanna*, countess of *Blois*, who deceased in 1283; *Robert*, count of *Clermont*, who espoused *Beatrix*, heir-

(1) *Gaguin. Scipio. Æmilius de rebus gestis Francorum.*

(2) *Le Gendre. Chalons.*

(3) *Dupleix. J. du Tillet.*

(4) *Du Tillet. P. Daniel.*

(5) *Histoire de France. P. Henault.*

(6) *Paulus.*

Philip the Hardy / succeeds and brings back the remains of the army to France.

THE king of *Sicily* arrived with his fleet and army immediately after his brother's decease, which changed the face of affairs, and saved the remains of the *French* troops. *Philip*, who was in the twenty-sixth year of his age, immediately assumed the title and state of king, received the homage of the monarchs of *Sicily* and *Navarre*, for the fiefs they held in *France*, and, notwithstanding the ravages still made by the plague, kept the field against the *Moors*, and put so good a face on things, that he received in *Afric* the surname of *the Hardy*, which, from his subsequent conduct in *Europe*, he would hardly have attained^d. However, in a little time he was confined to his bed by sickness; so that the command devolved on *Charles* and *Thibaut*, kings of *Sicily* and *Navarre*. They defeated the king of *Tunis* in two or three engagements, and afterwards prepared to besiege the place in earnest, though the king of *Sicily* had all along treated privately with the infidels; and at length, with king *Philip's* consent, concluded a treaty with them. The king's motive to this was the pressing instances made by the regents, *Matthew* abbot of *St. Dennis*, and *Simon de Clermont* count of *Nesle*, for his return. By the treaty the two kings were to have a large sum of money, under colour of paying the expences of the war; the king of *Sicily* was to have five years tribute, and the monarch of *Tunis* was to pay him a double tribute for fifteen years to come: there was also a clause that he should permit the Christian missionaries to preach in his dominions, and such of his subjects as they should convert to be baptized; but this was purely to save the honour of the croisade, and without any great hopes of its being performed^e. The kings then embarked their army and proceeded to *Sicily*, but they carried the distemper with them, of which great numbers died after their arrival. The king, to console his melancholy, resolved to make a tour through *Italy*, took *Rome* in his way, and, after visiting most of the remarkable places, entered his own territories; having reposed himself some time at *Lyons*, he prosecuted his Journey to *Paris*, where he was received with great acclamations of joy, notwithstanding the sinister events of this last and most fatal of all the croisades; for therein the king lost his father, his brother, the count *de Nevers*; in *Sicily* his brother-in-law the king of *Navarre*; his own consort *Isabel* of *Arragon*, his sister the queen of *Navarre*, immediately after her return to *Marseilles*: his uncle the count, and his aunt the countess of *Poitiers*, in their passage through *Italy*^f.

He compels the count de Foix to surrender at discretion, and thereby humbles his vassals, who had given law to all his predecessors.

AFTER the celebration of his father's funeral at *St. Denis*, and the ceremony of his own coronation, at which the count of *Artois* carried the sword of *Charlemagne*, the king visited the frontiers on the side of *Flanders*, and proposed afterwards taking possession in person of the counties of *Provence* and *Thoulouse*, which were now united to the crown, without any thoughts of a military expedition. This, however, he was constrained to undertake against one of his vassals, which we find ourselves obliged to relate, not only as one of the most remarkable actions of his reign, but as it serves to mark the constitution of *France* at this time^g. The law made by *St. Lewis*, for preventing private wars, was strictly executed within the royal domain; but the royal vassals held it as a great prerogative to decide their disputes like sovereigns by the sword. The count *d'Armagnac* had taken some offence at the lord of *Casaubon*, and, after the usual prelude of defiance, came with a great number of his friends to insult him in his castle; upon this the lord of *Casaubon* sallied out, beat the count of *Armagnac*, and killed his brother. The latter, highly irritated, and greatly allied, summoned all his relations, and amongst the rest the count of *Foix*, to his assistance: the lord of *Casaubon*, seeing the party very unequal, demanded the royal protection, surrendered all his places into the king's hands, yielded himself a prisoner, and submitted to make any satisfaction that the law should

^d Annales Francorum. MEZERAY. NANGIUS in gestis Philip III. Annales Francorum. NIEL.

^e NIC. TRIVETI Annales. Hist. Angl.

^f DU CHESNE.

^g NANGII Chronicon. GUL. DE PODIO. P. DANIEL.

els of the house of *Bourbon*; his son *Lewis de Clermont* was created duke of *Bourbon* by *Charles the Fair*, with this remarkable cause in the preamble of his patent, "I hope that the descendents of the new duke, will contribute by their valour to support the dignity of the crown (7)." Of the daughters, the eldest, *Blanch*, died at three years old; *Isabella*, the second, espoused *Thibaut*, king of *Navarre*, and deceased without children; *Blanch*, born at *Jaffa* in *Syria*, became the wife of the royal infant *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, whose children were excluded from the throne of *Castile* by their uncle *Don Sancho*; *Margaret*, who espoused *John* duke of *Brabant*; *Agnes*, who was the consort of *Robert II.* duke of *Burgundy*, by whom, amongst other

children, she had *Margaret*, who espoused *Lewis Hutin*, and was by him put to death; and *Joan*, who was the consort of *Philip de Valois* (8). Queen *Margaret* was one of the most beautiful, and, at the same time, one of the most virtuous and prudent princesses of her age; and though she had little share in the government, in the life time of her husband, yet the king of *England* and lord of *Pons* submitted a dispute to her decision; so did *Otho*, count of *Burgundy*, and *Philip*, count of *Savoy*; as also the emperor *Rodolph*, and the same count of *Savoy*. She died at *Paris*, December 20, 1285, at the age of seventy-six, and was buried in a convent of *Cordeliers*, which she erected, and in which she lived in retirement fifteen years (9).

(7) P. Daniel.

(8) Du Tillet. Chalons.

(9) Recueil des Rois de France.

award;

- a award; upon which the king assigned him the castle of *Sompui*, on his own domain, for the residence of himself, his family, and friends, till the cause could be heard^b. The count of *Foix*, notwithstanding this, took the castle, and carried away prisoners all who were in it, except the lord of *Casaubon*, who made his escape. For this contempt the king summoned him thrice to appear, and on his slighting those citations marched with an army and invested the castle of *Foix*, which was looked upon as impregnable. In a short time, however, the king reduced the count and his garrison to extremities, who thereupon offered to capitulate. *Philip* would grant him no other terms than rendering this, the rest of his fortresses, and himself, at discretion, to which he was forced to submit. When he came with great humility to throw himself at the king's feet, he ordered him to be put in irons, and sent prisoner to *Paris*, but treated the countess and his family with great civility. After a year's confinement he sent for him to court, admonished him to respect the laws, and to live peaceably with his neighbours; then dismissed him to his own house, and restored him all his fortresses; which seasonable act of severity saved him any trouble of this kind during the rest of his reign^c.

A. D. 1273.

- THE death of *Henry*, king of *Navarre*, gave *Philip* an opportunity of aggrandizing his family, which he did not neglect. That prince left by his queen, the daughter of *Robert*, count of *Artois*, and the niece of *St. Lewis*, an only daughter, whom *Philip* took under his protection, with intent to marry her to his eldest son *Philip*, but, as they were related, a dispensation was necessary; and this was vehemently opposed by the kings of *Castile* and *Aragon*, at the court of *Rome*, who represented to the pope, that *Sicily*, being already in the hands of a *French* prince, it would be very unreasonable to put it in the power of the king of *France* to add *Navarre* also to his dominions, more especially as he pretended a claim to the crown of *Castile*^k. On the other hand, *Gregory X.* to whom *Philip* had given the county of *Venaissin* (of which the see of *Rome* is still possessed), was very desirous to gratify the king; but that he might keep some measures with other princes, he granted the dispensation for his second son *Lewis*, which, though with some reluctance, *Philip* accepted, and sent the count of *Artois* with a *French* army into *Navarre*. After this provision for his younger son he thought fit to marry himself, and chose for his consort one of the most beautiful princesses of that age, *Mary*, the daughter of the duke of *Brabant*^l. He celebrated his marriage with great magnificence, and, to the satisfaction which this gave him, he added another, which was receiving the homage of *Edward*, king of *England*, for the lands he held in *France*. This, however, was attended with a circumstance not altogether so agreeable. *Lewis*, his father, had engaged in his treaty with *Henry III.* that if the country of *Aginois* reverted to the crown, it should be yielded to him or his heirs; and as by the death of the count of *Poitiers* it was reverted, *Edward* put in his claim. The country was in itself of great importance, and more so from its situation; but the case was clear, and *Philip* caused the king to be put in possession of it^m. An act of justice that secured him the friendship of a prince, who, in all respects, was the most capable of giving him disturbance.

1274.

- PHILIP, for which some historians reproach him, was a great lover of peace, and laboured all he could to preserve it; yet he was not an unconcerned spectator of what he took to be an injustice done to his nephews the infants *de la Cerda*, of which, having spoken largely in the history of *Spain*, it is unnecessary to dwell upon hereⁿ. On this account, while there was a kind of rupture between the kingdoms of *France* and *Castile*, in consequence of which an insurrection appeared in *Navarre*, an unlucky event in *France* filled the king and his subjects with great perplexity; *Lewis*, his eldest son and heir apparent, died suddenly, at the age of twelve years, with circumstances that created a suspicion of poison^o. One *Peter de la Brosse*, who had been about the person of *St. Lewis*, but in no higher character than that of a barber, had engrossed the favour of *Philip*, who raised him to the post of high chamberlain, made him his first and almost sole minister, and suffered him to fill all employments, ecclesiastical and civil, with his creatures and relations. This man, perceiving that the king had an extreme tenderness for his young wife, took umbrage at it, and either raised or encouraged a rumour, that she had procured his son's death. As this made *Philip* exceedingly uneasy, *la Brosse* put it into his head to consult a certain nun who pretended to revelations. The king sent the abbot of *St. Denis*, and the bishop of *Evreux*, who was the brother of *la Brosse*'s wife. This prelate got first to the nun, and drew from her what he pleased in confession, so that when the abbot came she would say nothing. The king, disappointed and displeased at the bishop's report, sent other persons in whom he could confide to the nun, who then answered clearly that the king ought to despise what was told him to the prejudice of his consort, because it

Disgraces his favourite *La Brosse*, who ends his days ignominiously on a gibbet.

^b NANGIUS in gestis Philip III. P. DANIEL.

ZURITA, DUPLEIX.

VIRGIL.

^c P. DANIEL.^d NICOL. TRIVETI Annales. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.^e DU TILLET. MEZERAY.^f DU CHESNE. MEZERAY.^g MARIANA,^h POLYDOR.

was false^p. This laid the foundation of *la Brosse's* ruin, who, being soon after charged with holding a private correspondence with the king of *Castile*, and betraying his master's secrets, was sent to prison, and his family disgraced, to the no small satisfaction of the nobility and the people. But, being afterwards condemned without an open trial, and the duke of *Brabant* her brother, and two or three other lords of her party, being eye witnesses of his execution, the popular tide turned, and *la Brosse*, who was before thought a criminal^q, was now considered as a victim, to the resentment of the queen and her family, which gave the king great uneasiness, and was the prelude to those unfortunate events that embittered the remaining part of his life, and led him from one misfortune to another through the rest of his reign, though it cannot be said that he contributed, by any act of his own, to the bringing on of these disasters, which, as they belong in a great measure to other parts of our history, and must be there treated more at large, we shall mention but very succinctly here.

The revolt of
the subjects of
Charles of
Anjou, and
the famous
Sicilian
Vespers.

A. D. 1282.

THE severity of the king of the *Two Sicilies* had not only rendered him, but his family, odious, to a great part of his subjects; and the insolence and debauchery of the *French* troops had excited an irreconcilable aversion to the whole nation. At the same time, the immeasurable ambition of *Charles*, who was actually preparing to attack the emperor *Michael Paleologus*, and was suspected to have an eye also to the *German* empire, raised a general distaste against him amongst all his neighbours^r. Pope *Nicholas III.* was of this number, and had conceived worse impressions of him than any, which induced him, if he is not slandered by the *French* historians, to concur in, if not to contrive, the scheme for his destruction, though this did not operate till immediately after his decease. It began by the general massacre of the *French* troops in *Sicily*, on the evening of *Easter-day*, so famous to all posterity by the name of the *Sicilian Vespers*^s. Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, who had married the daughter of *Mainfroi*, supported the *Sicilians*, and openly claimed the kingdom in her right. In this situation *Charles* had no hopes but from *France*, where the nobility in general had a great affection for him, and very readily offered to furnish troops for his support, to which the king consented. Pope *Martin*, who had succeeded *Nicholas*, was also entirely in the interest of *Charles*, who might probably have recovered his kingdom, if he had not been amused by Don *Pedro's* challenging him to decide their disputes by a personal combat at *Bordeaux*, which *Charles*, who wanted not courage, but rather had too much, accepted; and Don *Pedro*, as we have shewn in its proper place, having very adroitly saved his honour and avoided the combat, prosecuted the war with all the advantage that this address gave him^t. The pope, zealous for *Charles*, excommunicated the king of *Arragon*, and gave his dominions to which of his younger sons the king of *France* should please to name, who was to hold them as a vassal to the *Roman* see^u. *Philip*, flattered by his proposal, declared his son *Charles de Valois* king of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, and count of *Barcelona*; and, at the same time, furnished his uncle *Charles* with a fleet and forces for the recovery of his dominions, and put himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intent to set his son, of the same name, upon the throne of *Arragon*. Projects splendid and specious, if they had been but practicable^w.

Philip invades
Catalonia,
takes Gi-
ronne, and
dies in his re-
treat at Per-
pignan.

CHARLES had left his son of the same name, and who, from an accident that befel him, was surnamed *Charles the lame*, in *Sicily*, with strict orders to act on the defensive, and to risk nothing till his arrival with the succours that he was embarking at *Marseilles*: but the young prince, provoked by the *Arragonefe* fleet, broke through his father's instructions, was defeated, and taken prisoner; which, though the king his father at first supported with constancy, yet the constraint he put upon his grief cost him dear, since he afterwards broke his heart^x. The *French* army, under the command of king *Philip*, penetrated into *Catalonia*, and laid siege to *Gironne*, which made a gallant defence. Don *Pedro* being in the neighbourhood with a small army, and attacking a convoy that was going to the *French* camp, received a mortal wound. *Gironne* being surrendered, and the king having put a good garrison into it, he dismissed part of his fleet, which consisted of three hundred sail, being ships that he had hired from some of the *Italian* republics. *Doria*, who commanded the fleet of *Arragon*, who durst not attack the *French* fleet when whole, beat this detachment, and afterwards sunk and destroyed the remainder^y, which was not a greater loss in itself, than fatal in its consequence, since having the greatest part of the provision, with which the army should have been supplied, on board, the troops were grievously distressed; and the king taking this reverse of fortune to heart fell sick, and died at *Perpignan*, about the middle of the month of *September*, in the forty-first year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his reign^z, extremely

^p NICEPHOR. P. ÆMIL. Chronicon. RAINALD. Angl.

^q GREGOR. lib. v. ^u N. TRIVETI Annal.

^r JORDANUS.

^s PTOLEMÆUS Lucensis.

^t DU CHESNE.

^w ZURITA. MARIANA. LE GENDRE.

^x NANGII

^y ZURITA. FERRERAS. LE GENDRE.

^z NANGII Chron. Hist.

a regretted by his army, and not less by his subjects in general; for though he loved money rather more than became a king, yet he was very tender in imposing taxes, and, when he did, levied them so mildly, and with such equality, that the people never expressed any impatience (K).

PHILIP IV. surnamed *le Bel*, or *the Fair*, from the beauty of his countenance and his majestic presence, was about seventeen at the time of his accession, and was crowned at Rheims on the 6th of January, together with his consort Joan, queen of Navarre in her own right, and by whom he became also possessed of the counties of Champagne and Brie^a. He found things in a very perplexed state, his finances exhausted, his troops ruined, and the war still open with Castile and Arragon. He was willing to have composed his disputes with the former monarch, and a conference was fixed for that purpose; but the Castilian declined, and it ended only in an interview between their ministers. Edward I. king of England, demanded the country of *Xaintonge*, as belonging to him by the treaty concluded between Lewis IX. and Henry III. Philip caused that treaty to be examined, and finding the matter perfectly clear, directed the country to be restored; and terminated also in an amicable manner some other differences that had arisen between the two crowns, with which Edward was so well pleased, that he came to make the king a visit at Amiens, went with him to Paris, and there did homage for the dominions he held in France: after which the two kings parted as good friends as possible^b. Edward after this interview went to Bourdeaux, where he held a parliament, and where, with great state, he received the ambassadors of Castile, Arragon, and Sicily; which gave Philip great pain, as he was at war with all these crowns, and therefore suspected that some negotiation to his prejudice was on the carpet. But in this he was absolutely mistaken; for Edward, who was a wise and generous prince, had nothing farther in view than to facilitate a general peace, and to procure the liberty of Charles the Lamb, for whom he had a great affection^c. He at length concluded a treaty with the king of Arragon, and though the terms were hard, Charles would gladly have accepted them; but, upon laying it before pope Honorius for his approbation, he declared it null, and pressed king Philip to carry on the war against the crown of Arragon, with an offer of taxing his clergy for the support of it. This pope dying, he was succeeded by Nicholas the fourth, who had somewhat more moderation; and king Edward, renewing his solicitations to the king of Arragon, prevailed upon him to set Charles at liberty, upon giving hostages for the performance of the terms stipulated, and a ransom of fifty thousand livres, twenty thousand of which

1288.

^a P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum. DUPLEIX. de Dunstable. P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY.

^b THOM. WALSHING. NIC. TRIVETI Annales. ^c Annal.

(K) Philip III. surnamed *the Hardy*, was the first who granted letters of nobility, which he did in favour of Ralph the Goldsmith, in which he did no more than restore the ancient constitution of the Franks; who, being all of one blood, were esteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the highest offices. The notion of a particular and distinct noblesse arose towards the close of the second race, when many of the officers of the crown had usurped, and converted into an hereditary dignity, the offices and jurisdictions which they received from royal favour (1). In the reign of this prince a great change was made with regard to the succession to the domains of younger sons to the crown; for upon the decease of Alonso, count of Poitiers, his succession was claimed by Charles, king of Sicily, as heir by descent, and by Philip, king of France, as reverting to the crown, in whose favour it was determined by the parliament at the term of All-Saints, 1283, the record of which still remains (2). This prince, by his first wife Donna Isabella, daughter to the king of Arragon, who died January 23, 1271, had four sons; Lewis, who deceased five years after his mother; Philip, who succeeded his father Charles count of Valois; Alençon, who was the founder of the royal house of Valois, and Robert, who died young (3). By Mary his second queen, the daughter of Henry, and the sister of John, dukes of Brabant, he had one son and two daughters; Lewis count d'Evreux, the founder of the house of Navarre; Margaret, who espoused, at Canterbury, September 10, 1299, Edward I. king of England; and Blanch, who

first married John de Namur, count of Hainault, son to Guy, earl of Flanders, and afterwards Rodolph, eldest son of the emperor Albert of Austria, in 1300, and, with her only son, poisoned about five years after (4). As for queen Mary of Brabant, who survived Philip, she was in great danger of suffering death upon the poisoning of prince Lewis, of which she was positively accused; but her brother procured her a stout champion, by whom the accuser being worsted, was, pursuant to the notions of those times, hanged without mercy (5). This princess was a great lover of poetry, and is said to have written some things herself. She died in the year 1321, having out-lived her husband thirty-six years, and was buried in the church of the Cordeliers, to whom she had been a bountiful benefactress (6); but her heart was deposited in that of the Jacobins; those convents, says a modern historian, dividing the relics of this princess after her decease, as while living they had shared her favours. On this occasion it will be proper to remark, that as there was a necessity for embalming the corpse of St. Lewis, which gave occasion to the interring his entrails in one place and his body in another, so the clergy took this opportunity of establishing this as a custom; and as these marks of esteem were never given without some foundation for prayers on behalf of the deceased, subsequent monarchs were obliged to make two, one in favour of the convents where the heart was deposited, and the other on behalf of that where the corpse was interred (7).

(1) Gaguin. J. de Serres. Scipio.

(2) Boulanwilliers. Mezeray.

(3) Du Tillot. Le Gendre.

(4) Du

Tillot, ubi sup. Genealogie de la Maison Royale.

(5) Paul Æmil. de rebus gestis Francorum.

(6) Le Gendre.

(7) P. Daniel. Chalons. P. Henault.

Edward agreed to pay ^d. *Charles* being at liberty, and perceiving some hopes of retrieving ^a his affairs, pressed king *Philip* to carry on the war in behalf of his brother *Charles* of *Valois*, instead of engaging him to persuade that prince to lay aside the title of *Aragon*, to which he was bound both by the treaty and his oath. However, these military operations not having answered his desire, the king of *England* insisted on the performance of those articles, in respect to which he was bound. *Charles* found it his interest to press this point at the court of *France*; and, perceiving it could be no other way obtained, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to *Charles* of *Valois*, and with her the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, in compensation for his claim upon *Aragon*; a claim no better founded than in a bull, granted by a passionate pope, for giving away the dominions of a prince who would not submit to be governed by him ^e. The quarrel with *Castile* had been some time before adjusted, at the expence of the infants *de* ^b *la Cerda*, whom king *Philip*, finding it inconsistent with his interest to sustain, was content to abandon. *Charles* of *Sicily* also having quarrelled with the count of *Artois*, that prince returned with most of the *French* troops that had served under him in *Italy*; so that peace on all sides was now in some measure established, to the great satisfaction of king *Philip*, though things did not long remain in this state ^f.

He quarrels
with Edward
I. of Eng-
land, and re-
solves all pre-
sents of ac-
commodation.

THE two kings *Philip* and *Edward*, who had hitherto lived on the best terms imaginable, and whose right correspondence was of so great consequence to their respective countries, were of a sudden involved in a war, as if it had been by accident, though at the bottom, upon comparing the best historians, it appears, that the haughtiness and ambition of *Philip* was its real source, through the unfortunate circumstances for him of having to do with the firmest ^c and ablest monarch of that age ^g. The immediate cause of this war was a quarrel between a *Gascon* and a *Norman* sailor; the latter had attempted to stab the former, who escaping the blow, by his agility, the *Norman* fell upon his own weapon. The crew of their respective ships immediately took part in the quarrel, and fought it out at sea. Soon after a fleet of *Norman* vessels engaged an *English* fleet in the same cause, without the interposition of authority on either side. At length, the *Normans* making prize of *English* ships, *Edward* commanded reprisals, and then the matter began to grow serious. *Philip* sent ambassadors to *London*, who demanded satisfaction in very high and very coarse terms. *Edward* gave them good words, and promised an answer by ambassadors of his own, who were sent back with them ^h. These ambassadors acquainted king *Philip*, that, hostilities having been reciprocally ^d committed by the subjects of the two crowns, the dispute was to be considered as between the *English* and *French* nations; which, however, *Edward* was very desirous should be amicably determined. As a farther proof of this, he sent over his brother prince *Edmund* to expostulate the matter with *Philip*; to shew him the impropriety of pretending to summon him as a vassal to the parliament, to abide the judgment of his peers; and at the same time to assure him, that, as he had formerly had strict justice done him by the king in *France*, he should, on a proper complaint, render the like justice to the subjects of *France* in *England*. *Philip*, mistaking condescension for submission, persisted in his own way, summoned *Edward* as a peer of *France* to his parliament; and, upon his refusal, declared all the estates he possessed in that kingdom forfeited for this act of felony. A proceeding which the *French* historians ^e acknowledge to have been equally violent and unjust, and which they likewise own *Edward* bore with extraordinary patience ⁱ.

King Philip,
thro' a breach
of faith,
brings on a
war with
Edward king
of England.

THE appearance of war being strong, both monarchs began to enter into alliances, and to make suitable preparations; but the queen of *France*, and the queen mother, very desirous to prevent a rupture if possible, sent for *Edmund* earl of *Lancaster*, *Edward*'s brother, back to the *French* court, and proposed to him, that, to satisfy king *Philip*, the king of *England* should order six fortresses in *Guienne* to be delivered up, and should permit him to name an officer to command in each of the great towns of that duchy, three only excepted; that upon this the summons should be recalled, the judgment of parliament reversed, and, a safe conduct being granted to king *Edward*, *Philip* and he should have an interview at *Amiens*, ^f where all things might be finally adjusted; and that in the mean time the places yielded for saving the king's honour should again be given up ^k. This agreement, being reduced to writing, was transmitted to *Edward*, who readily consented to it, and sent over to his brother the necessary orders for the general, who commanded in *Guienne*, and for the governors of all the strong places in that country. But earl *Edmund*, before he made use of these orders, had the precaution to demand an explicit approbation of this agreement from the king's own mouth; who, in the presence of the queen of *Navarre* his consort, and of her mother queen

^d DU CHESNE, NANG. Chron.

^e DU TILLET, MEZERAY, LE GEND.

^f DU CHESNE, NANG.

Chron. ^g THOM. WALSHING. NICH. TRIVETI Annales.

^h Annales de Dunstaple, DU TILLET,

P. DANIEL.

ⁱ NANG. Chron. THOM. WALSHING. NICH. TRIVETI Annales.

^k THOM. WALSHING.

Annales de Dunstaple.

- a *Blanch*, the duke of *Burgundy*, *Hugh Vere* son to the earl of *Oxford*, and *John Lacy* an ecclesiastic, promised, that he would abide by the convention entered into by the queens; upon which the earl of *Lancaster* dispatched the orders he had received into *Guienne*, and *John de St. John*, *Edward's* general, believing all differences between the two kings at an end, sold the ammunition and provisions out of his magazines, and the governors of the fortresses, pursuant to the orders they had received, opened their gates to the *French*. But, being once in possession, *Philip* disavowed the treaty made by the queens, and sent the constable of *France*, with an army, to secure what he had thus basely obtained¹. It must be owned, that this is related by *English* writers; but by *English* writers of that age, well informed, and so consistent in their accounts, that the modern writers of *French* history very fairly admit their testimony^m; and indeed a *French* writer of this age appears not to be unacquainted with the fact, by the effort he makes to turn the fraud upon king *Edward*; who, he says, gave up the places with a design to recover them by conquest, and to hold them afterwards in his own right, without homage to the crown of *France*ⁿ: which suggestion is plainly drawn from *Edward's* subsequent conduct, who, in resentment of the usage he had received, immediately declared war, and at the same time acquainted king *Philip*, that he looked upon himself as released, by this notorious breach of faith, from his former obligations; that therefore he renounced his homage, and would acknowledge himself no longer his vassal for any thing he held in *France*^o.

- It is agreed by the historians of both nations, that the war thus begun was carried on with great vigour on both sides. *John de St. John*, who was sent back to his command, made himself master of the important town of *Bayonne*, and of several other places, while the *French*, who were not at all idle, made a great progress on their side. The count *de Valois* also entered *Gascony* with a numerous army. At the same time *Matthew de Montmorency*, and *John de Harcourt*, with a powerful fleet, attempted a descent upon *England*, burned the town of *Dover*, and some villages on the coast: but the *English*, in return, landed on the coast of *Normandy*, and destroyed *Cherbourg*, and the places adjacent^p. The next year, *Edmund* earl of *Lancaster* commanded for his brother in *Guienne*, where he recovered several places, and would have done more if he had not been seized with a dangerous distemper, of which he died not long after at *Bayonne*. But what the king of *England* chiefly depended upon, was the alliance he had made with the emperor *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, the counts of *Bretagne*, *Holland*, *Bar*, *Juliers*, *Gueldres*, and *Flanders*^q. *Philip*, who had treated the emperor very rudely, was obliged to repair that fault by an embassy, which perhaps would have produced no great effect, if it had not been accompanied with a round sum of money, which the pressing necessities of that great prince obliged him to accept. At the same time *Philip* sent as large a sum to *Albert* duke of *Austria*; who sharing this money with the lesser *German* princes, which *Adolph* had refused to do, they formed a design to raise him to the imperial throne; in which they succeeded, the emperor *Adolph* being killed in the dispute. By the same powerful argument *Philip* wrought upon the rest of *Edward's* allies, the count of *Flanders* only excepted, against whom he acted by force of arms, and had probably reduced him to great extremities, if king *Edward* had not come with a fleet and army to his relief^r. Upon this *Philip* dexterously changed his conduct, and, by declaring for the commons in the several cities of *Flanders*, excited a revolt at *Ghent*, in which *Edward* was very near losing his life; and thereupon a negociation was set on foot, and a truce concluded, through the interposition of *Charles* king of *Sicily*, whose gratitude to *Edward* prompted him to act as a mediator upon this occasion. This truce was at first but for a few months; but, for their mutual conveniency, the two kings afterwards extended it to two years, and, as it was made in order to promote a peace, all points in difference between them were referred to the mediation of the pope^s. By letters patents, dated in the month of *September* this year, the king, to replace the peerage of *Champagne* now in himself, erected *Bretagne* into a dukedom and peerage, in favour of *John de Dreux*, a prince of the blood, who had espoused *Beatrix*, sister to king *Edward* of *England*; of which we take notice, because it is the first instance of the kind in the *French* history^t.

ONE of the most remarkable occurrences in his reign was the quarrel between *Philip* and *Boniface* the eighth, which began before this time, and which seemed to be accommodated by the two kings accepting him for the umpire of their differences. This pontif was certainly a man of parts, but even these were inferior to his pride; he had more learning than judgment, and, with much spirit and penetration, wanted sagacity and steadiness. He had indeed

¹ NICH. TRIVETI Annales.

^o DU CHESNE, NICOL. TRIVETI Annales, POLYD. VIRG.

^q NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.

THOM. WALSINGHAM.

^m LE GENDRE, P. DANIEL, BOULAINVILL.

ⁿ NANG. Chron. P. ÆMIL. Annales Francorum.

^p NANG. Chron. P. ÆMIL.

^r NANG. Chron.

^s NANG. Chron. THOM. WALSINGHAM.

^t DU CHESNE,

A. D. 1303.

Revival of
their differen-
ces, and me-
thods taken by
the king and
pope to sup-
port their
respective
powers.

Pope Boniface
seized by the
French parti-
zans, and dies
of chagrin for
his ill usage.

the appearance of both; for his policy, at the bottom, was but cunning, and the firmness, of which he made a shew, proceeded rather from the obstinacy of his temper than from a rational fortitude. The quality which particularly distinguished him was a supercilious haughtiness, which led him to imagine himself as much superior to other princes as they were to private men; and this was peculiarly offensive to *Philip*, from the strong tincture he had of the same kind of weakness himself^a. The first thing which gave offence to *Philip*, was his forbidding the clergy in general to grant any aids or subsidies to princes, without leave first obtained from the holy see, under pain of excommunication. *Philip* encountered this by an edict, forbidding any of his clergy to send any money abroad without his leave. The pope next attempted to force a croisade upon the loss of *Ptolemais*, or *Acon*, the last place which the Christians held in the east; to which *Philip* would not consent. But what was most provoking, was the manner in which he interposed between the two kings, directing them, in the most peremptory manner, to make peace, and to submit their disputes to the decision of his tribunal. This was equally resented in *France* and *England*, which, when the pope found, he gave so soft a turn to the swelling terms of his proposals, that the two kings, finding it for their interests, consented that he should act as umpire; upon which, taking the truce for the basis, the project he dictated was this; that *Guienne* should be restored to king *Edward*, and that he should do homage as in times past; that the places in dispute should be sequestered in his hands; that the ships and effects taken should, as far as possible, be restored, and such farther satisfaction made as the pope should hold reasonable; that king *Edward* should marry the princess *Margaret*, the king's sister; and that his son *Edward* should espouse *Isabella* king *Philip's* daughter^b. But many things yet remaining unsettled, the truce was prolonged, and the quarrel between *Boniface* and *Philip* reviving, excluded the pope from having any thing farther to do with their affairs; and having, at length, accommodated all differences by a definitive treaty, *Philip* received the homage of *Edward* on the 20th of *May*, at *Paris*; where they also concluded a defensive alliance against all such as should disturb, impeach, or trouble, the said kings in their franchises, liberties, privileges, or customs, in their respective realms; which was understood to be a league against the pope^c.

It is impossible for us to enter into the detail of the revived quarrel between the king and the pope, the history of which actually makes a considerable volume. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that *Boniface* was in general the aggressor: he had erected the abbey of *Pamiers* into a bishoprick, without the consent or approbation of the king, in favour of *Bernard Sayseti*, who was very obnoxious to him. On the other hand the king granted his protection to the *Colonna's*, whom the pope persecuted with implacable malice, and who, for very plausible reasons, refused to acknowledge him for pope^d. To insult him farther, the pope issued bull after bull, assuming to himself a sovereignty over the king and his subjects; wrote him a letter, in which he told him he was a fool, if he made any doubt of this, or of his power to correct him, and call him to an account^e. He named this very bishop of *Pamiers* his legate, who not only delivered arrogant messages from *Boniface* to the king, but took the liberty of speaking very disrespectfully to him and of him, and entered into intrigues of a treasonable nature; for which the king caused him to be arrested, and sent out of his dominions. *Boniface*, upon this, summoned the clergy and doctors of *France* to assist at a council he appointed at *Rome*, to enquire into *Philip's* conduct. The king encountered this by assembling the states, and not only drew from the clergy and nobility, but also from the magistrates and representatives of cities, a clear acknowledgement of his own sovereignty, a disavowal of the pope's authority, and an appeal to a general council, under a future pope, regularly elected, against the violent and illegal proceedings of *Boniface*, whose title was now drawn into dispute^f.

THE pope notwithstanding proceeded to hold his council at *Rome*, at which a considerable number of the *French* clergy assisted; for which the king seized their temporalities at home. He had also recalled his brother *Charles* of *Valois*, who had been the pope's general, and on whom, in right of his second wife, the daughter of *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, he had bestowed that lofty title; but who, in quitting *Italy* had left numbers of those, who had served under him, very well affected to the *French* nation^g. *Philip*, therefore, doubting what the consequence might be of these disputes, in case they should be longer protracted, and apprehending that *Boniface* would have recourse to the severest ecclesiastical censure, resolved to prevent him, and with this view sent *William de Nogaret* and *Sciarra Colonna* into *Tuscany*, with a large sum of money, giving out, that, since other measures had failed, he would try whether peace could not be purchased. These agents of his raised with great

^a DU CHESNE, NICH. TRIVETI Annales.
ÆMIL. ^y DU CHESNE Hist. des Papes.
CHESNE, POLYD. VIRG. ^b ANTONIN. RAINALD.

^w NANG. CHRON. POLYD. VIRG.

^x RAINALD, P.

^z NANG. CHRON. RAINALD. NICH. TRIVETI.

^a DU

- a secrecy a body of determined men, and with them suddenly invested *Anagni*, where the pope was born, and which was now the place of his residence^c. The inhabitants, corrupted by money, joined with them, and seized on his person; when *Sciarra* not only insulted but struck him, and, if *Nogaret* had not interposed, would have killed him: but after some days the popular tide turned, and the inhabitants, having taken him out of their hands, sent him under a good escorte to *Rome*, where he died of a disease brought upon him by anxiety, and the ill usage he had met with. Such was the issue of this famous quarrel, which, instead of lessening the royal authority in *France*, or extending the papal power, established the former, and effectually circumscribed the latter^d. This blow was struck very opportunely, for the pope had actually a bull by him, and which he intended to publish the next day, for excommunicating the king, and for releasing his subjects from their obedience^e.

- b THE king, during the course of these events, was embarked in the war of *Flanders*, which he had determined to unite to the crown, and therefore would never suffer the count *Guy de Dampier* to be included in the peace with *England*. The *Flemings* were at this time excessively rich, their cities populous and well built, but at the same time they were divided amongst themselves, and there was a strong faction in favour of *France*. *Philip* flattered these, and sent his brother *Charles* of *Valois* to reduce their opponents. A divided people are incapable of making a vigorous defence. The count *de Valois* was a good officer, had a powerful army of well-disciplined troops, and good intelligence in most of the places he was to attack. With these advantages he soon brought things to such a pass, that the count found
- c himself under the necessity of recurring to the king's mercy. *Charles* received the old man with humanity, promised, that neither he nor his sons should be confined, and that if, within the space of a year, he could not compromise matters with the king, they should be at liberty to return home, and take whatever measures they thought proper. After this *Charles* entered *Paris* in triumph, and the queen, who mortally hated the count of *Flanders*, pleased herself with looking upon him and his sons as they passed in the procession^f. It had been well if her resentment had stopped there; but, in conjunction with the count of *Artois*, she engaged *Philip* to disavow the treaty which his brother had made, to send the count prisoner to *Compiègne*, and his two sons to different castles. The king and queen went afterwards into *Flanders*, not as conquerors but as sovereigns, and as such they were received,
- d with a profusion of expence, and a joy that bordered upon madness, which was excited by the pains they took to render themselves popular, by remitting some taxes, and by flattering the magistrates where-ever they came. At their return, *John de Chatillon* was appointed governor by the queen's interest, to whom he was nearly related^g. He had courage and abilities, but he was proud and haughty; the magistrates made great court to him, and, in return, he supported their authority, even when they made an ill use of it. This produced murmurs, and these were followed with chastisements: the towns were most of them open, he repaired their fortifications, and in several places built citadels, to bridle their inhabitants; but, what is very wonderful, he forgot garrisons, which, indeed, were not in use in those days but in war. The people of *Bruges*, headed by a dyer, revolted; *Ghent* and other places
- e followed their example; but the *French* faction and the magistrates were still so powerful, that they were soon calmed, and the dyer and his associates banished^h.

- f THERE the dispute might have ended; but *Chatillon*, who had now a body of troops about him, entered *Bruges* in triumph, and proposed, when he had posted them properly, to have employed the contents of a couple of hogsheds filled with ropes, in stifling what he called rebellion. The people, having notice of this, took their measures with such secrecy, that, recalling the dyer, they surprised the governor, and killed fifteen hundred out of seventeen hundred *French* horse, which he had brought to be spectators of the execution he intended. He himself hardly escaped, by swimming the town ditch in the night. Three sons of the count, who had retired to *Namur*, which belonged to their mother, quickly returned, and put themselves at the head of the people, and gradually recovered the best part of the countryⁱ. *Philip* found himself much embarrassed, but, having raised a numerous army, sent it under the command of the count of *Artois* to chastise the *Flemings*. The young princes were then besieging *Courtray*, and their army consisted of near sixty thousand men, but they were new raised, and very ill armed. However, they fortified their camp, and continued the siege. The count of *Artois*, contrary to the opinion of the constable *de Nesle*, resolved to attack them in their intrenchments, though the strength of his army consisted in cavalry; the consequence was a total defeat, in which the count and the constable both fell, with about twenty thousand men^k. This so irritated *Philip*, that, to raise a new army, he diminished

^c OSIUS, PTOLOMÆUS Lucensis, JORDANUS.^d RAINALD. ANTONIN. J. DE SERRES.^e OSIUS,

PTOLOMÆUS Lucensis, & al.

^f LE GENDRE, NANG. CHRON.^g DU CHESNE, POLYD. VIRG.^h NANG. CHRON. P. ÆMIL.ⁱ DU CHESNE, MEYERUS.^k NANG. CHRON. NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.

his coin a third part, that is, he obliged his subjects to take a groat for six pence ; and, having assembled the whole force of *France*, threatened the *Flemings* with extirpation. The young princes provided the best they could for their defence ; but *Edward* king of *England*, who saw his old allies suffer with infinite concern, told his queen, as a great secret, that the pope had some partizans in the *French* army, who would take their opportunity to deliver the king to the *Flemings*. She, as he expected, gave notice of it to her brother, and *Philip*, under pretence that the season was too far advanced, retired without doing any thing. It may not be amiss to observe, that these two monarchs, *Philip* and *Edward*, understood each other's maxims perfectly well ; for as the latter had abandoned the *Flemings*, the former had left the *Scots* out of the treaty, so that they provided for their own interests, and gratified each other's resentments, at the expence of their allies ¹.

King Philip enters Flanders with the whole force of his dominions.

It was some consolation to *Philip*, that the fleet which he furnished to his ally the count of *Hainault*, who was also at war with the *Flemings*, gained a great naval victory ; but the reader must not imagine from hence, that, at this juncture, the *French* were powerful by sea, for this fleet was composed chiefly of the *Genoese* gallies, and their admiral was *Rainald de Grimaldi*, who took *Guy*, son to the count of *Flanders*, prisoner, and sent him to *Paris*. *Philip*, finding the war expensive, tedious, and hazardous, consented to a kind of truce, and, releasing the old count of *Flanders*, sent him to try what he could do with his subjects ; but upon an express condition, that, if he could not bring them to the king's terms, he should return ; which he did, and died soon after at *Compiègne* at the age of fourscore ^m. The king, having by this time recruited his army, marched with his brothers the counts of *Valois* and *Evreux*, the flower of the *French* nobility, and the whole force of the kingdom, against the *Flemings*, who had still three sons of their count at their head. *Philip*, who had served long in *Sicily*, having brought with him a small corps of *Italians*, was intrusted with the chief command, whom his brethren and the whole nation willingly obeyed ⁿ. He acted as long as it was possible on the defensive, but *Philip* at length penetrated into *Flanders*, eager to decide this long dispute by a decisive action, and came up with the *Flemish* army at *Mons en Puelle* ^o.

Gains a great victory, but thinks it prudent, notwithstanding, to conclude a peace.

THE young prince *Philip*, knowing the *French* force consisted in cavalry, that he had none to oppose them, and that they had the advantage of ground, fortified his camp with his carriages, determined to defend it to the last extremity. The *French* advancing on all sides to insult them, the *Flemings* issued out ; but were repulsed with great loss. After they retired to their camp, it was debated, whether they should retreat in the night ; but the people in general pressed their officers to attack, in their turn, the *French* camp ; which they resolved and executed immediately, with such spirit, that they penetrated, in a quarter of an hour, to the king's tent, where they found the tables covered for supper. *Philip* had but just time to escape, and, having happily found a horse, rallied some of his troops, and attacked the enemy. The greatest part of the *French* army, who fled at the beginning, hearing of the king's danger, and being encouraged by the great lords, returned to the charge, and, after an obstinate dispute, drove out the *Flemings* with prodigious slaughter ^p. After this the king invested *Lisle*, into which *Philip* of *Flanders* had thrown himself with what troops he could collect, and here the king expected the war would have ended, the place having capitulated, in case it was not relieved by the first of *October* ; but, when it was least expected, *John de Namur* appeared with an army of sixty thousand men, undisciplined indeed, but daring and desperate ; so that the king, by the advice of the duke of *Brabant*, and other great lords, consented to set *Robert de Bethune*, the eldest son of the count of *Flanders*, at liberty, to receive his homage for the country, to accept of eight hundred thousand livres for the expences of the war, and to have certain places delivered into his hands by way of security, till this sum should be paid ^q. At his return to *Paris* the king granted a rent of one hundred livres to the church of *Notre Dame*, and placed there an equestrian statue, which many, however, have asserted to belong to *Philip de Valois* ; but it appears from the breviary of *Paris*, that it referred to this battle, which was fought on the 18th of *August* ^r.

A. D. 1304.

Benedict XI. absolves king Philip, dies and is succeeded by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, styled Clement V.

WE must now resume the transactions between this monarch and the see of *Rome*, which were interrupted, in order to give a more distinct account of the war of *Flanders*. After the death of *Boniface*, the cardinals speedily elected *Nicholas Boccacini*, who assumed thereupon the name of *Benedict* the eleventh ^s. He was a mild and good man, and, being desirous to use his power for the promoting of peace, revoked the excommunication which his predecessor had fulminated against *Philip*, and emitted six new bulls, by which, in a great measure, all things were put again into their former state. He also pardoned the *Colonna's*, and

¹ DU CHESNE. MEYERUS. J. DE SERRES. CHESNE, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. TRIVETI Annales.

^m NANG. CHRON. NICOL. TRIVETI Annales.

^o NANG. Chron.

^p P. ÆMIL. P. DANIEL.

^q NICOL.

^r DU CHESNE, P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY.

^s RAINALD. BAILLET. DU PUY, P.

ÆMIL. de rebus gestis Francorum.

- a shewed a strong disposition to reform that corruption, which had spread itself generally through the dominions of the church¹. These proceedings, while they gained him the approbation of all virtuous and worthy men, excited the hatred of such as were of a different disposition; so that, before he had accomplished much, he was removed by poison². In the conclave after his death, which subsisted several months, the *Italian* and the *French* factions were so nicely balanced, that there could have been no election, if the former had not proposed to name three eminent persons amongst the clergy on the other side of the mountains, out of which they might name one who was to be unanimously proclaimed pope. This expedient being accepted, they named three archbishops, all partizans of *Boniface* the eighth, and amongst these was *Bertrand de Got*, archbishop of *Bourdeaux*³. King *Philip*, being informed of this, and happening
- b to receive the news when he was in *Poitou*, sent to desire the archbishop would meet him, as if it was by chance, in a wood. There the king told him, he would certainly make him pope, if he would promise him an absolute pardon for all that had been done against *Boniface*, an authentic condemnation of the conduct and memory of that pontif, the restitution of the honours and estates of the *Colonna's*, the tenths of the clergy of *France* for five years, and another request which he would make to him at a proper time. *Bertrand*, without hesitation, accepted the king's proposition; and, being unanimously elected pope, took the name of *Clement* the fifth⁴.

- THE new pontif, to the great regret of the *Italian* cardinals, resolved to be crowned at *Lyons*; which was performed accordingly, with great ceremony, on the 14th of *November*. *This pope is crowned at Lyons, and removes the papal residence from Rome to Avignon.*
- c In returning from the church to his palace, the pope was on horseback with his triple crown on his head, and the king of *France*, his brothers, the counts *de Valois* and *Evreux*, and the duke of *Bretagne*, led the beast by turns. This procession, however, would not have claimed a place in our history, but for the accident which attended it; for a great number of spectators having taken post upon an old wall, it fell down at once, by which the pope had his tiara beat off, the king and the count *de Valois* were wounded, the duke *de Bretagne*, the pope's brother, and several other persons of distinction, were bruised to death⁵. Such was the introduction of the papal court into *France*; for this pontif and several of his successors, leaving *Rome*, fixed their seat at *Avignon*. *Clement* performed his promises tolerably well; he revoked, or softened, all the bulls that *Boniface* had issued; he granted the king the tenths of the
- d clergy, for the term required; he created several cardinals at his request; but for stigmatizing the memory of *Boniface* he took time, under pretence of examining witnesses: but, at length, it ended in a justification of his predecessor, in which the king acquiesced, as finding it unavoidable⁶. The king found it necessary to send his son *Lewis* into *Navarre*, where he took the title of king, as heir of his mother. He had the satisfaction also of seeing the marriage completed between his daughter *Isabel* and *Edward* the second, become lately king of *England*, with whom he had an interview at *Bologne*, where he did him homage for the duchy of *Guienne*, and the county of *Ponthieu*⁷. The death of the emperor *Albert* of *Austria*, who was assassinated by his nephew, afforded *Philip* an opportunity of disclosing to the pope his last demand, which he had so long kept secret, and which, if he had still retained in
- e his own breast, had infallibly taken effect; but the king having declared in council that his view was to set his brother *Charles* of *Valois* upon the imperial throne, he was advised to demand assistance of the pope in person, attended by his court and a good body of troops, which the king relished; but, while he was making the necessary preparations, *Clement* was informed of his intention, and wrote thereupon, in strong terms, to the electors, that they could not do any thing better for themselves, or the peace of *Europe*, than to chuse an emperor without delay, and named to them *Henry* of *Luxemburg*; so that, before the king arrived at *Avignon*, the election was over, and *Clement* delivered from the apprehensions of being distressed by a *French* king on the one side, and a *French* emperor on the other⁸. *Philip*, however, had better success in another project, which was that of re-uniting the city of
- f *Lyons* to the realm of *France*, from which it had been formerly detached, to make a part of the kingdom of *Arles*, and was at this time a kind of principality, in the hands of its archbishop, who, partly by fair promises, but chiefly by the appearance of *Lewis* king of *Navarre* with an army at its gates, was constrained, under certain conditions, to render it to the crown. This was justly considered as a great acquisition, tho' the king still suffered the archbishop to stile himself count of *Lyons*⁹.

A. D. 1310.

THE king had all this time a very troublesome affair upon his hands, of which the world knew not what to think in his own time, and with respect to which the sentiments of posterity

A resolution taken to humble the power.

¹ SPOND. FÆLIX, OSIUS. ² VILLANI Croniche Fiorentina. ³ VILLAN. ANTONIN. P. ÆMIL. ⁴ CONTIN NANG. ⁵ VILLAN. NICOL. TRIVET. Annales, GAGUINI Histor. Francorum. ⁶ GAGUINI Hist. Francorum. ⁷ CONT. NICH. TRIVETI Annales. ⁸ VILLAN. GAGUIN. Hist. ⁹ MENETRIER Histoire Consulaire de Lyon.

ful order of
knights tem-
plars, into
which the pope
enters.

have been, and perhaps ever will be, divided. This was the prosecution of the knights a templars, a military order that had been established for the protection of such as went in pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, and which had received its name from an house, or palace, given them by one of the kings of *Jerusalem*, near the temple. This order had subsisted near two hundred years, was spread through the dominions of all Christian princes, had vast possessions in land, was immensely rich, and was composed of men of the best families in every nation throughout *Europe* ^d. They were indeed, very much declined from that reputation in which they had formerly stood, were deeply tinged with the corruption of the age in which they lived; were extremely hated for their pride and luxury; and, amongst other vices, were particularly decried for drunkenness; infomuch, that to drink like a templar was become a proverb ^e. Two of this order being sentenced by the grand master to perpetual imprisonment, the one a *Frenchman* for heresy (which is very remarkable), the other an *Italian*, for a multitude of crimes, insinuated, that, if they might have life and liberty given them, they would discover certain secret practices of their order that were little suspected ^f. These men, being admitted as witnesses, deposed, amongst other horrible things, that, at their entrance into the order, every knight was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to go through several indecent and filthy ceremonies, and were, through their whole lives, indulged in the most horrid and abominable of all lusts ^g. The king had these informations before the pope's coronation, and had then several conferences with him on this subject, which induced the pope to command *James de Molai*, the grand master, and other great officers of the order, to repair into *France*, under pretence of concerting measures for a new croisade; where, with the rest of the c knights templars, to the number of one hundred and forty, they were arrested, by the command of king *Philip*, in one day, and committed to several prisons ^h.

That order suppressed in the council of Vienne, after numbers of the knights had been put to death.

At first the pope seemed to be in great doubt in this matter, and to proceed in it more briskly by degrees, through the evidence that was brought out in prosecutions before his inquisitor, joined with the king's commissaries, to whom the greatest part of the knights freely confessed all that had been laid to their charge, and gave a distinct and particular account of all their horrid practices, to which the first witnesses had deposed. But still a considerable number persisted firmly in denying every word of what had been advanced; asserting, that those, who had confessed, did it through fear of death, through force of torture, or through flattering promises of life and liberty ⁱ. Between fifty and threescore of these suffered death, d in a field near the convent of *St. Anthony* at *Paris*, and died with great steadiness and piety, professing their innocence to the last ^k. The Pope, to put an end to this and to other perplexed affairs, appointed a general council to be held at *Vienne*, in *Dauphiny*; where, on the 22d of May, in the presence of the king, the count *de Valois* his brother, *Lewis* king of *Navarre*, and the other two princes his sons, a bull for the condemnation and extinction of the order was published, and their estates, excepting in *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Portugal*, and *Majorca*, given to the knights of *St. John* at *Jerusalem*, otherwise knights of *Rhodes*, and now of *Malta*; but without hearing the knights in their own defence, tho' they demanded it with great earnestness, the grand master and other great officers being reserved to a future judgment ^l. In this council, the memory of pope *Boniface* the eighth was freed from all imputation of heresy, several doctors making long speeches in support of his innocence; and, after this was over, two *Catalan* knights entered, and threw down their gauntlets, offering to prove, at the launces point, against any of the king of *France's* subjects, the innocence of the deceased pope, in respect of the charges that had been brought against him, not only as to heresy, but as to impiety, atheism, and immorality; with which, tho' king *Philip* was by no means pleased, yet, things were so circumstanced, that he was obliged to seem contented ^m.

The grand master and chief officers burned, and the rest of the knights of the order dispersed.

JAMES DE MOLAI, grand master of the knights templars, and the three great officers of the order, finding they were not set at liberty, as they had been promised, after five years confinement, insisted upon being brought to a trial; and, upon their own confessions, which were very full and express, were condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment, after making f open acknowledgement of their crimes before the people. In order to this, a scaffold was set up before the great porch of the *Notre Dame*, upon which the criminals were placed, in the presence of several cardinals and other persons of distinction, and of a prodigious multitude of people; where, their sentence and confessions being read, they desired leave to speak ⁿ. This being granted, *James de Molai* declared, with a loud voice, that all they had heard was absolutely false, that they had been threatened and seduced into those confessions, and that, tho' themselves and their brethren had frailties and failings as well as other men, yet, with respect to those impieties and impurities that had been charged upon them, they were absolutely innocent.

^d Contin. NANG. GAGUIN. Hist.

^e BALUZ RAINALD.

^f THOM. WALSINGHAM.

^g GAGUIN. Hist.

^h RAINALD. Contin. NANG.

ⁱ THOM. WALSINGHAM.

^j CONT. NANG.

^k VILLANI, GAGUINI Hist.

^l VILLAN. CONT. NICH. TRIVETI.

^m VILLAN. GAGUIN. Hist.

- a The king, being informed of this, was so enraged, that he ordered them all to be burnt in a slow fire behind the garden wall of his palace; where they suffered with great composure and constancy, which was the more extraordinary, because the grand master was of a very fickle disposition, had confessed and recanted several times, and shewed such a weakness of spirit as had rendered him very despicable^o. It is reported, that, a little before he expired, he summoned the pope in forty days, and the king in four months, to answer at the divine tribunal for the murder of himself and his brethren. Of the original accusers it was remarked, that the *Frenchman* was assassinated as soon as he was released out of prison, and that the *Italian*, having committed a murder, was hanged for it not long after^p. The order, however, was every-where suppressed in *England* by authority of parliament, but upon general suggestions,
- b and the knights were confined to certain convents, with handsome allowances, upon which they lived regularly, and without affording the least countenance to the imputation that had been cast upon their order^q. In the *Spanish* kingdoms the templars suffered no injury in their persons, but their lands were appropriated to other religious orders, or to the defence of the countries, where they were situated, against the *Moors*. In short, it has been much doubted, whether the greatest crime of these knights was not their wealth and their possessions; and as it is said that the order possessed, at the time of its suppression, sixteen thousand lordships, this will appear the less incredible. The immense wealth found in their houses, which everywhere bore the name of temples, was also confiscated^r.

- There happened some disputes between the king and his son-in-law *Edward* the second of *England*, which seem to have arisen chiefly from misunderstandings between their officers in frontier places; yet they might have produced a rupture, if both princes had not been equally unwilling to come to extremities. To prevent these, *Edward*, with his queen *Isabel*, repaired to *Paris*; and, having passed some time in the most agreeable manner, all things were amicably adjusted, and king *Philip* subscribed an act, by which all memory of their former differences, as well as the errors of their officers which had occasioned them, were abolished^s. The old quarrel with *Flanders* was revived with great heat, the king insisting that the count had infringed the last treaty; whereas the count as positively asserted, that it had been broken by the king himself; who, upon the count's retiring privately from *Paris*, and his son's making his escape, after he was arrested, summoned him to abide the judgment of his peers; and he
- d not appearing in person, but by deputy, the king upon this, and other suggestions, procured a sentence, by which all his estates were declared confiscated; which, however, was esteemed hard, and to be rather severe than strict justice, tho' the king had extended the power, and raised the credit of his parliament higher than it had ever stood in the days of his predecessors^t (L). But, whatever the sentiments of the world might be, *Philip*, recurring to his old

The affairs of king Philip take an ill turn at home and abroad.

* P. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE. P GAGUIN. Hist. Contin. NANG.
Contin. NICH. TRIVET. WALT. HEMINGFORD de rebus gestis Edwardi II.
† GAGUIN. Hist. ‡ P. ÆMIL. P. DANIEL.

§ THOM. WALSHINGHAM, ¶ Cont. NANG.

object,

(L) It was to this stirring and active monarch *Philip the Fair*, that the *French* owe the fixing their parliament of *Paris*, which had before followed the person of the prince, and held its assemblies where he judged it most convenient. This is said to be in 1302, and was, without doubt, at the time, considered as a prudent and popular action. At the same time king *Philip* did this, he brought in more lawyers into that assembly, and appointed superiors, by the title of presidents, to see that every thing was done with decency and order. Those who had formerly officiated in this manner were stiled masters of the parliament, they were not fixed officers for life, but held their places by commission; neither did the parliament continue always sitting, but had stated times for their meeting, as appears by their judgments that are still extant. The principal view of *Philip* in these regulations, was to free himself from the trouble of legal decisions, without prejudice to his subjects; for hitherto the kings themselves had sat in this judicature; which he found inconvenient, more especially as the number of appeals continually increased. By this means the parliament came to be considered as a supreme court of judicature, which indeed it had always been; but it was, nevertheless, a council of state, an assembly of peers and of prelates, in which, and by the advice of which, the king regulated affairs of the greatest moment, and which most respected the welfare of the state. A great modern writer seems to think, that the

dignity of this court was abased by the introduction of so many jurists, as he calls them; whereas an elder author, and one of at least equal authority, considers this as a great blessing to the state, as it preserved the monarchy entire, and hindered it from being cantoned into little principalities, as *Germany* and *Italy* had been. This monarch also erected the parliament of *Thoulouse*, apparently after the model of that of *Paris*, since he appointed six ecclesiastical and six lay counsellors. He settled the court of exchequer in *Normandy* upon a like plan, and appointed the great days or solemn assizes at *Troyes*, in *Champagne*. His difference with pope *Boniface* the eighth put him, by the advice of the *Sieur de Marigni*, upon calling what were afterwards stiled assemblies of the states, in which the nobility, the clergy, and the deputies of the cities, sat separately, and framed their respective letters to the cardinals at *Rome*, in which they asserted the independency of the crown, justified the king's measures, and appealed from the tribunal of the pope. Such as are extremely attached to the aristocratic form of government are offended also with this measure, as introducing, in their sentiments, an alteration in the *Gallie* constitution. Yet, if this matter be strictly considered, we shall find it was not an alteration, but a restitution, of the government, since, according to the original system of the *Franks*, every freeman was intitled to some share in the government, either virtually, or in person. On the other hand, the inhabitants

object, which was re-uniting this great fief to his crown, pursued this sentence of the law with a military force, notwithstanding the interposition of the pope, who, by his legate cardinal *Goffelin*, laboured to the utmost of his power to heal this breach, and to prevent the destruction of the count, who was rather unhappy than undutiful. But after much altercation, and many propositions made and rejected on both sides, the king took a resolution, grounded upon an opinion that the conquest was easy, to leave all things to the decision of arms; and having assembled a numerous army, commanded by himself, his two brothers, and his three sons, he marched directly against the *Flemings*; but, upon new propositions from the count, who gave hostages for the performance of them, and surrendered also the fortress of *Courtray* into the king's hands, he consented to a new treaty; and having done nothing worth mentioning, except conferring the honour of knighthood on his three sons, and on *Hugh* duke of *Burgundy*, in the field, he returned to *Paris* ^a. The true reason of this retreat, which did him no great honour, was the want of money, and the small disposition shewn by his subjects to submit to the methods his ministers had contrived for raising it; a misfortune which he had never met with before, and which therefore made the greater impression on a prince of his high spirit ^b.

He takes these and some domestic misfortunes so much to heart, that it brings him to the grave.

THE truth of this matter was, that, finding themselves in a manner exhausted, and remembering the distresses that had been brought upon them by the last *Flemish* war, there suddenly appeared a strange spirit of disaffection through all his dominions; so that the nobility, the clergy, and cities, in several provinces, entered into confederacies, to prevent the ministers from carrying their measures for levying money into execution; which, when it could be no longer concealed from the king, affected him exceedingly ^c. To this was added a new circumstance of domestic chagrin, that penetrated still deeper. He had taken great care in marrying the three princes his sons, all handsome and accomplished youths, in a manner suitable to their birth, and great suspicions arose of the infidelity of all their wives; upon a strict examination into this matter, *Margaret* queen of *Navarre*, daughter to the duke of *Burgundy*, and *Blanch*, the wife of *Charles* count of *la March*, appeared to be guilty, and to have lived for some time in a scandalous commerce with *Philip* and *Walter de Launai*, men of a noble family, but rather mean than comely in their persons; for which they were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and their gallants, after being flea'd alive, were drawn over a field, and then hung upon a gibbet, with an usher of the chamber, who had been privy to their amours ^d. The vexation of this shameful affair, added to his former disappointments, threw the king into a wasting consumption, in which the skill of his physicians could do nothing; so that he expired on the 29th of *November*, in the 30th year of his reign, and in the 47th of his age ^e. He was certainly, to give his character in few words, a prince of great talents, great virtues, and great vices, of which the most flagrant were avarice and cruelty; the consequences of which were severely felt in his dominions long after his decease.

A. D. 1314.

Lewis X. surnamed Hutin, succeeds his father, and meets with much dissatisfaction.

LEWIS, surnamed *Hutin*, which signifies *the Boisterous*, or *the Quarrelsome*, because something of this kind appeared in his temper while a child, succeeded at twenty-three, or, as other writers say, at twenty-five years of age, being already king of *Navarre*. He continued to use the same seal as in his father's life-time, and put off his coronation, under pretence of making the same ceremony serve for himself and his new queen, whose name was *Clemence*, the daughter of *Charles* king of *Hungary*, his first queen *Margaret* being strangled, by his order, for the crime of adultery, in her prison of *Chateau-Gaillard* ^a. There were, however, other reasons for this delay; such as the want of money, the treasury being in a manner empty at his father's decease; and the discontents that reigned in several provinces of the kingdom, which he thought it necessary to compose, to prevent any disturbance at that solemnity; which he effected by the interposition of his uncle *Charles de Valois*, and the king's promises, that the nobility should be restored to the privileges they enjoyed in the reign of *St. Lewis*. These obstacles being removed, he was crowned at *Rheims*, by *Robert de Courtenai*,

^a GAGUIN. Hist. Contin. NANGII, P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX, DU TILLET. SERES, DUPLEIX, MEZERAY. ^b Contin. NANG. GAGUIN. Hist. ^c Chronique de St. Denys, P. ÆMIL.

^d P. ÆMILIUS, J. DE Inventaire de Chartres, tom.

of cities and towns, being no longer vassals, but contributing both in men and money to the service of the state, it was but reasonable that they should have a measure of power annexed to their property. To speak impartially, however, there is little reason to suppose, that *Philip* was induced by this motive to act as he did. The state of his affairs dictated to him this step. It was of great consequence to him, to let the court of *Rome* see how much all his subjects were attached to his government, and that ecclesiastical censures were not likely to

operate as they had formerly done in *France*. But, after all, when he had served himself by this method, his subjects availed themselves of it in their turn, and began to pursue their own views, and to take care of their own interests in these assemblies, capitulating with the king, that they would give him such and such subsidies in case he redressed such and such grievances, more especially the great point of the money, which he had repeatedly debased.

archbishop

a archbishop of that city ^b. The count *de Valois*, though the king was of age, had such an ascendancy over him, that, in effect, he governed in his name; which was the easier for him to do, as he had a great share in the administration during that of his father, though perhaps it had been better for both kings if they had confided in him less, his hasty and passionate disposition being the principal cause of those disasters that happened both to his brother and his nephew ^c.

WHERE a king is in want of money, his government cannot long be either steady or peaceable. *Lewis* was surprised to find himself so much distressed; he demanded the reason of it in his council, and his uncle charged it upon *Enguerand le Poitier de Marigni*, a nobleman of *Norman* extraction, whom his father had raised to the title of count *de Longueville*, to the post of chamberlain, and, in effect, to that of prime minister, by giving him the direction of the finances: he was a man of great abilities, but as warm in his temper as the count *de Valois*, and unable to bear this usage after the great services he had done the state; for it was chiefly through his management, that *Philip the Fair* had triumphed over pope *Boniface*, and obtained so much from the late pope *Clement* the fifth. In support, therefore, of his own conduct and character, he boldly answered, that so much of the king's treasure as had not been spent for his service, had been taken by the count *de Valois* himself ^d. The count upon this gave him the lye, which, with some vehemence, *Marigni* retorted; so that they were on the point of drawing their swords in the king's presence. The rest of the council interposing, the count *de Valois* satisfied himself with putting him in prison, and causing him to be prosecuted, exhibiting against him a multitude of charges, some of which were destitute of all foundation, others strongly exaggerated, and in some there might be truth ^e. He demanded time to make his defence, which was refused him; and the count had so great influence over his judges, that they pronounced him guilty in the gross of all that had been laid to his charge. But the king, though he might be well enough content to see the pride of *Marigni* humbled, more especially as it afforded satisfaction to his subjects, yet he by no means desired his destruction, as having a great opinion of his capacity, and much regard for his family; but the count *de Valois* was not to be pacified, his resentment had dictated the ruin of *Marigni*, and he resolved to accomplish it ^f.

THE next step taken, in order to deprive him of the king's favour and pity, was to cause his sister and wife to be arrested, together with the pretended magician, who by their command, as it was said, had made images of wax of the king and his uncle, in order to destroy them by enchantment. The magician hanged himself in prison, the women were convicted, and the king was prevailed upon to give way that *Marigni* should be executed ^g. He was accordingly hanged on the high gibbet at *Montfaucon*, set up by his own order, that the bodies of notorious offenders might be exposed to public view. He did not fall alone; several of the inferior officers in the finances were confined and put to the torture; his brother, the bishop of *Beauvais*, was forced to retire; and the bishop of *Chalons*, chancellor of *France*, was charged with being his accomplice, and with having poisoned his predecessor, but being brought to a public trial was acquitted ^h. All this was far from answering the end proposed; *Marigni* was considered by the people as the victim of the count *de Valois*'s passion; and that they judged right, appeared afterwards, by the king's leaving a considerable sum of money to his children by will, and by the count *de Valois* giving largely to the poor to pray for *Marigni* and for himself, because he looked upon his being struck with a palsy to be a judgment from heaven, for his severity in persecuting this unfortunate gentleman: neither did the confiscation of his effects, and of those who were styled his accomplices, furnish supplies in any proportion to the king's wants, though, exclusive of what was diverted from the king's coffers, they were very considerable ⁱ.

THE coronation quickly exhausted these, the proposed war in *Flanders* required new aids, and, though *Marigni* was in his grave, yet the spirit he had introduced into the councils of *France* still prevailed. The ministers found means to compel the nobility to lend the king money under a variety of pretences; they levied a tenth upon the clergy; they sold their liberty to the king's bondsmen, and when they would no longer buy, they levied the money upon them by force, and declared them free whether they would or not ^k. By these, and other practices of a like nature, an army was raised, and the king's passion gratified, who desired above all things to chastise the *Flemings*; or rather the haughty temper of his uncle was indulged, who managed the king so absolutely, that he made his own humours appear to be his. The pretence of this war was the breach of his treaty with king *Philip*, by *Robert de Bethune*, count of *Flanders*; but *Robert* insisted that the *French* themselves had broke it, that

The king suffers his uncle the count de Valois, to cause his minister to be put to death.

The Sicur de Marigni is regarded as the victim of count de Valois's cruelty.

The king makes an unsuccessful campaign in Flanders, and dies suddenly at his return.

^b GAGUINI Hist. Annales de Franc. P. ÆMIL.

^c THOM. WALSINGHAM.

^d Tresor de Chartres cite par Saint Marthe.

^e GAGU. Histor.

^f CONT. NANG.

^g Continuat. NANG.

^h LE GENDRE. DUPLEIX.

ⁱ GAGU. Hist. Contin. NANG.

^j LE GENDRE. MEZ.

he had paid immense sums to *Enguerrand de Marigni*, and that he had been imposed upon and deceived in many respects¹. The true motive to the war was the entire conquest of *Flanders*, then in a very low condition, and the people harrassed by famine. Count *Robert*, very sensible that he could not oppose force by force, thought it excusable to have recourse to fraud. He negotiated with all apparent signs of submission; he consented to give hostages, and to deliver up the fortrefs of *Courtray*; but, at length the wet weather came, as he expected, and the *French* army, no longer able to keep the field, being obliged to retreat, he recovered A. D. 1316. *Courtray* by surprise^m. King *Lewis* finding his coffers as empty as ever, fell into great perplexity, from which he was delivered by a sudden death, occasioned, as some say, by drinking imprudently a glass of water when he was very hot; but others think he was poisonedⁿ, and *Mezeray* ascribes this to the accomplices of *Marigni*, assuring us, that, at this time, poison was but too frequent in *France*^o. But, whatever was the cause, the king ended his days at *Bois de Vincennes* on the fifth of *June*, after a reign of one year eight months and six days, leaving his subjects in great perplexity, on the score of the queen's being with child, and his brother *Philip* at a distance (M); so that it was doubtful whom they were to obey.

Philip, count of Poitiers, is declared regent, in spite of the intrigues of the count de Valois.

CHARLES, count of *Valois*, unwilling to part with that authority which he had so long held, seized the *Louvre*, and made a strong party in order to obtain the regency, which he had the more time to do, because *Philip*, count of *Poitou*, being at *Lyons*, where a conclave was held for the election of a pope, could not be prevailed upon to move till he saw that matter in a fair way of being adjusted. On his arrival at *Paris*, near a month after his brother's decease, he found things in great confusion; but being supported by the constable the count d'*Evreux*, though brother to *Charles de Valois*, and the citizens of *Paris*, he compelled that ambitious prince to deliver up the *Louvre*, and to submit their pretensions to the decision of the court of peers, or, as it was then stiled, the parliament, who decided, that the regency belonged of right to *Philip*, as first prince of the blood, to whom they granted that title and authority for eighteen years, and directed a great seal, which he was to use during that time, with this inscription, "*Philip, son of the French king, governing the realms of France and Navarre* P." By this judgment the government was settled for the present, and gave leisure for settling that of the succession. The crown of *France*, from the time of *Hugh Capet*, had gone in a lineal succession from father to son; in case therefore the queen was delivered of a prince there could be no dispute; but if she was brought to bed of a princess, or if her son should die, then came the doubt how the crown should descend, which was so much the greater, as there was no written law to which they could have recourse. Some were of opinion that the kingdom was a great fief, and that therefore the succession should be regulated as in other fiefs; and in that case the princess *Joan*, daughter to the deceased king, was clearly the heiress of the crown^q. *Charles*, count de *la Marche*, the younger brother of the regent, *Charles* of *Valois*, and *Lewis* of *Evreux*, his uncles, *Eudes* duke of *Burgundy*, and the other princes of the blood, were of this opinion. But others alleged, that the bulk of the realm of *France* consisted of salique lands, and therefore ought to pass by the salique law, which, excluding females, the regent *Philip*, as next prince of the blood, was to inherit^r. In this situation of things there was a treaty made at *Vincennes*, the 17th of *June*, by which it was stipulated, that, in case the queen was delivered of a princess, the heiress of *Lewis Hutin* should have the kingdom of *Navarre*, and the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, in conjunction with her younger sister (not yet born); that the princels *Joan* should be bred up at the court of

¹ LE GENDRE. P. HENAULT. Histoire de France, vol. ii. p. 329. P. DAN.

^m P. ÆMIL. MEYERVS. P. Continuat. NANG. P. ÆMIL.

ⁿ DUPLEIX.

^o Abrege de la J. DE SERRES. ^r MEZ.

(M) This monarch, king of *Navarre*, in right of his mother, espoused, while very young, *Margaret*, daughter to *Robert II.* duke of *Burgundy*, by *Agnes* the youngest daughter of *St. Lewis*, who being convicted of adultery in 1313, was confined in *Chateau Gaillard*, and there strangled by her husband's command the year following; but whether before or after he became king of *France*, is not very clear, though the latter is most probable. Her corpse was interred in the convent of the *Cordeliers* at *Vernon*. By her he had only one daughter, *Joan* or *Jane*, heiress after his decease of the kingdom of *Navarre*, and of the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, educated at the court of her uncle *Otho*, duke of *Burgundy*, and under the eye of her grandmother. The second queen of *Lewis Hutin* was *Clementia*, the eldest daughter of *Charles Martel*, king of *Hungary*; she espoused the king in the month of *August* 1315, and became a widow in the beginning of

June following. She is said to have been so passionately fond of her husband, that her grief proved fatal to his posthumous son *John*, king of *France* and *Navarre*; and that, after having wept and deplored him for twelve years, she died inconsolable in 1328. *Lewis* had also a natural daughter, named *Endelina*, who became a nun. An antient historian ascribes to him the fixing the court of parliament at *Paris*, which other authors ascribe to his father. The crime of poisoning was so common at this time in *France*, and indeed in other countries, that whenever a king died suddenly the people made no scruple of supposing that his end was hastened. In the present case it is not easy to discern who should have an interest in perpetrating such an act, since his demise, as things at that time stood, was equally fatal to his subjects and to the royal family.

a the duke of *Burgundy*, her uncle, and that neither of the princesses should be married, without the consent of the person at the time of governing the realm of *France*, and *Philip* still to have the regency of *Navarre* and *Champagne*, till such a marriage should be concluded and consummated. In the course of his regency he engaged in a war, in support of his wife's mother *Matilda*, countess of *Artois*, against count *Robert*, who claimed that country by descent^a. This war he conducted with éclat and with success, obliged *Robert* to surrender himself prisoner, and to submit his pretensions to the decision of the parliament, who gave judgment in favour of the countess, and a fatal judgment it was^b. The queen, who with difficulty escaped from a fever, into which grief for the king her husband had thrown her, was on the 15th of *November* delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of *John*,
b and who lived a week, or, as some say, three weeks, and was buried at *St. Denis*, being proclaimed king, as is generally said, in the funeral service; but there are deeds still preserved which bear date in his short reign, so that the modern historians are justified, who put him into the list of kings of *France* by the name of *John I*^c.

PHILIP LE LONG, or *Philip the Tall*, having made use of the crown revenue to strengthen Philip V. his party, was declared king upon the death of his nephew: and, as soon as things could be adjusted for that purpose, he went to *Rheims*, in order to be crowned: the day fixed for that purpose was the ninth of *January*. The old duchess of *Burgundy*, the youngest daughter of *St. Lewis*, and grandmother to queen *Joan* of *Navarre*, protested by letter against this act, till the rights of that princess should be examined. The king's brother, *Charles*,
c repaired to *Rheims*, but left it the very morning of the coronation, which occasioned such a consternation, that the gates of the city were shut till the solemnity was over^d. The new king, to prevent any disputes about his title, called a general assembly at *Paris*, in which his coronation was confirmed, and the nobility, prelates, and others who assisted there, took an oath of allegiance to him and to his son *Lewis*, who died in a few days after^e. *Philip* did not stop there; he applied himself to pope *John XXII.* who wrote to the queen dowager, and to the counts *Valois* and *de la Marche*, exhorting them not to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and, at the same time, gave his instructions to the archbishop of *Bourges* to excommunicate them if they did^f. In order to put a final end to these disputes, *Philip* gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the duke of *Burgundy*, and with her the county of the same name, of which her mother was heiress, and promised the queen of *Navarre* to the son of the count *de Evreux*, which had the effect he desired, and pacified all who had exerted themselves on the side of the queen of *Navarre*. As for the count *de la March*, since the death of the young prince *Lewis*, he had changed his sentiments, and highly approved the law that had been made to exclude females from the throne, because it opened him a passage to it^g.

AFTER all this, the jealousies and grievances which had disturbed the last years of his father's reign were on the point of creating troubles in his. The nobility, clergy, and citizens, in several provinces, jealous of their respective privileges, began to enter into confederacies for the support of them, which might have been fatal to the public quiet, under a monarch less wise and less firm than *Philip*^a. He immediately appointed commissaries to enquire into these grievances, and directed them to assure his people, that he would be as tender of giving them just occasion to take up arms, as he would be severe in punishing those who should take them up without cause. He observed that particular privileges were granted, on a supposition that they were not repugnant to the general welfare of the realm; and as he would oppress none himself, so he would not permit either lord, or bishop, or city, to oppress the meanest of his subjects: and, upon the report of these commissaries, having complied exactly with his promise, the people were so well satisfied, that, though their superiors found themselves hurt a little by the king's notions, yet they found an insurrection impracticable^b.

f THE war with the *Flemings* had been suspended by a truce; and though the king was much inclined to put an end to it by a peace, yet this was not easily effected, notwithstanding he had the assistance of the pope's spiritual artillery, as well as the force of his own realm: but in the end the *Flemings*, being convinced of the rectitude of his intentions, compelled their count to put an end to a quarrel which had been alike burthensome to both nations^c. He summoned *Edward II.* of *England* to render homage for the places he held in *France*; and though the excuse that prince made would scarce have been accepted by his predecessors, yet, partly out of regard to his sister whom that king had married, and partly from the consideration of his own circumstances, he received it with a good grace^d. The integrity of

^a GAGU. DUPLÉIX.^b DU TILLET. CHALONS.^c P. DAN. BOULANVIL.^d GAGU.

Chronique M. S. de St. Genevieve.

^e J. DE SERRES. MEZ.^f RAIN. P. DAN.^g Continuat.

NANG. LE GEND.

^a P. ÉMIL. DUPLÉIX.^b LE GEND.^c J. DE SERRES.^d WAL.

HEMINGFORD de reb. gest. Edward II. Hist. Angl.

Philip was the source of the only object ever made to his conduct: he had taken the cross ^a with his father at the council of *Vienne*, and he was so strict an observer of his word, that he made it a point of religion to prepare for a new expedition into the *Holy Land*, and was, with great difficulty, dissuaded from carrying it into execution while he was regent. After he was king he remained so bent upon it, that he neglected no method of filling his coffers, and this gained him the reputation of being covetous, and of having nothing so much at heart as amassing money ^c. The steadiness of the king's disposition, however, would very probably have carried him through, if the pope had not interposed; for the politics of the court of *Rome* were now so much changed, and the situation of things in *Italy* rendered the protection of *France* so necessary to the pontif, that he wrote to *Philip*, in very pathetic terms, to desist from this enterprize for the present ^f; which, though it had its ^b effect, yet he continued to look upon himself as bound in conscience to accomplish his vow, and therefore never desisted from the means that he thought were most likely to put it in his power ^e.

^{Strange disorders in France, occasioned by a plague attributed to poisoning the waters.} AMONGST other mischiefs this occasioned, there was one of a very extraordinary nature, and which was almost as prejudicial to his subjects as if the king had actually executed his design. The *Mohammedan* princes in *Africa*, considering the last croisade of *St. Lewis*, and being apprehensive that the king might revive the same scheme, and make the first descent in some other of their dominions, practised with the *Jews*, whom his grandfather had banished, and his brother readmitted into *France*, to poison the wells, fountains, and rivers, and offered them great sums if they would enter into their views ^h. The *Jews* were afraid ^c to embark into so dangerous a conspiracy; and yet being loth to lose the money, they practised on the lepers, of whom there were great numbers then in *France*, and who lived by themselves in hospitals, very richly endowed, and who had also many *Jews* amongst them, to undertake this villainy, which they did, and were so industrious in the performance of it, that a prodigious mortality ensued, insomuch that, if the king had persisted in his intention, he would have found it scarce possible to have raised an army. This conspiracy being detected, many of the lepers were burnt, and the people rising against the *Jews* committed most horrid disorders, under colour of executing justice; so that a greater or more universal calamity could not well have happened ⁱ. The king had been persuaded by the pope to send an army into *Italy*, against the family of *Visconti*, lords of *Milan*, who were at the head of the *Gibel-* ^d *lines*. This army was commanded by *Philip*, count of *Mans*, son to *Charles*, count of *Valois*; but *Galeas de Visconti* coming to meet him with a small retinue, giving him good words, and promising to submit all points in dispute to the judgment of the king of *France*, *Philip* returned with his forces, without doing any thing ^k; which, however it might injure his reputation, was certainly without any prejudice to his country. At his return, he found things in the confusion we have represented, the people every-where highly irritated against the *Jews*, and the *Jews* protesting that they were the victims of their impatience, on account of the nation's being afflicted with a plague, which they could neither help or remove ^l. This affair is very darkly represented by all, and in very different lights by some historians.

^{The king dies, and, though a prince of great merit, is every little regretted.} THE last great action of *Philip's* life and reign, or at least the last great thing he attempted, ^e was to complete what his predecessors had begun, in reducing the money, the weights, and the measures, throughout all *France*, to some settled standard. In order to this, he sent commissaries through all the provinces to take an exact account of the state of things as they then stood; and having done this, he began to compound with some of the great lords, particularly the princes of the blood, for the rights of coinage within their own domains, and actually effected it with count *de Valois*, and the count of *Clermont* and *Bourbon*, but found it very difficult to succeed, notwithstanding he was at great pains to make it appear how much it was for the common benefit of his subjects, and that it was the only effectual remedy for some of those evils of which they had so much complained ^m. But a report prevailing, that he intended to raise a tax of the fifth part of every man's revenue, in order to pay such individuals as would not part with their privileges, it raised a general discontent. *Philip*, much affected by the misfortunes that had happened to his subjects during his reign, and not a little chagrined to find all his actions misinterpreted (more especially by the prelates, whom, from a point of conscience, he had excluded by law from sitting in parliament, because it hindered their residence in their diocese, and prevented them from discharging their pastoral duty ⁿ), fell sick of a fever, accompanied with a dysentery, of which having languished five months, he breathed his last on the third of *January*, at the entrance of the sixth year of his reign, and in the twenty-eighth of his age, not without great suspicion of poison, being hated by the ^f

^c MEZ. ^f RAIN. DUPL.
 Inventaire de Chartres. tom. vii.
 Annales. ^h DUPL.

^e MEZ. P. DAN. ^k Chronique MS. de St. Genevieve.

^h Contin. NANG. J. DE SERRES. ⁱ GAGU.
 ^l MEZ. ^m N. TRIVETI

a clergy, and little beloved by the nobility^o. He is, however, by all the *French* historians, allowed to have been a wise, moderate, pious, just, and public-spirited prince^p. It appeared after his decease, that he had been miserably cheated by those who had the direction of his finances: but it also appeared that he was very sincere in his designs, by his appropriating in his will the sums he had saved, for the very purposes for which he had declared they were intended. He was himself learned, and a great lover of learning, religious without bigotry, and so circumspect in ecclesiastical promotions, that those who were most assiduous in seeking them very rarely met with preferments^q (N).

CHARLES IV. surnamed *le Bel*, or *the Fair*, succeeded his brother in the throne, when he was about the age of twenty-six, without any scruple or dispute, though contrary to that rule of succession which himself had espoused when his brother claimed the crown. The duke of Burgundy, who had married the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch, was the first to do him homage. But though he set up no pretensions to the crown, yet he claimed the county of Poitou upon this principle, that her father having no higher title at the time of his wife's birth, she was of consequence his heiress in respect to that county as well as Burgundy, which, or an equivalent, had been yielded to him; but the parliament finding that the county of Poitou was given by Philip le Bel only to his son and his heirs male, they declared the duke of Burgundy's pretensions groundless^r. The next point was to get rid of his wife Blanch of Burgundy, who had been all this time prisoner in Chateau-Gaillard; and, in order to this, an application was made to the court of Rome, where the pope was so complaisant as to declare the marriage null, for two reasons; the first was, that the lady's mother, the countess Mathilda, had been godmother to the king, the other, that the lady Blanch herself was related to him in the fourth degree, for which, indeed, a dispensation had been obtained from the court of Rome, but this dispensation was now found not to be in proper form^s. On such slight circumstances as these stood the marriages and successions even of princes. The king, being now at liberty, married the princess Mary, daughter to the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, in hopes of male issue, and also with a view to facilitate his correspondence with the princes of Germany, for reasons that will quickly appear^t. Charles the Fair succeeds his brother, and meets with no opposition.

THE peace which had so long subsisted between the crowns of France and England was interrupted by various accidents. Edward being summoned to do homage for the territories he possessed in France, made the same excuses he had formerly done, and might have made them with the same success; but the lord of Montpesat having built a castle on lands which were claimed by the crown of France, was dispossessed of it by that prince's order: however, by the assistance of the seneschal of Guienne, it was recovered, and the French, who were in possession, put to the sword, as the French writers say^u. For this Edward was summoned to the parliament to answer before his peers; and, notwithstanding he sent his brother Edmund, earl of Kent, to prevent things from coming to extremity, yet the French army, under the command of Charles, count of Valois, entered the territories of Edward, and reduced the best part of them in a short time; so that to preserve Bourdeaux, and the few places that were left, he was forced to conclude a truce for a short time, under colour of giving his brother leisure to recollect himself, and to come over and render homage in person^v. The truth seems to be, that this war, though carried on in France, was contrived in England, to

^o J. DE SERRES.

^p DU TIL. BOULANV.

^q DUPL. P. DAN.

^r GAG. P. ÆMIL.

^s MEZ. P. DAN.

^t LE GEND.

^u WAL. HEMINGFORD de reb. gest. Edward II.

^v J. DE

SERRES. P. HENAULT.

(N) This monarch was at great pains in regulating the chatelet, which is, properly speaking, the court belonging to the old peerage, and in which therefore the provost of Paris presided; and, at this time, there were signal acts of injustice committed in this court. For instance; one of the provosts, for a sum of money, suffered a rich man to escape, who was condemned to death, and executed a poor fellow in his stead, for which he was very deservedly hanged. The king also directed that the provost should render justice himself in open court, and that if he failed to do this he should lose his office. His queen was Jane or Joan, the daughter of Othelin, count of Burgundy, by the countess Mathilda, who, as we have shewn, enjoyed Artois in her own right. Joan was condemned with her sister, at the close of the reign of Philip the Fair, as guilty of adultery; but, after a year's imprisonment, the king took her again, being persuaded, or seeming to be persuaded, that she was innocent. He had by her Lewis, who died a child; Joan, who espoused Eudes duke of Burgundy, and was the heiress of the countess

of Burgundy and Artois: but an accurate historian affirms, that, at her marriage, she brought her husband only one hundred thousand livres in ready money, and a rent-charge of twenty thousand livres *per annum*, in lieu of the county of Burgundy. We shall speak of her death hereafter. Margaret, who was the consort of Lewis, count of Flanders, to whom she brought a great succession; she survived to the age of seventy-two, and died with the reputation of a saint. Isabella, the third daughter, married Guigon, dauphin of Vienne, and, after his decease, John, baron of Faucogney in Franche-Compte; Blanche, who died a nun in the monastery of Long Champ, the 26th of April, 1358. The corpse of king Philip V. was interred in the abbey of St. Denis, his heart in the church of the convent of Cordeliers at Paris, and his entrails at the Jacobins. Queen Joan retired after his decease to a convent at Roie in Picardy, where she died January 31, 1329; and her body being afterwards removed to Paris, was interred in the convent of Cordeliers.

serve the purposes of the barons, who were then upon bad terms with the king, and the queen, who began to enter into their views, and looked upon a war with *France* as the only means of accomplishing them*. This was the last campaign of the great count *de Valois*, who being afflicted with a grievous distemper, the nature of which the physicians did not understand, and of consequence knew not how to cure, persuaded himself it was a judgment from Heaven, for the persecution of the *sieur de Marigni*, whose body he caused to be taken down, the judgment against him to be reversed, and his family restored in blood and to their estates. Proofs of a sincere repentance, which he did not long survive. *Mezeray*^y would persuade us that he died of poison, and that he had no reason to trouble himself so much about the fate of *Marigni*, who met with no more than he deserved. Yet sure the count *de Valois* was a better judge than he; and how guilty soever the minister might be, he was notwithstanding unjustly condemned, being unheard^z.

Isabel, the king's sister, contrives the destruction of Edward II. her husband.

EDWARD of *England* was much at a loss, as the queen and her faction foresaw, how to adjust his affairs in *France*, where his own presence was absolutely necessary; and yet to quit his kingdom was to lose it. In this situation the queen, who stood but ill with him and his ministers, offered to go over and negotiate a peace with her brother; and, notwithstanding the bad terms on which they stood with her, as having lately deprived her of all her *French* servants, they consented to this proposition; the bringing about of which seems to have been the whole secret of the quarrel, in which the kings had very little share on either side^a. Upon her arrival at *Paris* she complained bitterly of the *Spensers*, and endeavoured rather to inflame her brother *Charles* against her husband, than to conciliate the disputes betwixt them; but *Charles*, who knew that the pope and other princes had their eye upon his conduct, remonstrated to her the impropriety of her behaviour, and that it was requisite to settle the peace before the king meddled in the matters of which she complained^b. The peace was accordingly regulated; the seizure of *Guienne* was acknowledged to be just, because *Edward* had refused his homage; *Charles* was to name a seneschal, and to keep possession of his new conquest, but was to grant a safe-conduct for *Edward* to come over; and, upon his doing him homage, was to restore all he had taken. This brought *Edward* into the old difficulty of leaving his regal dominions, which he was unwilling to do; and to remove this obstacle, it was proposed he should resign the duchy of *Guienne*, and the rest of his lands in *France*, to his son prince *Edward*, whose homage in that case king *Charles* would receive. This was accepted by *Edward*, with a few restrictions; such as, that these countries should revert to him in case the prince died; that his uncle should not assign him a guardian; and that the young prince should not be induced to marry without his father's consent^c. The king thereupon sent him over, accompanied by the bishop of *Exeter*, and a suitable train; and all things being adjusted, the king expected his queen should have returned. His expectations, however, were in vain; many of the *English* malecontents repaired to her there, and she continued to instigate her brother against her husband; which the bishop of *Exeter* perceiving, and that the court were no strangers to her intrigue with *Roger Mortimer*, he left *Paris*, and secretly returned home, disclosing all he knew to king *Edward*, who thereupon demanded his queen and his son in high terms; and not prevailing, hostilities were again renewed, abundance of *French* ships taken at sea, and incursions made by land into the duchy of *Aquitaine*^d. The pope and the king of *Castile* interposing, and representing to *Charles* that his conduct was not at all suitable to his dignity, he forbade his subjects to frequent his sister's court; and at length ordered her and the prince her son to retire out of his dominions. At the same time, however, *Robert de Artois*, count of *Beaumont* (not without the privity of the king as is generally supposed), advised her to go into *Hainault*, where she concluded a marriage for her son with the daughter of that count, and engaged his brother to accompany her to *England* with a small force; and being, on her arrival, assisted by the malecontents, she quickly deposed her husband, and raised her son to the throne, whom *Charles* would never acknowledge so long as his father lived^e. A conduct which some have represented as pure artifice; but, the king's character considered, may be more probably ascribed to his justice.

Charles fails in his attempt to gain the German princes to elect him emperor.

BUT let us now return to the affairs of *France*. At the beginning of his reign, the king, in virtue of a decision of the parliament, had placed *Lewis* in the seat of his grandfather *Robert de Bethune*, as count of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, and *Rhetel*, notwithstanding the opposition of his uncle *Robert*, who pretended that, being one degree nearer his father than *Lewis*, he ought to succeed; and the *Flemings* giving him some disturbance, the king granted him such timely assistance as prevented their breaking out into open rebellion^f. He was not altogether

* POLYDOR. VIRGIL.

^y Abrege Histoire de France, tom. ii.

^z MEZ.

^a N. TRIVETI

Annal. ^b P. ÆMIL. P. DAN.

^c THOM. WALSHINGHAM.

^d WALTER HEMINGFORD, de reb.

gest. Edward II. POLYD. VIRGIL.

^e Histoire & Chronique de JEAN FROISSART, liv. i. WAL. HEMING-

FORD de reb. gest. Edward II.

^f MEYERUS. Contin. NANG.

- a so successful in his attempt to supplant *Lewis* of *Bavaria* in the empire. The pope had quarrelled with this monarch, and supported *Frederick*, duke of *Austria*, who likewise stiled himself emperor, and whom *Lewis* had defeated, and then held in prison. The scheme of the pope was, that *Charles* should enter into a league with *Leopold* of *Austria*, *Frederick*'s brother, to procure that prince his liberty: that, in consideration of this, *Frederick*, as soon as he was set free, should resign his pretensions to *Charles*, who, upon his being acknowledged emperor by the princes of *Germany*, was to pay *Leopold* a large sum of money^s. *Lewis* of *Bavaria* spoiled the first part of this plan, by generously setting his rival at liberty, and allowing him to keep the title of emperor during his life. The pope, however, kept to his design; and *Leopold* of *Austria*, desirous of gaining the money that had been promised
- b him, assured *Charles*, that, if he would but come to the frontiers, most of the princes of the empire would meet, receive, and elect him. The king went accordingly, with an equipage suitable to his rank, but found nobody except *Leopold*, who laboured to excuse this disappointment, and engaged the pope also to renew the treaty: but the king was so ashamed of what had happened, that he would not risk a second disgrace, notwithstanding he had this project once exceedingly at heart, from the ambition of restoring the diadem to *France*^h.

- CHARLES fought in general to be well with his neighbours, and maintain those alliances which were most likely to turn to the advantage of the crown of *France*, in case of any dispute. It was with this view that he renewed his alliance with the king of *Scots*, in which he inserted an article, importing, that in case the throne of either kingdom should be vacant without an heir apparent, the states should declare who had the right: and this done, the other king should assist the heir, so declared, in person, and with all his force, against any opponentsⁱ. It seems the king was apprehensive of dying, as he did, without heirs male, though he had a son by his second queen, who died as soon as born, and his mother not long after, which might probably induce *Charles* to make this treaty. However, not long after, he espoused *Joan*, daughter to *Lewis*, count of *Evreux*, who was his cousin german, notwithstanding he had been divorced from a wife on the score of consanguinity, who was not so nearly related to him^k. *Edward* II. of *England* being dead, he summoned his son *Edward* to do him homage for the duchy of *Guienne*, and the rest of his territories in *France*; but *Edward* excused himself for the present, by alleging the unsettled state of his affairs, and the unlucky consequences that might attend his passing the seas, which was accepted and the truce renewed, there being particular reasons why the king did not incline to excite any disputes with *England*, or indeed with any of his neighbours; and, amongst there, it was none of the least that his health began to decay^l.

- HE shewed a great inclination to live upon good terms with the princes of the blood; He died after a and being desirous of having *Clermont*, which belonged to *Lewis*, the son of *Robert*, the younger son of St. *Lewis*, he gave him in exchange the county of *la Marche*, and some other places, and, by letters patent, erected his barony of *Bourbon* into a dukedom and peerage^m, which was one of the last actions of his life; for his disease increasing, he died at *Bois de Vincennes* on the first of *February*, as he entered the seventh year of his reign, and the thirty-fourth of his life, leaving the third queen, as his brother *Lewis* *Hutin* had done, A. D. 1328. big with childⁿ. Some historians speak of this king as a prince of a very moderate genius: it may be rather said of a moderate disposition, for he did not want either martial courage or steadiness of mind, which appeared clearly in his zeal for justice; for he called to an account the *Lombards*, and the other officers, who had been employed in the treasury, and had acquired immense fortunes by pillaging the people. One of them died under the torture, and the rest, being stripped of their ill-got wealth, were sent home as naked as they came into *France*^o, which *Mezeray* commends as their proper punishment^p. *Charles* shewed no less courage on another occasion: *Jourdain de Lisle*, a great lord of *Aquitaine*, relying on his wealth, his quality, and his being allied by marriage to pope *John* XXII. committed innumerable insults on the laws, inasmuch that he had eighteen charges against him for capital offences. This lord, being summoned to appear before the parliament at *Paris*, beat out the officer's brains with his own mace; notwithstanding which he had the imprudence to go thither in a short time after, of which the king having notice, he caused him to be arrested, and within a few days hanged, by an arret of parliament, without any respect to his birth, his wealth, or his alliance^q. In this monarch ended the male line of *Philip the Fair*, who, though he left behind him three sons at men's estate, and consequently had the fairest hope of a numerous and lasting posterity, yet, in so short a space as fourteen years, they all deceased, and left the crown to pass into another branch of the royal family, which some,

He marries a third time, his cousin german, in hopes of male issue.

He dies after a short reign, and leaves his son pregnant, which occasions a new regency.

^s P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. Bibliothèque du Roi de France cote 9687.
HENAULT. BOULAN.

^h LE GENÈ. P. HENAULT.

ⁱ Contin. NANG.

^k N. TRIVETI Annal.

^l Du Tillet.

^m MS. de BETUNE dans le Bib.

ⁿ THOM. WALSINGHAM.

^o N. TRIVETI Annal.

^p Abregé de

too boldly judging of the decrees of Providence, have considered as a judgment, for the severity exercised on the knights templars'. *Charles*, on his death-bed, being put in mind of the succession, contented himself with saying, that if his queen was delivered of a daughter, it belonged to the parliament to declare the next heir'. His testament and codicil, both yet extant, regard only his private affairs.

Remarks on
the history of
France, dur-
ing this period
of the third
race.

THE descendents of *Hugh Capet* governed the kingdom of *France*, in a direct line from father to son, for eleven generations, without taking in the young king *John*, and including the two collateral reigns of *Philip V.* and *Charles IV.* There were thirteen monarchs in all^a, whose reigns together made upwards of three hundred and forty years, during which space they wonderfully extended, as well their authority as their dominions; and had at this time recovered, either to the crown or to princes of the royal family, the better part of the antient kingdom of *France*^b: they had also reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility within bounds, and were much less dependent than the monarchs of the second race upon the clergy^w. Yet, after all, the nation was in low circumstances, the frame of government far from being uniform^x; and, in short, the seeds of those disorders were very perceptible to prudent and thinking men^y, which, in the succeeding reign, sprung up and became visible to the whole world in their dismal effects, and that bloody and consuming war which almost exhausted the strength of two potent nations^z.

S E C T. VII.

The reigns of the French monarchs of the house of Valois; Philip VI. or the Fortunate; John the Good; Charles V. or the Wise; Charles VI. or the Well-beloved; Charles VII. or the Victorious; Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. in whom the direct descent of Philip de Valois ended.

The regency
claimed by
king Edward
III. against
Philip de Va-
lois, but ad-
judged to the
latter.

AS, on the death of *Charles the Fair*, *France* was without a king, and as the succession depended on the sex of a child unborn, there was a plain necessity of appointing a regent. The common histories speak of a great contest between *Philip*, count de *Valois*, and king *Edward III.* as to their respective rights of succession to the crown of *France*; and what they say is true in the main, but not clearly or distinctly expressed^a. The dispute was, in reality, about the crown, but the claim was made only to the regency; for it was a point established, that this belonged only to the next heir; so that declaring the regent was, in effect, declaring the next heir. *Philip* alleged that he was the grandson of *Philip the Hardy*, the nephew of *Philip the Fair*, the cousin german of the deceased king, and his nearest heir male, descended from a male, which was not contested with him by any of the princes of the blood^b (A). *Edward*, on the other hand claimed it as being the nephew of the last deceased

^a MEZ.
BOULAN.
NANG.

^b LE GEND.
^x GAGUINI.
^b FROISSARD, lib. i.

^y J. DE SERRES.
MEZ. P. HENAUT.

^z P. HENAUT.
LE GEND.

^w CHALONS.
^a Continuat.

(A) In this note, that the subsequent narration may be as clear as possible, we will speak first of the princes of the blood, as they stood at this time, distinguished under various houses, that it may appear how the right of *Philip de Valois* was prior to theirs; next of the house of *Valois*, at the time of *Philip's* accession, that his alliances may be seen; and, lastly, of the great signories in *France*, which still remained, and had no more than a feudal dependence upon the crown. Of the princes of the blood, the first house was that of *Eureux*, founded by *Lewis*, the son of *Philip the Hardy*. His son *Philip* had espoused the princess *Joan*, daughter to *Lewis Hutin*, and in her right became king of *Navarre*. Title of his own to the crown he had clearly none; and whatever he might have had by his wife was taken away by the decision of parliament, supported by his own renunciation (1). The next was that of *Bourbon*, or of *Clermont*, more remote, as descending from *Robert* count de *Clermont*, son to *St. Lewis*. *Peter*, duke of *Bourbon*, was the

head of this house, and brother-in-law to *Philip de Valois* (2). That of *Artois*, descended from *Robert*, another son of *France*, that is of *Lewis VIII.* and brother to *St. Lewis*, who, in his favour, erected *Artois* into a peerage. He was killed, as we have already shewn, in *Egypt*. His son *Robert II.* as we have likewise shewn, was killed at the battle of *Courtray*. His son *Philip* died of the wounds he received at the battle of *Furnes*. *Robert III.* the county of *Artois* being adjudged to his aunt *Maud*, was the head of the house, and in his favour *Philip* erected *Beaumont le Roger* into a peerage (3). Of the lines of *Dreux* and *Courtenai*, the chief was *John III.* duke of *Bretagne*, descended from *Robert IV.* son of *Lewis the Gros* (4). And, lastly, that of *Burgundy*, descended from *Robert III.* son of king *Robert*, and the grandson of *Hugh Capet*, the head of which was *Eudes*, or *Otho*, IV. duke of *Burgundy*, grandson by the mother's side to *St. Lewis*, and whose sister, *Joan*, *Philip de Valois* had married (5). It is clear from this genealogy, that none of these princes

(1) Du Tillet. Le Gendre.
(5) Mezeray.

(2) Duplex.

(3) Gaguini. P. Emil.

(4) P. Daniel.

could

a deceased king, and consequently nearer in blood than *Philip*, who was but his cousin^c. He admitted the general principle that females could not inherit the crown of *France*, for this plain reason, that otherwise the crown must have belonged of right to the princeſs, of whom the queen might be brought to bed, or to the queen of *Navarre*, who was the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*; but, in admitting this, *Edward* only ſet aſide his mother's right to eſtabliſh his own; for though he acknowledged females incapable, yet he inſiſted that the males deſcending from females had a juſt claim^d. The parliament of *France* thought otherwiſe, and decided in favour of *Philip*, count of *Valois*, who thereupon aſſumed the title and authority of regent during the queen's pregnancy^e.

b ALL the perſecutions in the former reigns having failed of producing any amendment in the adminiſtration of the finances, the regent thought it might contribute to his reputation, and bring ſome wealth into the treaſury, if he called *Peter Remy*, lord of *Montigny*, who had for ſome time directed thoſe affairs, to an account, which he accordingly did; and by a judgment of the parliament, in which there were preſent twenty-five barons and fifteen knights, the regent himſelf preſiding, he was condemned to be hanged, and all his goods conſiſcated, which, if we believe the writers of thoſe times, amounted to one million two hundred thouſand livres, that is, about twenty millions of the preſent *French* money^f. The States of *Navarre* underſtanding that the daughters of *Philip the Long*, and *Edward III.* of *England*, as the ſon of the queen's daughter, formed ſome pretenſions to their crown, cut that diſpute ſhort, by proclaiming the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, and ſending a deputation to invite her and her husband, *Philip*, count of *Evreux*, to return into their dominions; which *Philip* permitted, after having engaged them to grant a kind of annuity of five thouſand livres to the daughters of *Philip the Long*, and to accept of an equivalent for the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, which, in virtue of this compoſition, remained annexed to the crown^g. On the firſt of *April* the queen dowager was delivered of a daughter; upon which *Philip* immediately aſſumed the name of king, notwithſtanding *Edward III.* ſent over ambaffadors to claim his right, for which ſeveral eminent lawyers had declared^h. On the 29th of *May* following he was crowned at *Rheims*, with much ſolemnity, and without the leaſt oppoſition; at which we ſhall the leſs wonder, when we recollect that he was a prince in the flower of his age, whereas his competitor was a youth of about ſixteen, under the tuition of his mother, and her paramour *Mortimer*ⁱ. On this account he received the ſurname of *the Fortunate*, though the *Flemings*, who hated him for his father's ſake, ſtiled him *Philip Trouvé*, that is, *Philip the Foundling*, or *the come by chance King*. It is ſaid that *Robert de Artois* was very active in *Philip's* behalf, which is very probable, as he had married his ſiſter; but certainly his ſervices are overvalued by ſuch

Who, upon the queen's being delivered of a daughter, is acknowledged and crowned king.

^c WAL. HAMINGFORD, de reb. geſt. Edward. II.

DUPLEIX.

^f MEZERAY.

^g P. HENAULT.

MINGFORD, de reb. geſt. Edward. II.

^d FROISSART, lib. i.

^e Continuat. NANG.

^h Murimoth Chron.

ⁱ W. HE-

could pretend to a prior right, and therefore their intereſt lay in ſupporting that of *Philip de Valois*; becauſe this right of ſucceſſion being once eſtabliſhed, they might all, in their turns, avail themſelves of the extinction of the males of the reigning houſe, which has been actually the caſe of the family now upon the throne, in whom are united the houſes of *Navarre* and *Bourbon* (6). Let us next ſpeak particularly of the houſe of *Valois*; *Charles* of *France*, third ſon of *Philip the Hardy*, count of *Valois*, *Alençon*, *Chartres*, and *Perche*. He eſpouſed firſt *Margaret* of *Anjou*, and had by her two ſons and four daughters. The eldeſt was *Philip de Valois*, the firſt of the *French* monarchs of his line; *Charles*, from whom ſprung the houſe of *Alençon*; *Joanna*, who married *William*, count of *Hainault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; *Iſabella*, who eſpouſed *John*, duke of *Bretagne*; *Margaret*, who became the wife of *Guy de Chatillon*, count of *Blois*; *Katherine*, who died young. By his ſecond wife *Katherine*, ſole daughter and heiress of *Philip de Courtenai*, ſon of *Baldwin II.* emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and who was herſelf crowned emperreſs by pope *Boniſace VIII.* he had a ſon who died young, and three daughters; *Katherine*, who married *Philip*, prince of *Tarentum*; *Joan*, who eſpouſed *Robert de Artois*, and *Iſabel*, abbeſs of *Fonteverault*. By his third wife, *Maud*, the eldeſt daughter of *Guy de St. Paul*, he had a ſon and three daughters; *Lewis*, count of *Chartres*, who died young; *Mary*, the ſecond wife of *Charles*, duke of *Calabria*,

by whom ſhe had the famous *Joan*, queen of *Naples*; *Iſabel*, who eſpouſed *Peter*, duke of *Bourbon*; *Blanche*, the firſt wife of the emperor *Charles IV.* (7). The great lords ſtill remaining in *France* were not, in point either of number or power, any way comparable to what they had been in the times of his predeceſſors; but, notwithſtanding this, they were ſtill numerous enough to give him great diſquiet, and the force of his kingdom was nothing comparable to what it is at preſent on the frontiers towards *Spain*; the counts of *Foix* and *Armagnac* were very powerful, and ſcarce ſubjects at all; *Gascony* was in the hands of the *Engliſh*, whoſe claims reached to all the countries as far as the *Loire*; *Bretagne* was an independent duchy; in effect the king of *Navarre* had conſiderable eſtates in *Normandy*; the conſtable of *France* had two conſiderable counties in *Picardy*; *Flanders* and *Artois* were in an unfettled condition; the duchy and county of *Burgundy*, tho' detached from the crown, were united to him from family connections; the territories next adjacent belonged to the dauphine of *Vienne*; the county of *Provence*, with half the city of *Avignon*, to the queen of *Naples*; the other half of that city, with the county of *Venaſſin*, to the pope; beſides many other counties and baronies in the very center of the kingdom, and the claim of the houſe of *Navarre* to the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*.

(6) *Favin. Hiſtoire de Navarre.*

(7) *Le Gendre. P. Daniel. Chalons.*

as attribute to his address king *Philip's* attaining the crown ^k. He had the king's favour and a confidence, and this created an opinion of his abilities and influence.

*Assists Lewis
count of Flan-
ders in reduc-
ing the Flem-
ings, whom he
beats at Cassel.*

AMONGST the great peers, who assisted at the ceremony of the coronation, was *Lewis* count of *Flanders*, who carried the sword of state, and whom his subjects had driven out of his dominions, chiefly on account of his attachment to *France*. *Philip*, therefore, thought himself obliged in justice and honour to restore him; and, having speedily assembled a very numerous army, marched directly into *Flanders*, accompanied by the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Burgundy*, and the principal nobility of *France* ^l. The *Flemings*, tho' their army was inferior to that of the king, encamped on the side of a mountain, with the town of *Cassel* behind them, strongly entrenched, and a river in their front. *Philip* was inclined to have attacked them in their camp, but the best officers in his army dissuaded him; so that if the *Flemings* ^b had remained firm to their first resolution, and acted entirely on the defensive, the king, like some of his predecessors, had been obliged to retire, after wasting his treasure and his army ^m. But, on the eve of *St. Bartholomew*, they attacked the king's camp with such intrepidity and address, that they were very near becoming masters of his person. *Philip*, however, behaved with great courage; and, having given time for his troops to recollect themselves, he attacked the *Flemings* in their turn, who had now lost the benefit of their situation, with such spirit, that they were entirely defeated ⁿ. The loss of this battle was the loss of *Flanders*; for the king becoming master of *Cassel*, burning it to the ground, and threatening every place that made resistance with the same fate, carried all before him, restored the count, and left the *Flemings* humbled by his power, but without any relaxation of their hatred to his person ^o. At his ^c return to *Paris*, he summoned king *Edward* to do him homage, and, receiving no satisfactory answer, seized his revenues in *France* ^p. In regard to the services rendered by *Robert de Artois* in the war of *Flanders*, the king erected his county of *Beaumont-le-Roger* into a peerage; so that at this time he was considered as a favourite declared ^q.

*A. D. 1328.
Edward III.
comes over in-
to France, and
does homage to
king Philip at
Amiens.*

THE next year *Edward* the third of *England* thought fit to pass the sea, and, having landed at *Boulogne*, came to *Amiens* with a numerous retinue; where he was very kindly received by *Philip*, who had with him the kings of *Navarre*, *Bohemia*, and *Majorca*. Great disputes arose about the nature of the homage which the king was to pay; that is, whether it was liege or simple; the former including services, and an oath of fealty, the latter being no more than an acknowledgement that the countries for which homage was done were fiefs dependent on the crown of *France*; besides *Edward* insisted, that satisfaction should be given for the lands that had been taken from the duchy of *Guienne* before he did homage. *Philip*, desirous of having this matter adjusted, consented that *Edward* should render him homage in general terms, and should take time to examine his own archives, and from thence determine which species of homage was due: and as to the dispute concerning the lands in *Guienne* he was to have his action before the parliament ^r. Upon these terms *Edward* did homage in the cathedral of *Amiens*, on the 6th of *June*, and returned very soon after to *England* ^s. *Philip* acted in this whole affair with great caution and prudence; he knew that the homage due to him was liege; but considering that the king must then have appeared bare-headed, without arms or spurs, and have taken his oath upon his knees, he was persuaded that the spirit of a young man would ^e not let him stoop to that, and therefore he condescended to this expedient, that he might receive the homage in any form, reserving to himself a right to have this afterwards explained in a manner more authentic, and which would answer his purpose better than the ceremony, if the king had condescended to have gone through the proper form; in which he succeeded, notwithstanding *Edward* had made a protestation before a notary at *London*, that, whatsoever he did, he did by compulsion, and through fear of losing his lands, and that therefore it should be no prejudice to his just rights ^t. The same year king *Philip* determined a dispute concerning ecclesiastical and lay jurisdictions, in favour of the clergy, who held themselves so much obliged thereby, that they set up his statue, and gave him the title of catholic ^u.

*Is obliged to
make a declara-
tion satis-
factory to the
French court,
tho' displeasing
to him.*

AFTER a reasonable delay, *Philip* sent the duke of *Bourbon*, accompanied by several great ^f lords and learned lawyers, to the court of *England*, in order to obtain the satisfaction that had been promised to him; and the affairs of king *Edward* being at that time exceedingly embarrassed, he found it requisite, after a previous examination of records, to grant letters patent, in the most clear and explicit terms, acknowledging the homage to be such as king *Philip* had demanded, and allowing the homage to be paid, tho' in general terms, to be understood and taken as such ^v. What particularly determined *Edward* to this measure was a new disturbance in the duchy of *Guienne*, the inhabitants of which, believing they should have been supported

^k Chroniques de Flanders, HAILLAN, MEZERAY.
LANVIL.

^l CONT. NANG. P. ÆMIL.

HEMINGFORD. ^m LE GENDRE, P. HENAULT.

TER HEMINGFORD, P. VIRG. ⁿ CONT. NANG.

TER HEMINGFORD, POL. VIRG.

^o CONT. NANG.

^p DUPLEIX, MEZERAY.

^q CONT. NANG. P. ÆMIL.

^r DU TILLET, BOULANVIL.

^s LE GENDRE, BOU-

^t P. VIRG. WALTER

^u WAL-

^v WAL-

- a from *England*, made some incursions into *France*; upon which king *Philip* sent his brother *Charles* duke of *Alençon* into that duchy, with an army, who took the town of *Xainte* and demolished the walls. *Edward* concluded from hence, that, if he refused the satisfaction desired, he should be stripped of all his dominions in *France* before he was in a capacity to defend them^a. In the summer he came over into this kingdom, demanded restitution of what had been taken from him, and seemed disposed to live upon good terms with the king; which being all that *Philip* desired, he treated him with all possible respect, and gave him the satisfaction he demanded. Here the *French* writers seem to think the disputes between these princes had ended; for, though they did not love, they esteemed each other highly, and had great apprehensions of the reciprocal disturbances that each might create in the other's dominions, which made them willing to avoid a rupture, as being inconvenient to either in the present state of their affairs^b. This disposition, however, was quickly altered, by means of a certain incendiary, whose private interest, or rather whose violent resentment, induced him to leave no means untried to inspire *Edward* with an implacable aversion against *Philip*; in which he succeeded, and involved the two nations in a war, the most fatal and bloody that almost any history records, and which more than once brought the kingdom of *France* to the very brink of destruction. So fatal are private passions to the welfare of the greatest states^c. A. D. 1330.
- THIS incendiary was *Robert de Artois*, who being a prince of the blood of *France*, having married the king's sister, and having served him with great vigour and valour in the cabinet and in the field, thought his services could never be paid, and that *Philip* was bound to accomplish for him whatever he desired, in whatever manner, and by removing whatever obstacles lay in the way^d. He began by presenting a memorial when king *Edward* was at *Amiens*, desiring leave to examine witnesses in regard to his just claim to the county of *Artois*, which was granted. He next demanded a revision of the judgment given by parliament in that cause, on a suggestion that he could exhibit new proofs, which were absolutely conclusive. He was indulged in this too, and the suit was reduced to the same state in which it stood before either of the two judgments were pronounced^e. He then produced these evidences, which, upon inspection, were found to be forged; and the very woman, by whose contrivance this whole scene was carried on, being seized, confessed the facts, and made every thing as clear as possible. The king laboured as much as was in his power to prevail upon his brother-in-law to desist from these pretensions, and to have nothing farther to do with those whom he had engaged in these practices, which he promised, but did not perform; so that, at length, provoked by these and some more criminal practices, the king, after granting him various delays of justice, at length, in full parliament, pronounced an edict of banishment and confiscation of all his estates^f. He retired upon this into the territories of the duke of *Brabant*, where he engaged in new intrigues; and *Philip*, having thereupon taken measures for humbling the duke of *Brabant*, and having caused his own sister, for the share she had in her husband's sinister contrivances, to be arrested, *Robert de Artois* withdrew, in the disguise of a merchant, with all the wealth he had amassed, into *England*, where he was kindly received by *Edward*, as well in regard to the services he was able to render him, as in resentment to the protection afforded by *Philip* to *David* king of *Scots*; who, though his own brother-in-law, *Edward* had dispossessed of his dominions^g. Many of the *French* historians, and amongst these some of great note, have considered *Philip's* proceedings against *Robert* as flowing from a spirit of implacable persecution^h; whereas others, by producing the original process, have vindicated the king's conduct, and shewn, that, if he had followed the advice of his parliament, in seizing the person of *Robert*, he might easily have prevented the mischiefs to which he was exposed, by suffering him to retire as he did, and to seek shelter amongst his enemiesⁱ. But with regard to *Edward's* creating him earl of *Richmond*, though affirmed by some good authors, it is certainly a mistake^j. Sentence of the parliament against Robert d'Artois, who thereupon retires into England. 1331.
- PHILIP had lived upon exceeding good terms with pope *John* the twenty-second, who seemed to be very desirous of establishing a new croisade; in which, to shew his obedience, and at the same time to answer other purposes of his own, *Philip* shewed himself very zealous, and, with the kings of *Arragon*, *Naples*, and *Bohemia*, took the cross, though it has been very much doubted, whether he was at all in earnest in regard to this expedition^k. He raised forces; he took the necessary measures for assembling a great fleet; and the doing this afforded a fair pretence for levying large sums upon the clergy and laity, at the same time that it gave a colour for negotiating on every side, and, which which was of more consequence than all the rest, gave occasion to the pope to interpose with the king of *England*, Philip and Edward both prepare for war, though secretly, and under various pretence..

^a Cont. NANG. P. ÆMIL. ^b P. VIRG. ^c MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^d Cont. Chron. NANG. FROISSART, lib. i. ^e DU TILLET, MEZERAY. ^f Memoires de Robert d'Artois. ^g Cont. Chron. NANG. Ancien. Chronique de France. ^h DU HAIL. Hist de France. ⁱ Cont. Chron. NANG. P. ÆMIL. ^j FROISSART, lib. i. P. ÆMIL. Ancien. Chron. de France, Memoires de Robert d'Artois. ^k LE GENDRE. J. DE SERRES.

and to protest, according to the doctrine of those times, against making any attempt on the dominions of a prince, who had taken a vow to employ his arms in defence of the gospel against the infidels¹. On the other hand, *Edward*, though scarce of full age, managed his affairs with great temper and address; he had nothing so much at heart as maintaining what he took to be a good title to the crown of *France*, and at the same time there was nothing of which he was so much afraid as of the loss of the duchy of *Guienne*, and the county of *Ponthieu*, before he was in a condition to prosecute that title. The first thing he aimed at was subduing *Scotland*; yet, in order to this, he did not make war directly upon king *David Bruce*, but suffered such of his nobility as were inclined to assist *Edward Baliol* to invade *Scotland*; where, notwithstanding the assistance of a *French* fleet, they gained great advantages, and, under pretence of giving them a new king, reduced the whole kingdom to misery². As soon as the four years truce was at an end, he marched into *Scotland* in person, and traversed it from south to north, penetrating at length as far as *Caithness*. *Philip*, to favour his allies, suffered some irruptions into *Guienne*, and at the same time made fresh complaints at *Avignon* to pope *Benedict*, who had succeeded *John*. *Edward* sent his ambassadors also to the pontif, offered to submit the differences between them to his decision, professed his inclination to go also into the *Holy Land* with *Philip*, and to leave all things in the situation they then stood till their return³. He sent his ambassadors likewise to the court of *France*; where they complained of the injuries done him, solicited redress in the most respectful terms, and assured *Philip*, that king *Edward* had nothing so much at heart as preserving the peace between the two nations. But at the same time he did this, he treated with the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, with the count of *Holland* and *Zealand*, with the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and other princes of *Germany*, and made no secret to them of his intention to attack *France*, not barely about the wrongs he had sustained in *Guienne*, but in support of his right to the crown of that realm, which *Robert* of *Artois* persuaded him was indubitable, and had so high an idea of his own abilities, that as he boasted he made *Philip de Valois* king by his address, so he now threatened to depose him for his ingratitude⁴. Language wild and passionate indeed, but expressive of that vindictive vigilance, by which he went very far towards bringing it to pass.

The war
breaks out,
and Edward
prevailed on
to conclude a
truce.

KING *Philip* being informed of these negotiations, and perceiving clearly that the pretence of taking the cross was no longer of any use, detached a squadron of his fleet against the infidels, and brought the rest, consisting chiefly of *Genoese* vessels, into the ocean; where they might be employed against the *English*⁵. He made alliances likewise with the princes on his frontiers, particularly the king of *Navarre*; and on the side of *Germany* he brought into his interest *John* of *Luxemburgh*, king of *Bohemia*, the dukes of *Austria*, and several great prelates and peers of the empire⁶. In a dispute of this nature it was of great consequence which side was taken by the *Flemings*. Their count *Lewis* declared without reserve for king *Philip*, but his subjects were much more inclined to *Edward*. *James Artevelle*, a brewer, the most able and the most artful man in that country, governed them as much as if he had been their prince, and the advantages derived from the *English* commerce determined him in favour of *Edward*; who, at his request, passed the sea with a great navy, and debarked a numerous army at *Sluys*⁷. In the first councils that were held, it was resolved to act offensively; but for this there wanted a pretence; the vassals of the empire could not act either by the orders, or even as allies of *Edward*, without direction from the emperor, and he was under a treaty with *France*. This difficulty, however, was soon overcome; the *French* had made themselves masters of *Cambray*, the emperor resolved it should be retaken, and, with a view to this, he created *Edward* vicar general of the empire, who besieged it without delay, though *John* duke of *Normandy*, king *Philip*'s son, defended it with a numerous garrison. Yet, after a short time, *Robert de Artois* prevailed upon him to raise the siege, and march into *Picardy*⁸. *Philip* covered his country on that side like a captain of great experience, and declined coming to a battle, though some writers ascribe this conduct to *Edward*. However, the seat of the war was again transferred into the *Low Countries*, where *Edward*, with his forces, besieged *Tournay*; to the relief of which *Philip* marched with a numerous and well-appointed army, but acted with so much caution, that *Edward* found himself in a manner blocked up in his camp; and the countess dowager of *Hainault*, sister to *Philip*, mother-in-law to *Edward*, and sister-in-law to *Robert de Artois*, coming out of the convent to which she had retired, interposed with so much spirit and address, that she engaged all parties to agree to a truce for a year⁹; and might, perhaps, have brought about a peace if she had survived.

¹ P. ÆMIL. Ancien. Chron. de France. J. DE SERRES.

FORD Chron.

² J. DE SERRES, MEZERAY.

³ Cont. Chron. NANG. WALTERI HEMING-

FORD Chron. ⁴ FROSSART, lib. i. Ancien. Chron. de France, Me-

moires de Robert de Artois. ⁵ Cont. Chron. NANG. GAGUIN. Hist. P. ÆMIL.

⁶ Ancien. Chron. de

France, FROISSART, lib. i. GAGUIN. Hist. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES.

⁷ ROB. DE AVEBURY, WALTERI

HEMINGFORD, Anonym. Historia Edwardi III. P. ÆMIL.

⁸ Cont. NANG. Chron. THOM. WALSHINGHAM.

⁹ Cont. NANG. Chron. FROISSART, WALTERI HEMINGFORD.

- a** But while these things were transacted by land, there were also some great things performed by sea. The *French* fleet, or rather the fleet in the pay of *France*, took two ships of force, many trading vessels, committed great depredations on the coasts, burnt the town of *Southampton*, and attempted descents in several places; and, notwithstanding they were at length repulsed, did a great deal of mischief^a. But king *Edward*, in his passage to *Flanders*, met with this fleet at sea, engaged and beat it after a very obstinate resistance. This was the first great maritime action that happened in the course of the war, and cost both parties very dear; the greatest part of king *Philip's* fleet was destroyed, and near twenty thousand men perished; on the other side, the *English* had about seven thousand men killed, and their fleet so roughly handled as to be able to perform nothing of consequence that year^b. *Philip*, following the course of his predecessors, prosecuted *Edward* as a peer of *France* before the parliament, for receiving and supporting *Robert de Artois*, after he had been condemned for treason, and for this directed the duchy of *Guienne* and the county of *Ponthieu* to be seized; in pursuance of which many places were taken, till the war on all sides was suspended by the truce^c. At the siege of *Tournay*, *Edward* first took the arms, and assumed publicly the title, of king of *France*, and this that he might engage the *Flemings* to act, who did homage to him as their monarch, that they might avoid the imputation of rebellion, and the forfeiture of two millions of florins which they stood bound to pay the pope upon their last treaty with *Philip*, in case they at any time revolted against the crown of *France*; which they conceived to be eluded by their owning *Edward's* title, and acting against *Philip* as the usurper of that realm from the right heir^d. Yet, upon the truce, they admitted the return of their count, who feasted *Edward* magnificently at *Ghent*, though he would not be persuaded to enter into his interest; which was the more honourable, as this would have reconciled him to his subjects effectually.

In order to bring over the Flemings, Edward assumes the title and arms of France.

A. D. 1340.

- A NEW and unlooked-for incident revived the war, even before the conclusion of the truce, and spread its flames much wider than ever. *Arthur* the second duke of *Bretagne*, prince of the blood, and peer of *France*, had, by *Mary* daughter of the viscount de *Limoges*, three sons, *John*, *Guy*, and *Peter*. By his second wife *Yoland*, or *Violante*, daughter of *Robert* count of *Dreux*, and *Beatrice* countess of *Montfort*, which lady, at the time of her espousing the duke of *Bretagne*, was the widow of *Alexander* king of *Scots*, he had *John de Montfort*, and five daughters^e. The eldest and the youngest of his sons, of the first bed, lived and died without issue; but *Guy* count de *Penthièvre* left behind him an only daughter, who, from an accident that befel her while a child, was called *Hopping Jane*. Her uncle *John* the third duke of *Bretagne* would have regarded her as his heiress, having an implacable aversion to his mother-in-law and his brother *John* count de *Montfort*^f. After contriving various methods to defeat him of his succession, the duke at last gave his niece in marriage to *Charles de Chatillon*, second son to the count de *Blois*, by the sister of king *Philip*, whom the *French* historians generally call *Charles de Blois*^g; and to whom, in conjunction with, and in right of, his wife, duke *John* caused the states of *Bretagne* to swear homage, not doubting that, after his decease, the king would support his nephew's title, which was the principal motive to the marriage. This duke dying in the month of *April*, *John* count de *Montfort*, in right of his mother, immediately seized his palace and treasures, which quickly enabled him to make himself master of all the strong places in the duchy^h. As he knew the disposition of the king and court of *France*, he had very little hopes of remaining long quiet; and therefore, to secure himself a protection equal to that on which his competitor depended, he went over to *England*, and offered to do homage to king *Edward*, either as king of *France*, on whom it depended by the dew creation, or as king of *England*, since in quality of duke of *Normandy*, which he claimed independent of his right to the crown of *France*, *Bretagne* depended anciently on him, and was but a remote fief of the crown of *France*. *Edward* entertained him kindly, received his homage, promised him support, and sent him back to *Bretagne*ⁱ. On the other hand, *Philip* caused him to be summoned to answer for his conduct before the high court of parliament, and probably granted him a safe conduct; for he went to *Paris*, made his excuses to the king, and remained there some time; but, suspecting a design to secure his person, he withdrew secretly, and retired into his own country. The parliament proceeded however, and at length declared the right of succession belonged to the countess de *Penthièvre*, and the king ordered his son *John* duke of *Normandy* to put that lady and her husband into possession of the duchy of *Bretagne*^j. *John de Montfort* exclaimed against this sentence as unjust, and as given at the solicitation and out of complaisance to the king; in which there seems to be some foundation, since he was brother to the deceased

Dispute about the succession to Bretagne revives the war before the close of the truce.

1341.

^a ROB. DE AVESBURY, Anonym. Historia Edwardi III.

^b FROISSART, P. ÆMIL.

^c CONT. CHRON. NANG.

^d CONT. NANG. CHRON. WALTERI HEMINGFORD.

^e D'ARGEN. Histoire de Bretagne.

^f CONT. NANG. CHRON. GAGUIN. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES.

^g CONT. NANG. CHRON. FROISSART.

^h FROISSART, D'ARGEN. Hist. de Bretagne.

ⁱ CONT. NANG. CHRON. FROISSART.

^j Ancien. Chron. de France, D'ARGEN. Hist. de France.

duke, and consequently nearer in blood than his niece, and heir male, and therefore to be preferred to a female; and it was not a little strange, that he, who was capable of taking the crown of *France* by descent, should have no title by the same descent to a fief of that crown^d.

Robert d'Artois slain in the war with Charles de Blois in Bretagne.

THE war of *Bretagne* seemed to be determined almost as soon as it began; for the duke of *Normandy* entering that duchy with a numerous army, *John de Montfort* threw himself into *Nantes*, and made all the dispositions requisite for an obstinate defence; but the duke having corrupted one of his officers, the place was betrayed into his hands, together with the person of *John de Montfort*, who was sent prisoner to *Paris*, and confined there in the tower of the *Louvre*^e. His wife, the daughter of the count of *Flanders*, retired into *Hennebon*, which was a place of great strength; and, having prevailed upon the garrison and inhabitants to risk all in her defence, and in that of her son, a child in the fifth year of his age, she spared no pains to encourage or to augment the party of her husband. His competitor *Charles de Blois* marched with a considerable force to besiege her in *Hennebon*; upon which she sent *Amaure de Clifton* into *England* to solicit succours from king *Edward*, and with him the young prince her son, that he might be safe. *Charles*, who looked on the reduction of the place as a certain prelude to the conquest of *Bretagne*, pushed the siege with all the warmth imaginable, and was on the very point of taking *Hennebon* and the duchess, when the *English* succours arrived, under the command of *Walter de Mauny*, an excellent officer; who, with a handful of troops, did all that could be expected from him; but had probably been oppressed by numbers, if the countess had not very artfully procured a truce, which gave her an opportunity of going over in person to *England*; where, the truce between the two crowns being expired, she procured a powerful succour, commanded by *Robert de Artois*, with whom she embarked on board a fleet of forty-five sail. In their passage, they met and attacked the *French* fleet, commanded by *Lewis de la Cerda*, whom the historians of those times call *Lewis of Spain*, but were separated by a storm^f. On their arrival in *Bretagne*, the war revived with great spirit, in which, as in the fight at sea, the duchess acted in person. *Robert de Artois* made himself master of *Vannes*, which was soon after retaken by the *French*, and *Robert de Artois*, with much difficulty, made his escape. The wounds he received proving dangerous, he embarked for *England*; where he died about the middle of *October*, and was buried with great solemnity at *Canterbury*. A very fortunate event for king *Philip*, and which affected *Edward* so much, that he resolved to go over in person to *Bretagne* to revenge it; which he accordingly performed with a greater force than had been hitherto employed on that side^g.

King Edward, after an unsuccessful campaign in Bretagne, makes a pacification.

AN eagerness to perform something very extraordinary prevented him from doing at all what he thought to have done at once; for, perceiving there was no considerable army in the field to oppose him, he laid siege to *Nantes*, *Rennes*, *Vannes*, and *Guignan*, at the same time. The duke of *Normandy*, who knew those places were well provided, made no great haste to succour them, that the *English* army might be harrassed by the fatigue of those sieges, and that he might have time to augment his own^h. At length, hearing that *Edward* had taken *Guignan*, he marched towards *Rennes*; and, the enemy having raised the siege, he proceeded to *Nantes*, the siege of which was likewise raised at his approach, and the whole of *Edward's* army assembled about *Vannes*; where the duke of *Normandy*, having some officers about him of great experience, and being guided by their counsel, formed a blockade at a great distance; and, though *Edward* took every method he could devise to provoke him, yet he continued still in the same situation, till, by the interposition of the new pope *Clement* the sixth, a truce was concluded, and *Edward* returned into *England* with less advantage than from any campaign he ever madeⁱ. By this treaty *John de Montfort* obtained his liberty, and, though he was forbid to leave *Paris*, yet he took the first fair opportunity of leaving it privately, and returning again to *Bretagne*. As for the conferences held at *Avignon*, in the presence of the pope, they were far from advancing the peace, but they had this good consequence, that the truce was prolonged for three years, and this for *France* and *England*, as well as *Bretagne*, *Scotland*, *Guienne*, and the *Low Countries*, the allies on both sides being included^k.

King Philip, by an act of severity, affords Edward an opportunity to declare void the truce.

It seems to have been the view of *Philip*, in concluding the first truce, to make way, if possible, for a peace; for though hitherto his losses had not been great, yet he found that *Edward* had so many advantages, and was so capable of improving them, that the war exhausted his subjects so much, and had besides so many inconveniencies, that he would willingly have ended it; which he flattered himself, after the death of *Robert de Artois*, might have been practicable^l. As soon as he was convinced it was not, he applied himself to strengthen the alliances he had already formed, and to make such acquisitions as might prove

^d FROISSART. THOM. WALSHINGHAM. Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.
ⁱ Ancien. Chron. de France, FROISSART. ÆMIL.

^e Cont. NANG. Chron. DU TILLET.

^g Ancien Chron de France.

^h Cont. NANG. Chron. FROISSART.

^k D'ARGEN. Hist. de France. Ancien. Chron. de France, P.

^l DU TILLET, MEZERAY.

- a beneficial to his family. He met with some success in the former, and more especially in the promise of naval assistance from *Spain*, and much greater in the latter, by his treaty with *Humbert* the second dauphin of *Viennais*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, and by the purchase of the lordship of *Montpellier* from the unfortunate king of *Majorca*, of which we have already given an account in its proper place^m. He might have done more in reference to both, if the war had not broke out sooner, and with greater violence than ever, by a breach of the truce, as some writers say, on the part of king *Edward*; but, in reality, from an inexcusable act of cruelty, flowing from that impetuosity of temper which was the great source of all *Philip's* misfortunes. He had concluded a marriage between his second son *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, and the princess *Blanch*, the daughter of his predecessor for *Charles the Fair*; and, to heighten the solemnity of the wedding, had appointed a tournamentⁿ. On the faith of the truce, *Oliver de Clifton*, who had served with reputation on the side of *Charles le Blois*, had been made prisoner by the *English*, and been exchanged for an *English* earl, came to *Paris*, with several other gentlemen of *Bretagne*, to share in these diversions. Soon after their arrival, the king caused *Clifton* and eleven more to be arrested, upon some suspicion that they held intelligence with *John de Montfort*, or with king *Edward*, and, without any form of law, caused them to be beheaded in prison. As the blood of the nobility had hitherto been sacred in *France*, this act of violence excited terror and jealousy amongst them, and struck all *France* with consternation^o. When the news of it came to *Edward*, he was so incensed, that he was on the point of putting all the *French* prisoners in his hands to death; but *Henry of Lancaster* earl of *Derby* dissuaded him, by saying, that it was not the way to efface a bad precedent by making a worse: upon which the king sent for *Henry de A. D. 1345.* *Leon*, and told him, that tho' he might as well put him to death as *Philip* had done his countrymen, or insist upon a very large ransom, as he was the richest gentleman in *Bretagne*, yet he would be content with a very small one, if he would go to *Paris*, and, in his name, defy *Philip de Valois*; tell him, that he looked upon the truce as no longer subsisting, and that he would never conclude another till he had revenged the death of these unhappy gentlemen^p.

- THE first efforts were made in *Guienne*, to which the earl of *Derby* was sent with a strong squadron, and a numerous corps of troops on board. He managed the war with great success, and defeated the count *de Lisle*, who commanded for king *Philip* on that side. *John de Montfort* displayed his banners again as duke of *Bretagne*, and, with the assistance of some *English* troops, besieged *Quimper*; but the place was so strongly fortified and so well defended, and his own troops in so poor a condition and so ill provided, that he was constrained to raise the siege; the disgrace of which affected him so strongly, that he died soon after of discontent, leaving his son a kind of hostage in *England*, and his broken fortune to the care of that heroine his spouse^q. In *Flanders* things took the like turn; king *Edward* not only went thither, but carried with him also his son, afterwards the famous black prince, in hopes that, through the interest of his friend *Artevelle*, for so *Edward* always called him, the *Flemings* might be induced to leave their natural prince, and accept either of him or his son. His agent did all that was in his power, but in vain; the proposition was rejected, and the commons of *Ghent* entertaining some suspicion of *Artevelle*, who remained behind, the rest of their deputies ran into a tumult on his return, and beat out his brains^r. Thus far things went well for king *Philip*, even without his own assistance; but the earl of *Derby* was still victorious in *Guienne*, and pushed his conquests as far as *Angoulesme*. The king ordered his son, the duke of *Normandy*, to march against him; but was unable to provide him with a competent army for want of money. He had foreseen this want, but did not think it would so soon have come upon him. He had, however, endeavoured to provide against it, by imposing that tax upon salt which still subsists^s. This furnished him with money indeed; but it came in slowly, was attended with several insurrections and universal discontent^t. At length the duke of *Normandy* marched with a hundred thousand men against the earl of *Derby*, who had not a third part of that number, recovered most of the new conquests, and, by degrees, pressed him so hard, that he was forced to send to king *Edward* and demand relief, without which it was impossible to save *Guienne*, which the war had already almost ruined^u.

KING *Philip*, having exerted his utmost force in assembling and completing the army of the duke of *Normandy*, relied upon that for resisting the *English*, not only as their forces stood at present under the earl of *Derby*, now by his father's death become earl of *Lancaster*, but like-
 wife when they should be augmented by the troops which he knew king *Edward* was bring-
 ing

^m See the Hist. of Majorca.

Ancien. Chron. de France.

Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.

ⁿ J. DE SERRES, DUPLEIX.

^o Cont. NANG. Chron. D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne.

^p FROISSART, WALTERI HEMINGFORD.

^q MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

^r THOM. WALSINGHAM, RYMER'S Fœdera, tom. iv.

^s FROISSART.

^t Cont. NANG. Chron. Ancien.

^u Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.

barks a great
army in Nor-
mandy.

ing thither in person; and therefore he meditated an invasion on *England*, in the king's a
absence, which was to be facilitated by an irruption of the *Scots*; and with this view he had
a great number of *Genoese* vessels in his ports, and some thousand of cross-bow men, who
were to embark as soon as the king had appointed a place for his fleet to assemble. He had
also set on foot a fresh negociation with the *Flemings*, and had made them very considerable
offers, if they would return to his obedience, and that of their count^w. While he was using
the properest means to carry these important projects into execution, *Edward*, having drawn
together four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, twelve thousand *Welch*, and six
thousand *Irish* foot, embarked them on board eight hundred transports, and, escorting these
with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, embarked in person on the 4th of *July*, with an
intention to land either at *Bayonne* or *Bordeaux*; but being twice drove back by contrary winds, b
which threw him, with no small hazard, on the coast of *Cornwall*, he began to listen to the
advice of *Geoffrey* brother to the count *de Harcourt*^x. This gentleman had not only been of
the council, but was also a declared favourite, to king *Philip*, till, by such degrees as are
but too common at courts, he was disgraced; and, knowing the violence of his master's tem-
per, fled about two years before into *England*, where he was very kindly received, and much
esteemed by *Edward*. This *Geoffrey* had, from the beginning, remonstrated to him, that
Guienne and *Poitou* were in themselves countries not over fruitful, and were by this time
wholly exhausted, having been so long the seat of war; whereas *Normandy* (which was his
own country), was very rich and fruitful, full of large towns indifferently fortified, and where,
on account of taxes which they thought illegal, and for various other reasons, the gentlemen c
were highly disgusted with *Philip* and his government: and now, finding that he could not
execute his own purpose, *Edward* very wisely altered it, and, directing his course to the oppo-
site shore, debarked his troops at *La Hogue*^y. He there divided his forces into three bodies,
commanded by himself, the earl of *Warwick*, and *Geoffrey Harcourt*, with which he spread deso-
lation on every side: *Charentan*, *St. Lo*, and *Velonge*, were taken sword in hand, and pillaged:
Rouen, better fortified, might have escaped; but the count *d'Eu* and the earl of *Tancarville*
having retired thither with the militia of the adjacent country, the townsmen would needs have
them give the *English* battle; which they being persuaded, or rather compelled, to do, were
not only defeated, but beat into the town, and the place taken, with the constable and the
count, a prodigious slaughter, and an immense booty^z. *Edward* then advanced up the *Seine* d
as high as *Poissi*, within less than twenty miles of *Paris*, from whence he sent to challenge
Philip either to a battle or single combat; and, receiving no answer, retired into his own
county of *Ponthieu*, in order to refresh and recruit his army, being now inclined to march
into *Flanders*, having received fresh invitations from the *Flemings*^a.

Philip assem-
bles his allies
and the whole
force of his
realm, in order
to revenge this
insult.

MANY of his allies, and most of his great vassals, having joined *Philip*, the sight of so
numerous an army, and such a croud of nobility, induced that prince to hope, that, in the
first transport of their resentment, they might over-whelm the reduced army of his antagonist.
Full of this opinion himself, or influenced by those who were, he followed the *English* with all
possible diligence^b. King *Edward*, who had now in view a retreat into *Flanders*, directed
his march towards the river *Somme*, in order to pass into *Artois*; but found it so well guarded, c
that it was impossible; upon this, he ordered proclamation to be made amongst his prisoners,
of whom he had fifteen or sixteen thousand, that, if any of them could shew him a ford, he
would give him his liberty, with that of twenty more, and a sum of money into the bargain.
One of the prisoners accepted the proposal, and led him to the ford of *Blanquetaque*; where
the *English* passed in spite of the opposition given them by six hundred cross-bows, and the
like number of horse, on the other side; and having reached the village of *Cressy*, four leagues
beyond *Abbeville*, encamped in the neighbourhood^c. King *Philip* passed the same night in
the last-mentioned town, and in the morning continued the pursuit, not with that leisure and
prudence which he had shewn upon other occasions, but like a man led by his passions, and
who measured the glory of his victory by the number of the slain. f

The famous
battle of Cres-
sy in Pon-
thieu, in
which the
army of Phi-
lip is totally
defeated.

HE came up with the *English* about four in the afternoon, and a battle ensuing, was
defeated with great slaughter^d. The next day's loss was little, if at all, inferior to this; for
a vast body of militia from all the adjacent countries, marching in order to join the king's
army, fell in unexpectedly with a body of *English* troops; and, being easily beaten, were
most of them put to the sword. The king, who behaved very gallantly himself, and was
carried from the battle by force, sent for the duke of *Normandy*, to join the remains of his
army, while the victorious *Edward* continued his march to the sea, and closed the campaign
by investing *Calais*^e, as a place very commodious for his designs.

^w CONT. NANG. Chron. GAGUI. Hist. Ancien. Chron. de France, FROISSART, P. ÆMIL. ^x FROISSART,
VILLANI Chron. lib. xii. ^y P. ÆMIL. ^z CONT. NANG. Chron. Chronique de St. Denis, DU TIL-
LET. ^a ROB. DE AVESBURY, FROISSART, Chron. de Fland. P. ÆMIL. ^b P. ÆMIL. DU TILLET.
^c J. DE SERRES, MEZERAY. ^d Vide History of England. ^e Ancien. Chron. de France.

- a THE town of *Calais* was obstinately defended by its inhabitants, which obliged *Edward* to fortify his camp, and to take great precautions for the continuance of the siege; in the mean time king *Philip*, being joined by his son the duke of *Normandy*, and having drawn forces from every part of his dominions, took the *Oriflame* from the abby of *St. Denis*, and, with an army of one hundred thousand men, marched to the place besieged. When he arrived at a convenient distance, he dispatched some officers, with orders to view the enemy's camp; who found it covered by a strong regular line, within which were warm convenient huts for the soldiers, places of arms at proper distances, convenient markets, in which all sorts of necessaries were sold at an easy price^m. They offered him battle in the name of king *Philip*; to which he answered coolly, that he did not mean to give him battle, but to take *Calais*;
- b and, at their return, they reported the *English* to be so well posted, that it would be great imprudence to venture an attack. *Philip* carried his point in regard to the young count of *Flanders*, whom his subjects invited home, received him with great affection, and would have married him to the princess *Isabella*, daughter to king *Edward*; but he, deceiving them, escaped to *Paris*, where, by the advice of king *Philip*, he espoused *Margaret*, daughter to the duke of *Brabant*ⁿ. This, though a point of consequence, afforded but very little consolation for the loss of *Calais*; which, after it held out near a year, surrendered on terms which only high resentment could impose, or the deepest necessity admit. Six of the principal inhabitants were to be given up to *Edward*, who declared his intention to put them to death. This treaty must have been ineffectual, if six of the chief burghers had not offered themselves, and went out in their shirts, with halters about their necks, to throw themselves at *Edward*'s feet, who sternly ordered their execution; from which they were, with difficulty, saved by the queen, upon condition they left the place, and never returned any more. They were honourably received, and amply provided for by king *Philip*^o. *Edward*, once master of the place, turned out all the inhabitants, and replaced them by his own subjects. The war was not more fortunate for *Philip* on any side. In *Guienne*, the earl of *Lancaster* not only recovered whatever places the duke of *Normandy* had taken, but added also to his conquests the port of *St. John d'Angeli*, *Poitiers*, *Niort*, and *Xaintes*^p. The widow of *John de Montfort* defeated *Charles de Blois* in *Bretagne*, and made him prisoner, with his two sons; and, while her consort besieged *Calais*, the queen of *England* beat the *Scots*, and took *David Bruce* their king^q. Things were in this state when a legate from the pope interposed, to the no small satisfaction of *Philip*; and *Edward*, knowing the disorder of his finances, readily yielded to a truce, which he afterwards prolonged for three years^r.
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- d

The important town of Calais is taken by Edward, who then offers to a truce.

A. D. 1347.

The county of Dauphine annexed to the crown, the king's marriage and death.

- THE return of peace could not but be welcome to a nation in the most distressed condition. All the country from *Paris* to the sea was laid desolate and waste, and beyond the *Loire* all was in the same condition. A famine succeeded to the war, and to that a plague, which swept away multitudes; but this visitation was not peculiar to *France*, having ravaged *Asia* and *Italy* before, and continued its deadly progress to the very extremities of *Europe*^s. His misfortunes softened the heart of *Philip*, so that, when *Geoffrey de Harcourt* threw himself at his feet, with a scarf about his neck, in the form of a cord, he raised him up with great kindness, and forgave him. An attempt made upon *Calais*, though without the king's knowledge, might easily have revived the war; but king *Edward* going thither in person, and making prisoners all who were embarked in that expedition, whom he ransomed at a high rate, and *Philip* disavowing the act, the truce subsisted as if no such thing had happened^t. The dauphin of *Viennois*, notwithstanding repeated cessions of his estates, in case he died without heirs, after the death of his first wife was inclined to marry; and having cast his eyes upon *Joan*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*, *Philip*, whose talent was negotiation, prevented that match, by interposing his grandson *Charles*, who espoused the lady; and the dauphin, who was of a soft and pliant temper, resolved thereupon to quit the world, to take the order of *St. Dominic*, and at the same time relinquish his territories to *Charles*, the first of the blood royal of *France* who bore the title of *Dauphin*^u. The duchess of *Normandy*, daughter to the king of *Bohemia*, and sister to the emperor *Charles*, dying, the king thought fit himself, being also a widower, to propose a match for his son with the princess *Blanch*, sister to *Charles the Wicked*, king of *Navarre*; but, when he came to see her, he was so charmed with her beauty and prudence, that he espoused her himself, and obliged his son to marry the countess of *Bologne*, widow to *Philip* of *Burgundy* count of *Artois*, and the mother of *Philip*, the last duke of *Burgundy* of that race^w. These marriages occasioned great rejoicings, which, however, were of no long continuance; for his young queen, who was scarce seventeen, became a widow in less than a year, the king dying of a short illness at *Chartres en Beauce*, on the
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^m P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX. ⁿ Cont. NANG. Chron. ^o Chronique de France, P. ÆMIL. ^p ROB. DE AVESSURY, J. DE SERRES. ^q D'ARGEN. Histoire de Bretagne. ^r Cont. NANG. Chron. ^s FROISSART, Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL. ^t DUPLEIX, DU TILLET. ^u Cont. NANG. Chron. Histoire de Dauphine. ^w Ancien. Chronique de France.

A. D. 1350. 22d of *August*, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifty-seventh of his life^x, leaving the queen with child. His misfortunes, joined to the hastiness of his temper, made him little regretted, more especially as an opinion prevailed, that his person was unlucky, notwithstanding the surname of *Fortunate*, which he acquired at his accession to the throne^y. Yet, it may be truly said, these vulgar opinions deserve little notice, since the cares and sorrows attending it might well induce *Philip* to doubt, whether he had any reason to boast his good fortune in obtaining the crown; and, on the other hand, if we reflect on the great accessions of territory he procured, and how near he was obtaining the noble duchy of *Bretagne*, if the states would have consented, we can hardly esteem him unlucky^z. In short, like other princes, and indeed like other men, in some things he was prosperous, and in others not; or rather, his views, falling in with those of Providence, were accomplished, and when contrary were defeated, though ever so well concerted. b

John duke of Normandy succeeds his father, and fulfies the beginning of his reign with the death of the constable Rodolph count of Eu and Guines.

On the demise of his father, *John* duke of *Normandy* ascended the throne of *France*, with as general an approbation as any of his predecessors; and indeed there were many reasons why his subjects might expect an extraordinary degree of ease and happiness under his reign. He was forty years of age, had always behaved very dutifully towards his father, commanded armies often, shewed much courage, and no want of conduct, in the execution of those commands; and, having had a large share in the administration of affairs in his father's life-time, felt the weight of the crown no greater than he was well able to bear at his accession^a. He was crowned, with his second wife *Joan* of *Bologne*, on the twenty-sixth of *September*; and, to grace this solemnity, made his son *Charles*, the dauphin, knight, together with his second son *Lewis*, his brother *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, and the son of his consort, *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*. He proceeded from *Rheims* slowly to *Paris*, and made his public entry into that capital, on the seventeenth of *October*, with great splendour and the loudest acclamations, the feasts upon this occasion lasting a whole week^b. This scene of mirth and joy was very speedily disturbed by an act of severity; which shewed that *John* inherited the disposition, as well as the dominions of his father. *Rodolph de Brienne*, count of *Eu* and of *Guines*, constable of *France* (which office his father had executed before him), had made three or four trips into *France*, since the time he had been made prisoner by the *English* in *Normandy*, under colour of procuring money to pay his ransom, which had been fixed at so large a sum as eighty thousand crowns^c. Being at this time in *Paris*, the king caused him to be arrested, d and three days after beheaded, without any trial, in the presence of the duke of *Bourbon*, and some other lords. It was given out, that, at his death, he confessed his having entered into engagements with king *Edward*. The crime charged upon him was, that he had consented to let that monarch have his county of *Guines*; which, lying in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, was at that juncture of the utmost importance; and to excuse the manner of his punishment it was alleged, that, from the examples of *Robert de Artois* and *Geoffrey de Harcourt*, the king had reason to secure himself against the consequences of a third instance of the like kind^d. But all this did not satisfy the nobility, who looked upon the action with horror, and were terrified with the apprehension of such a precedent. Their apprehensions were not at all lessened by the manner in which the king disposed of the estates of the deceased. The constable's sword e he bestowed on *Charles de la Cerda*, great grandson to *Alonso the Wise*, by the father's side, and standing in the same degree of relation to *St. Lewis* by his mother: the county of *Eu* he gave to *John de Artois*, the son of *Robert*; but, though both were his near relations, neither had merited any thing of the state, but derived these benefits purely from the king's favour^e. The county of *Guines* was left to the daughter of the deceased, who espoused *Walter de Brienne*, titular duke of *Athens*, and who in process of time became also constable of *France*. The king being very sensible of the uneasiness of the barons and the noblesse, endeavoured to dissipate their fears by a great variety of court diversions, and instituted the order of the star^f, that he might attach a considerable number of them to his person; which, though it had some effect, did not answer his intentions in any great degree. The institution of the garter by *Edward* produced this project. f

The truce very ill kept, and yet renewed by the two crowns under the mediation of the pope.

As it was not the spirit of peace, but merely a sense of weakness on both sides, that originally produced and hitherto prolonged the truce, so it was never very strictly observed on either side. The *French* made an inroad into *Xaintonge*, under the command of marshal *Offemont*, who was defeated and taken prisoner; but they had better fortune in the blockade of *St. John de Angeli*, which, though a sea-port, surrendered for want of provision^g. On the other hand, Sir *Aumary de Pavia*, who was still governor of *Calais*, corrupted the officer who commanded in *Guines*, and so took it, as if by surprize. As this blow was felt, king *John* complained that the truce was violated; but *Edward* vindicated himself, by saying that

^x Contin. NANG Chron. ^y Hist. de France, par L'Abbe DE CHOISY. ^z Cont. NANG. Chron.
^a FROISSART, P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. ^b Cont. NANG. Chron. ^c Ancien. Chronique de France.
^d J. DE SERRES. ^e FROISSART, DU TILLET. ^f Ancien. Chronique de France. Extrait de la Chambre des Comptes. ^g J. DE SERRES.

- a he had looked upon the truce as a kind of merchandize, of which both were to make use, and that as *John* had got a port on one side, he had borrowed a fortress on the other^h. Sir *Aumary*, who, though very brave, was an absolute knave, encouraged by this success, attempted to surprize *St. Omers*, in which *Geoffrey Charni* commanded, but he gave him so warm a reception, that, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, his troops being defeated, he was, by an unlucky fall from his horse, taken prisoner; and, in return for his having cheated *Geoffrey* of twenty thousand crowns for the sale of *Calais*, where he was also taken prisoner, and forced to pay a great ransom, he now caused Sir *Aumary* to be tore to pieces with wild horsesⁱ. In *Bretagne* the war was carried on with more heat than ever between the houses of *Montfort* and *Blois*; and, in short, every thing tended to an open revival of the war, as soon
- b as both parties should have recruited their forces, in which *John* had some advantage, by his brother-in-law, *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, becoming emperor^k. The next year the truce was again prorogued. At this time *Charles*, king of *Navarre*, having taken possession of his dominions, returned to the *French* court, where he was bred, and where he was admired and beloved, as one of the most gallant and accomplished princes of that age. At first he affected entirely the character of a man of pleasure, which he found to be most acceptable at court; and having, by this means, rendered himself wonderfully agreeable to the queens, for there were then three, he carried his first point of marrying the princess *Joan*, the king's daughter, without difficulty^l. He then complained that the county of *Angoulesme*, being ruined by the war, it was but just that the loss he sustained thereby should be repaired; and several places
- c being bestowed upon him in *Normandy*, the king gave that county to his favourite the constable *Charles* of *Spain*, which so provoked the king of *Navarre*, who had a mind to keep that too, as we have shewn in another place, that he caused that unhappy prince to be killed in his bed, owned and justified the fact, and at length compelled the king to grant what terms he thought fit to demand, with a full pardon for his accomplices: and though he submitted in person to a kind of conviction before the parliament of *Paris*, yet it was upon an assurance of having his grace, and, which is much more extraordinary, having king *John*'s second son delivered him as an hostage till the ceremony of his dismissal should be over, which served only to debase the king, to heighten the ambition of *Charles*, and to augment his party^m. 1351.
- d In another place we have given the character of this prince, whom the *French* stile *Charles the Wicked*, and who was indeed one of the most dangerous enemies the king or kingdom ever had. It shall suffice, therefore, here to observe, that exclusive of that title which, in his mother's right (the daughter of king *Lewis Hutin*), *Charles* thought he had to all, he also pretended to the duchy of *Burgundy*, the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, with some other places, which had belonged to some or other of his ancestorsⁿ. His method was to advance his pretensions singly and separately; and as soon as he had obtained an equivalent for one he set up another, at the same time treating with the *English*, and with such as, from particular prejudices, were become malecontents^o. The king, being acquainted with these practices, bestowed the duchy of *Normandy* upon his son the dauphin, and ordered him to seize the
- e king of *Navarre*'s estates. This brought *Charles* out of his regal dominions by sea, where he quickly became so troublesome, that the crown was forced to purchase quiet at the expence of one hundred thousand crowns; notwithstanding which he still kept up an intelligence with *England*, and was the only person confided in by the malecontents. 1353.
- f A STRONG desire in king *John* to recover the important fortress of *Calais*, and the well-grounded opinion which *Edward* entertained, that there never was a more favourable opportunity for extending his conquests, induced both princes to suspend negotiation, and to refer their quarrel once more to the sword. *Edward the Black Prince* was sent over, with some of the young nobility, a reasonable supply of money, and a small body of old troops, into *Guienne*, where he was received with great joy, and carried on the war with spirit; while the *French* forces under *Gaston Phœbus*, count of *Foix*, and the constable *de Bourbon*, gave him very little opposition, because their pride and jealousy of command would never allow them to act in conjunction^p. In the autumn *Edward* himself crossed the sea to *Calais*, with a good army; and having taken the field, ravaged the country to the gates of *Hedin*. *John*, having at length collected a superior army, marched directly to give him battle, and sent one of the marshals of *France* to offer it; but the king of *England* answered, that he would fight when he thought fit, and so retired again to *Calais*. It seems as if this expedition was undertaken on expectations that were not answered, which engaged the *English* monarch to act as he did^q. *John*, perceiving clearly that this war would prove too weighty for his revenue, called an assembly of the three estates of the realm at *Paris*, before whom he laid a true state of his

^h DUPLEIX. ⁱ P. ÆMIL. CHALONS. ^k Contin. NANG. Chron. ^l MEZERAY, LE G. ANDRE.
^m FAVIN. Histoire de Navarre. ⁿ Ancien. Chronique de France. ^o GAGVINI Hist. BOULANVIL.
^p ROB. DE AVEBURY. ^q THOM. WALSINGHAM, P. ÆMIL.

A. D. 1355. affairs, and desired their assistance. They consented accordingly to maintain thirty thousand men so long as the war should last; revived the gabelle on salt, which had been suppressed on the death of king *Philip*; imposed many other taxes, and settled a committee of accounts, who were to levy, receive, and disburse the money thus granted, for the purposes to which it ought to be applied, which is a demonstrative and incontestable proof of the liberty which the *French* nation enjoyed at this time, and which was not inferior to that of any other in *Europe* (B).

King John arrested the king of Navarre, and caused some of his confidants to be beheaded in his presence. WHATEVER satisfaction the king might receive from this condescension in the states, it could scarce alleviate the disturbance given him by the intrigues of the king of *Navarre*, who had drawn the counts of *Loix*, *Namur*, *Harcourt*, and in general all the young nobility, into his party; and, which is very singular, the dauphin duke of *Normandy*, whose head he filled with notions that he had not a proper degree of authority allowed him, and even went so far as to engage him to think of leaving his father's dominions, and to retire to the court of his uncle the emperor *Charles*. These projects were discovered in time; the king sent for his son, gave him so clear an insight into the king of *Navarre*'s views, and made him so sensible that he meant him no better than he did to himself, who was obliged to have guards about his person, to defend him from the emissaries of this ambitious prince, that the dauphin, who had great abilities, entered thoroughly into his father's schemes, and, in order to carry them into execution, made the peace of his associate as well as his own, and then returned into *Normandy*. There he had the address to get the king of *Navarre*, and the most of his creatures, into his power; where, being surprized by the king with a small troop of determined persons, the count of *Harcourt*, and some of the most seditious, were beheaded upon the spot, and the king of *Navarre* sent prisoner to *Chateau Gaillard*. It was believed that this act of severity would have broke all their intrigues, and have prevented this country from becoming the seat of war; but it fell out quite otherwise; for prince *Philip* of *Navarre* broke out immediately into open hostilities, demanded and received succours from the *English*, so that all *Normandy* was in confusion. Amongst the most active in these troubles was *Geoffrey de Harcourt*, whom king *Philip* had pardoned, and who now took up arms again to revenge the death of his nephew, and in one of these expeditions he was slain; but king *Edward* retained such a sense of his services, that he took care to preserve his estate to his family.

Is defeated and taken prisoner. THE prince of *Wales*, taking advantage of this great diversion, marched from *Bordeaux* with two thousand gens d'arms and six thousand archers, and, after traversing *Auvergne*, entered into *Berry*, plundered all the country round, and amassed a very rich booty. On the news, however, that the king was advancing towards him with fifty thousand men, he resolved to retire through *Touraine* and *Poitou* into *Guienne*; but the king, conscious of his own superiority, took his measures for surrounding him so well, and pushed him with such vivacity, that at length he came up with him at *Maupertuis*, two leagues from *Poitiers*, having so effectually secured the passes, that it was in a manner impossible for him to avoid fighting, for which, in this situation, the prince made the best disposition possible. John,

^r GAGUINI Hist. P. DANIEL.

^s Contin. NANG. Chron. Histoire de France, par l'Abbe de CHOISY.

^t GAGUIN. Hist.

^u P. ÆMIL.

^w DU TILLET.

^x J. DE SERRES.

^y FROISSART, Ancien.

Chronique de France.

(B) This assembly of the states of *France* was the king's last resource; he had altered the value of money in such a manner as to create infinite disorders, and, in comparison of those disorders, with very little profit to himself. His ministers were no longer able to advise him in raising men or money, but it was his own inclination, and the confidence he had in his people, that threw him upon the states (1). They consisted of three distinct bodies, or, as some should call them, houses. The first comprehended the clergy, and very nearly resembled our convocation, having at their head the archbishop of *Rheims*. The second was the nobility, and (in our stile) the gentry, whose speaker was the duke of *Athens*. The last were the deputies of the provinces, or, as we should call them, the representatives of the commons, with the famous *Stephen Marcel*, provost of the merchants, at their head. The chancellor and the parliament were also present, who, on behalf of the king, represented the distressed state of public affairs, and submitted it to their consideration (2). They promised to support the king with their persons and fortunes; but, at the same time, they took notice that the

nation was exceedingly distressed, and expressed their expectation, that, at the very time he accepted their assistance, the king would redress their grievances. They then proceeded immediately to vote him a supply, and to deliberate on the ways and means most proper to raise it. The method in which they inclined to do this, was by imposing taxes on the necessities of life for a short time, to be levied by persons of their own appointing; whereas the ministers were desirous of a capitation, or a poll-tax; and, upon trial, the former method being found ineffectual, they had recourse to the latter. In their second sessions they brought in a long and distinct roll of their grievances, and explained themselves, as to the means which they desired the king and the dauphin, duke of *Normandy*, should take for removing them; insisting frequently on their binding themselves, by oath, to comply with their demands. The ordonnance, comprehending all these particulars, is still preserved; and we are told by the *French* writers, that the journal of the states either is or was in the *Cotton* library (3).

(1) P. Æmil. Du Tillet.

(2) Gaguin Hist.

(3) Lettres sur les Anciens Parlements de France, Let. ix.

- a at the head of a vast army, engaged him with great fury ; but, by his own obstinacy and indiscretion, he lost the battle, and was taken prisoner with his fourth son *Philip*^d. There fell, exclusive of persons of great rank, about six thousand in the field of battle, and about fifteen thousand were taken prisoners, most of whom the *English* dismissed, on a promise to render themselves, or send their ransom to *Bordeaux*, on a certain day. After this glorious victory, the prince, with infinite difficulty, got safe to *Bordeaux*, for if the *French* had recovered from their consternation, they might easily have prevented it^e. The king remained six months there, with whom prince *Edward* would willingly have concluded a peace ; but his father, desirous of having his share in the triumph, insisted that he should be sent into *England*, as he was^f.
- b It is impossible to conceive a country more miserable than *France*, upon the falling out of this untoward event. The king had left no regent, and consequently no legal representative in the kingdom : but the dauphin, assuming the title of his lieutenant, endeavoured to supply this defect, by calling an assembly of the states, to be held at *Paris*, which was the more necessary, as the nobility paid him no great respect, and seemed disposed to lay hold of this opportunity to raise their own power, and to live, in all respects, like princes. The dauphin found the rest of the assembly of the states exactly in the same disposition ; so that, without attending either to his or the public distress, they began to prescribe to the dauphin whom he should turn out, or whom he should take in, so that he was glad to let them separate, under pretence of giving him time to make a visit to his uncle the emperor^g. Soon after
- c the king of *Navarre* made his escape, and was in a little time brought in triumph to *Paris*, where by his eloquence, of which he made a very free use upon all occasions, he governed the populace at his pleasure, so that the dauphin knew not what to do, or whom to trust. He was obliged to call another assembly of the states, but instead of governing them they appointed a council to govern him. Upon this he followed the example of the king of *Navarre*, began to harangue the citizens at their common-hall, and made, in a short time, a great progress in popularity^h. An accident spoiled all. A common fellow murdered the treasurer of *France*, and then retired into a privileged place ; upon which the dauphin sent the two marshals of *Dauphine* and *Champagne* to take the criminal out of sanctuary and hang him, which they did. The bishop of *Paris* immediately exclaimed that the privileges of the church were invaded ; and the provost of the merchants, *Marcel*, by whose instigation the murder was done, having raised a general insurrection, went to the lodgings of the dauphin, butchered both the marshals before his face, and some of their blood flying upon him, the dauphin asked, with some emotion, if he was to share the same fate ? The provost told him that he was not ; and as a mark of security and protection, snatched his embroidered hat, or hood, off his head, and clapped his own blue one, which was the signal of the *Navarre* faction, upon the dauphin, who was forced to dissemble his resentment, and take all in good partⁱ. He had been compelled to grant all the king of *Navarre* desired, and obliged to live upon fair terms with him ; though he suspected that a dose of poison he had received, and by which he lost his hair and his nails, and had lost his life too, had not the skill of the emperor's physician, who, by the help of a perpetual issue, hindered the venom from falling on his vitals, preserved him^k. The scheme of the malecontents was to change the form of the government, to vest the supreme power in the third estate, and to leave the king his title with little or no authority ; but when the chiefs of the citizens of *Paris* made a proposal of this sort to the other great cities in the kingdom, it was rejected with contempt. The dauphin seeing this, conceived hopes ; and taking advantage of the king of *Navarre*'s being in *Normandy*, went to the parliament, and demanded from them the title and authority of regent, which was granted ; and upon this he gave the great seal to his chancellor of *Normandy*, and the sword of constable to *Moreau de Fiennes* : afterwards he held the states of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, where he was received, obeyed, and assisted, to the utmost extent
- f of his wishes and their power^l.

WHILE the dauphin was thus employed, the miseries of the kingdom, which seemed scarce capable of any augmentation, were nevertheless heightened by so new and unexpected an evil, as, for the time it lasted, abated the consideration and even the sense of all the rest. The nobility, as we before observed, were so far from entertaining any just sentiments of the danger and distress to which the nation was exposed, that, on the contrary, they pushed their pride, luxury, and ill-timed magnificence, further than can be well imagined, pillaging the poor peasants who inhabited their lands, and using it as a common phrase of reproach, *Jacque bon homme*, that is, *good man James*, or, as we would say, *the poor Jacks, shall pay for all*^m. The

^d Histoire Angl.^e GAGUIN. Hist. POLYD. VIRG.^f AD. MURIMUTH. P. JEMIL.^g DUPL.^h Ancien. Chronique de France. MEZ.ⁱ LE GENDRE. DU TILLET.^k Contin.

NANG. Chron. POLYDOR. VIRGIL.

^l MEZ. P. DAN.^m GAGUINI Hist. LE GEND.

common people, in this starving condition, rendered the more conspicuous, and at the same a time the more intolerable, by that splendour and profusion which appeared in their lords houses, could not help venting their complaints to each other, deploring the hapless state they were in, and the want of any reasonable hopes of seeing things mend. It happened that some peasants about *Beauvois* discoursing about this subject, and inveighing against the inhumanity of their lords to themselves, their want of regard to the honour of *France*, and their contemptuous behaviour to the king under his misfortunes, wrought themselves at last to such a height of fury, that they resolved to extirpate the whole nobility; and laying hold of pitch-forks, staves, reap-hooks, and such rough instruments of mischief as came in their way, began to carry their desperate design into execution, destroying, without mercy, the families of such as they could surprize, and plundered their houses. This humour diffused b itself into several provinces; and this mutinous rabble, from the circumstances before-mentioned, were stiled *the Jacquerie*°. The danger being general, the nobility, who in those days made the use of arms their sole profession, assembled for their own defence, and, in a little time, took a severe revenge on these undisciplined multitudes. The duke of *Orleans* charged them in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, and cut off ten thousand; the king of *Navarre* fell upon another body, and put twelve thousand to the sword, with their principal leader *William Caillet*°. The regent also laid hold of this occasion to raise an army of thirty thousand men; but, acting with more moderation, engaged many of them to lay down their arms, and at length appeared with his forces before *Paris*. The citizens, sensible of the ill usage he had received, endeavoured to pacify him; but the provost *Marcel*, foreseeing that he should be c the victim in case of an accommodation, excited a fresh sedition, and called in the king of *Navarre* with a body of *English* and *Norman* troops; but as these did not observe the strictest discipline, new disturbances happened, and they were expelled°. The provost and his faction conspired to deliver the city entirely into his hands; but their design being discovered at the very point of execution, the provost, with the ringleaders of his party, were destroyed, and the gates being opened to the regent, the public tranquillity was gradually restored, notwithstanding the efforts made by the king of *Navarre* to prevent it, which at length rose so high, that he sent a public defiance to the regent, and broke out into open war¹. The circumstances he was then in rendered this extremely difficult to that young prince.

King of Navarre saves France and the regent, by making a peace on reasonable terms.

As there were at this time great bodies of *English* troops in different parts of *France*, d under the command of officers who subsisted them as they could, who acknowledged no superior, and acted on no principle but that of getting the most they could, it was by the assistance of these that the king of *Navarre* hoped to carry his point; and what that was will not be difficult to learn, when we know that he made a solemn declaration, that, for the future, he would never acknowledge any right in the house of *Valois* to the crown of *France*². By the help of these independent bodies of *English*, who were, beyond comparison, better soldiers than the dauphin's new raised troops, he so straitned the city of *Paris*, in which he had still a great number of friends (for, with all his faults, he had a great facility in making, and a more wonderful art in keeping them), that, at length, it became more than probable he would have prevailed, and have had the city delivered to him by capi- e tulation at least, if not without. But of a sudden, and contrary to all expectation, and without any visible motive, he demanded an interview with the regent, and concluded a peace with him on moderate and reasonable terms³. The writers of those days attribute this to inspiration from heaven; on the other hand, his brother *Philip* said he was bewitched; later writers ascribe it to the inconstancy of his temper; but all agree, that this conduct of his saved *France*, and the subsequent part of this history will put it beyond doubt. The truth of this perplexed business seems to have been, that, in his harangue to the people of *Paris*, he had suffered words to escape him to this effect, "That, if right took place, he " had a better title to the crown of *France* than either he who wore it or he who pretended " to it;" which being reported in *England*, he quickly found that he was to expect no f farther assistance from thence; for, as to what was given him by the truce before-mentioned, *Edward* disavowed it. The king of *Navarre*, therefore, began to consider what effects would follow upon the taking of *Paris*; and perceiving clearly that it would only serve to enrich the free-booters, his allies, in the first instance, and facilitate *Edward*'s design of setting that crown on his own head, with whom he should be much less able to deal than with king *John* and the dauphin, he very wisely altered his plan, and made an equitable peace, to which his brother *Philip* refused to accede, but continued to carry on the war in *Normandy* in conjunction with the *English*⁴.

° P. ÆMIL.. DU TILLET.

° Ancien. Chronique de France.

° Cont. NANG. Chron. H.

KNYGHTON Chron.

° A. MURIMUTH. P. HENAU.

° LE GEND. L'Abbe de CHOISY.

¹ POLYD. VIRG.

¹ Ancien. Chronique de France. FROISSART.

- a ALL this time king *John* remained in *England*, under circumstances none of the most pleasing. On his arrival he made a public entry into the city of *London*, but it was such an entry as could give him no disquiet. He rode on a white courser, which, in those days, when punctilios were much observed, was a mark of sovereignty, and the glorious prince of *Wales*, on a little black horse, rode by his side^u. He had lodgings assigned him in the *Savoy*, where he was treated with all the respect due to his high rank, and with all the esteem which his great personal merit deserved. The king, the queen, the princes of the royal blood, paid him their visits, and endeavoured to comfort him: he had liberty to go where he pleased, to take the diversion of hunting, was feasted and caressed by the nobility, and adored by the people; for, with all the heat of his temper, he had an affability and a condescension that made subjects of all who approached him; and he had his favourite son *Philip*, to whom *Edward* is said to have given the surname of *Hardy*, for reprimanding a gentleman who served that monarch with wine before his father. But, notwithstanding all this, he had his sorrows^w. His subjects had shewn but little concern for him from the time he was taken. On the contrary, in the first assembly of the states, all they laboured was to reduce his authority. His queen, though a princess of incomparable merit, being little regarded at *Paris*, withdrew into her son's dominions, and died in *Burgundy*. His ransom, or his liberty, scarce occupied the attention of any of the assemblies; and, in a word, he seemed to be so thoroughly abandoned, that he took a resolution of concluding a treaty with *Edward*, upon the best terms he could: but when he had concluded it, and, in conjunction with *Edward*, sent it over to the regent in order to have it ratified, the states thought them so hard and so dishonourable, that they refused their approbation, which equally displeased both kings, and gave *Edward* an opportunity of returning to *France* as soon as the truce expired^x. This truce was made for two years; and some of the *French* authors seem to think, that if the cardinals who made it had not prevailed, *France* must have been inevitably conquered. Yet, if we consider facts, they will scarce leave us any room to doubt that this truce was more fatal to *France* than if the war had continued; for this afforded leisure for civil broils, left those independent corps, who were stiled companions, to plunder where-ever they were strongest; made way for other insurrections, and deprived the dauphin, and other princes of the blood, of that authority, which, with an army in the field, they must have had^y. *Edward* was aware of all this, and, under colour of punishing such as were in the stile of his court rebels alike to both kings, he raised an army, and equipped a fleet, which plainly enough expressed his real intention to become the master, as well as to assume the title, of *France*; and accounts sufficiently for the alteration of his conduct towards king *John*, whom, with his son *Philip*, he committed to close prison. His fleet, transports included, consisted of eleven hundred sail, and his army, when debarked at *Calais*, and joined by the troops which were before in *France*, amounted to one hundred thousand men. He began his campaign in the month of *November*, and, though the season was rude, he continued in the field, on a supposition that he should quickly receive submissions from most of the provinces in *France*^z.
- e THE regent was very sensible, that he had not either money or men at his disposal sufficient to give any direct opposition to such a force: he took, therefore, the only method that was left, and with great prudence distributed what troops he had through the principal cities and towns in the kingdom, under officers of distinguished courage and indisputable integrity. This had its effect; for, though *Edward* marched up and down where he thought fit, and plundered and laid waste the country at his pleasure, insomuch that he drew from the dutchy of *Burgundy*, by way of contribution, two hundred thousand florins, exclusive of provisions, yet no place of any consequence submitted^a. At length he invested *Rheims*, with an intention, as the *French* historians say, to have caused himself to be crowned there, as soon as he became master of the city. But the archbishop, who had a considerable force in the place, defended it for about six weeks; and then the king decamping, marched towards the *Loire*, carrying with him his dogs and his hawks, that he might hunt and take his pleasure, and that the world might see how little he apprehended from the *French* arms. At length he changed his course and took the route of *Paris*, where the regent was with what forces he could collect, to whom he sent a defiance by a herald; but he was wiser than to change his measures, or to risk another day like those of *Cressy* or of *Poitiers*^b. The pope's legates all this time solicited *Edward* to listen to an accommodation, in order to which the plenipotentiaries from the regent followed his camp; but, though the duke of *Lancaster* joined his intreaties to theirs, he shewed great coldness to these motions for peace, till, towards the close of *April*, being encamped in the open fields that lie round *Chartres*, such a
- f

Usage of king
John in Eng-
land; conven-
tion made by
him; Edward
invades
France.

The famous
treaty of Bre-
tigny; King
John recovers
his liberty and
returns to Pa-
ris.

^u MEZ. P. DAN.
^z AD. MURIMUTH.

^w J. DE SERRES.

^a CONTIN. NANG. CHRON.

^x P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES.

^b GAGUIN. Hist. DU TILLET.

^y THO. WALSHINGHAM,

storm of thunder and lightening arose as astonished his army and himself, by which many of his soldiers, and above a thousand horses, perished^c. *Edward*, looking upon this as a signal from heaven, sent his plenipotentiaries to the village of *Bretigny*, about a league from *Chartres*, where they met the *French* ministers on the first of *May*, and concluded their conferences on the eighth. This treaty was in the names of the two princes *Charles* and *Edward*; the regent swore to the due performance of it on the tenth, and the prince of *Wales* on the sixteenth of the same month^d. A truce upon this took place, till things could be finally adjusted. King *John* passed the sea to *Calais* in the month of *July*, where the regent was permitted to visit him; but it was three months before *Edward* could come thither and put the last hand to the treaty; which being sworn to by both kings, *John* was set at liberty, on the 24th of *October*, after a captivity of more than four years. In his way to *Paris* he was met by the king of *Navarre*, who promised to live with him for the future in the strictest friendship. On the 13th of *December* he made his public entry into the city of *Paris*, where the inhabitants in general, and the common people in particular, gave great testimonies of joy, and made him a present of silver plate that weighed about a thousand marks^e.

The kingdom of France once more ran suck'd and plundered by the companies, or, as they now stiled themselves, Tard-venus, or Late-comers. THE vast ransom which the king had engaged to pay, constrained him to think of every method of raising money; and for this reason he did two things, which were very disagreeable to his subjects; the first was giving his daughter in marriage to *Galeas*, the son of *John Visconti*, duke of *Milan*, who purchased that princess at no less than six hundred thousand crowns; the other, was permitting the *Jews* to return into and remain in *France* for twenty years, for which they paid largely^f. To these calamities there were added two others, that were still more sensibly felt; the first was a plague, that swept away upwards of thirty thousand persons within the compass of a year at *Paris*; the other, an inundation of disbanded soldiers, who had formerly served in the *English* army, and now, under the command of officers of their own choosing, made a lawless and cruel war, to fill their own pockets. These stiled themselves the *Tard-venus*, or the *Late-comers*, signifying that they had only the gleanings of the late harvest that had been made in *France*^g. The king, after they had been disowned and declared robbers by the *English*, ordered the constable *James de Bourbon* to march against them, which he did, accompanied by many of the nobility, and an army of twelve thousand men. He had, however, the misfortune to be totally defeated, he himself and his son were mortally wounded, the greatest part of the nobility slain, and the rest made prisoners, by which the whole kingdom was laid open to these insatiate plunderers^h. They then separated into two bodies; one of which, under the command of *Seguin de Badol*, wasted the countries of *Lyonnois*, *Beaujolois*, and *Nivernois*; the other, under various commanders, took the route of *Avignon*, in order to ransom the pope and his cardinals. In their passage they made themselves masters of *Pont St. Esprit*, where they met with an immense booty, and where they elected a general, who stiled himself the friend of God, and the enemy of all mankindⁱ. At some distance of time, the king, with much difficulty, and at the expence of a vast sum of money, prevailed upon *Badol* to retire into his own country of *Gascony*; and the marquis of *Montferrat*, whom the pope had sent for to his assistance, prevailed upon him to follow him into *Italy*^k. About this time died *Philip*, duke and count of *Burgundy*, count of *Artois*, *Auvergne*, and *Boulogne*, and the hopes of his succession raised new disturbances. The king of *Navarre* conceived that he had a clear right to the duchy at least, as descending from *Margaret* of *Burgundy*, eldest sister to *Eudes*, grandfather to the deceased duke. King *John* claimed it, as being descended from *Joan*, her younger sister; but, being one degree nearer in point of descent, he entered under that pretence, and annexed it to the crown. The *French* historians may stile *Charles* of *Navarre* what they please; but whoever candidly considers the nature of his claims to this duchy, the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and even to the crown of *France*, will think that, how bad a man soever he was, he was also very badly used. *John de Bologne*, the uncle of the deceased duke, by the mother's side, had the counties of *Bologne* and *Auvergne*, and the count of *Flanders* the counties of *Burgundy* and *Artois*^l.

King John bestows the duchy of Burgundy on his son Philip, and declares him first prince of France. KING *John* finding himself much less at his ease than he expected, his court far from being so magnificent as formerly, and the power of the dauphin, since he became regent, such as in some measure restrained his own, he resolved to divert himself for some short time, by making a tour to *Avignon* to confer with pope *Innocent VI.* to whom he had great obligations, as having interposed, upon all occasions, and sometimes with more warmth than was decent, on his behalfⁿ. In this journey he took the opportunity of visiting his new acquisition

^c THOM. WALSINGHAM:^d VILLANI Chron.^e Ancien. Chron. de France.^f DU TIL.

P. DAN.

^g Anonymi Historia Edwardi III.^h MEZ. LE GEND.ⁱ J. DE SERRES.^k Ancien. Chron. de France. P. ÆMIL.^l DU TIL.

BOULANV.

^m GAGU. Histor.ⁿ LE

GENDRE.

a the duchy of *Burgundy*. On his arrival, the inhabitants of all ranks, but more especially the nobility and the inhabitants of great towns, applied to him, with great duty and humility, representing that they had been so long used to be governed by a prince of their own of the blood royal of *France*, that it was impossible for them to be happy under any other form of rule, and therefore intreated him that he would so far comply with their customs, as to bestow upon them one of his sons for their duke. It seems not improbable that the king and his petitioners understood each others mind; at least it is certain that they came very soon to an agreement, since, notwithstanding the late re-union of the duchy to the crown, *John*, by his letters patents, containing very high commendations of his favourite son *Philip*, granted to him and his heirs, procreated in lawful wedlock, that duchy, in as full a manner as it had been held by its former dukes; and, as a mark of special favour, declared this new duke the first peer of *France*. This was afterwards confirmed, out of respect to his father, and with little regard to the rules of true policy, by his brother *Charles the Wise*. This fortunate young prince *Philip*, by the marriage of his predecessor's widow (who was also a maid) acquired immediately the county of *Burgundy*, and in process of time those of *Flanders* and *Artois*, of which she was the heiress, and thereby laid the foundation of the greatness of the second house of *Burgundy*, which in succeeding times made so great a figure in *Europe*; and which, from the penning of king *John*'s letters patents, became long after A. D. 1362.

ACCORDING to some writers, king *John* arrived at *Avignon* in the life-time of pope *Inno-* cent VI. according to others, immediately after his decease. He was succeeded in the ponti- fical throne by *William Grimaldi*, abbot of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*, who was not so much as a cardinal. At the time of his election he was minister at the court of *Naples*; but, being recalled to *Avignon*, he accepted the papal dignity, and assumed the name of *Urban V*. The king of *Cyprus* coming to intreat his favour and protection against the infidels, whose insults his dominions were continually exposed, he entered so warmly into his interests, and recommended them with such vehemence in his sermons and discourses, that king *John* took the cross on *Good-Friday*, notwithstanding all the opposition that such of the nobility as were about him made to a project of this kind, when his dominions were in so unsettled a condition, exhausted of men and money, and so many disputes raised as to the true meaning of several articles in the treaty of *Bretigny*, that a war with *England* was more likely to ensue than peace to subsist. But king *John* attributed the misfortunes of his father, and several of his predecessors, to their taking the cross, and not fulfilling their vows. He had imagined a possibility, by the help of this expedition, to carry the greatest part of the companions, the best troops and the worst men in *Europe*, into places where their valour might be employed, and their thirst of riches gratified, without prejudice to christendom. Besides, his lofty temper was gratified by the title of generalissimo of the Christian armies; so that he entered with great heat into this new design, for which he is grievously censured by the *French* historians, both ancient and modern, as a prince who sacrificed to his own humour the welfare of his subjects.

e At his return into *France*, king *John* met with fresh circumstances of difficulty and displeasure. The hostages that had been sent into *England* for the performance of the treaty, and for the payment of the king's ransom, grew very uneasy at the uncertain and distant prospect of their return home. King *Edward* taking advantage of this, framed, with their concurrence, a kind of new convention, in which the reciprocal renunciation of claims was contained; and farther, a release from king *John*, from all pretensions of satisfaction for the spoil and damage committed by the companions and late-comers, in breach of the truce. This convention did not appear very unreasonable to king *John*; but the dauphin and the parliament, who considered those pretensions as the only means they had to prevent the rigorous execution of that harsh treaty, disapproved the convention entirely; upon which the hostages, who had been carried over to *Calais*, that they might contribute, by their solicitations, to the ratification of this peace, were more closely confined. *Lewis*, count of *Anjou*, the king's son, bore this so impatiently, that he made his escape, as several others also did, both before and after, to the great grief of the king, who would not suffer him to remain in his presence, but ordered him to return to *England* again, pursuant to his famous maxim, that if truth and good faith were banished from the world, they ought at least to reside in the mouths and hearts of princes. As prince *Lewis* did not think fit to obey him, king *John* took a sudden resolution of returning himself to *London*; from which he was not to be dissuaded, as holding himself obliged thereto by the treaty, and hoping also to bring things

° P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES.

Chronique de France. L'Abbe de CHOISY.

ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. DU TIL.

P DU TIL. P. DAN.

° Contin. NANG. Chron.

° Ancien. Chronique de France.

° Contin. NANG. Chron. P. HENAULT.

° Contin. NANG. Chron.

° Ancien.

° P.

to a better conclusion with king *Edward* in person, than it was possible for him to do by the a
interposition of ministers^w.

King John
goes over a-
gain to Eng-
land, and dies
there at the
palace of the
Savoy.

HE passed the sea in the *Christmas* holidays, and landed at *Dover* the fourth of *January*, where he was received with great honour. He proceeded from thence to *Canterbury*, where he offered a jewel of great price, according to the notions of those times, at the shrine of *Thomas à Becket*. He next continued his journey to *London*, where he was welcomed by the king and queen, and restored to his old lodgings in the *Savoy*: but it does not appear that he advanced much in his negotiation, though treated with all possible marks of affection and respect, and indulged in his favourite diversion of hunting^x. Whether the chagrin of this, or some natural malady, was the cause, so it was, that he fell into a wasting and languishing condition, of which he died on the eighth of *April*, having the satisfaction, however, of being b
attended in his last moments by his brother the duke of *Orleans*, his son the duke of *Berry*, and his cousins *Lewis*, duke of *Bourbon*, and *John d'Artois*, count d'*Eu*^y. He deceased in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his reign, more regretted and beloved A. D. 1364. by the *English* than by his own subjects; his funeral was solemnized with great pomp, at which *Edward* assisted in person, in deep mourning, and his corpse was afterwards sent over to *France*, attended by the count d'*Eu*. This monarch had the surname of *the Good*; for which some historians find themselves at a loss to account, because they behold him in the light of an impetuous, obstinate, and over-bearing prince, who listened only to his own notions, which were commonly dictated by his passions^z: but, as they confess, he was unfeignedly pious, candid, honest, and sincere, as brave as any man of his time, generous, magni- c
ficent, and affable. Posterity may, perhaps, be inclined to think that some surnames might be mentioned, even amongst the *French* kings, that were not at all better founded; be this as it will, he left his dominions in a deplorable condition, and his son and successor under great difficulties, notwithstanding he had done all in his power to deliver them. But negotiation was not his talent, and the hopes he had of persuading, in conjunction with the king of *Cyprus*, *Edward III.* to close his victorious reign by a crusade, deceived him; for that king answered civilly, but coldly, that he was now arrived at too great an age to think of seeking foreign adventures, though he was some years younger than king *John*, and of a much more robust constitution (C).

Accession of
Charles V.
and the pru-
dential max-

CHARLES V. surnamed, very justly, *the Wise*, succeeded his father, that is, he assumed d
the title of king, with very little augmentation of power. He caused himself and his queen to be crowned at *Rheims*, on the 19th of *May*, and a few days after made his public entry

^w MEZERAY.
SINGHAM. AD. MURYMUTH.
P. DAN.

^x Contin. NANGII Chron. Ancien. Chronique de France.
Anonymi Historia Edwardi III.

^y THOM. WAL-
P. ÆMIL. GAGUIN. Hist. MEZ.

(C) The history of this prince's reign sufficiently demonstrates his character; but, in order to do him justice, the reader must remark, that luxury was at a prodigious height in his time, and corrupted all ranks and degrees of people; so that being a very honest man himself, he was very liable to be deceived, and being also of a very hasty disposition, punished with little regard to form, and, it may be, with too much severity (1). He is charged with carrying the royal authority too high; and yet it is allowed that he summoned assemblies of the states frequently, and remitted his concerns into their hands; but both he and they were ill served; for faction prevailing, some busy intriguing men betrayed both the king and the people, in order to serve their private purposes, which did not hinder their being involved in the general ruin which their arts produced (2). His first consort, for she was never queen, was the princess *Bona* of *Luxembourg*, daughter to *John*, king of *Bohemia*, and sister to the emperor *Charles IV.* by whom he had *Charles* the dauphin, duke of *Normandy*, *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, *John* duke of *Berry*, and *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*. He had likewise by the same princess five daughters; *Joan*, queen of *Navarre*; *Mary*, who espoused *Robert*, duke of *Bar*; *Agnes*, who died young; *Margaret*, who became a nun; and *Isabel*, who espoused *John Galeas*, duke of *Milan* (3). His second consort, *Joan*, widow of one duke of *Burgundy* and the mother of another, was, at the time of their marriage, about

twenty-nine years of age and esteemed one of the most beautiful and one of the most prudent ladies in his dominions. She retired, during his captivity, into the territories of her son the duke, and died there, in the fortieth year of her age (4). By this princess king *John* had two daughters, who died young. It is reported the king had an amour in *England*, and some attribute his return into this kingdom to that cause, but this is very uncertain (5). There is somewhat more credit due to another report, as if he had once thought of espousing the famous queen *Joan* of *Naples*; but upon his arrival at *Avignon*, he received such a character of her from her own subjects, as put an end to all thoughts of that kind (6). There is an odd story in one of our old historians, and not to be met with any where else; he says, that on his death-bed, king *John* acknowledged to king *Edward* that he had employed persons through his dominions to export gold beat into thin plates, and arms, into *France*, which would have appeared more probable, if he had not added that he asked king *Edward's* pardon also, for having usurped the crown of *France*, which he obtained (7). His corpse being brought over into *France*, was interred in the abbey of *St. Denis*, with all outward testimonies of respect, but with little real sorrow or affection (8): and the same disposition prevails even amongst modern historians, so little regard is shewn to the unfortunate, even though they are princes (9).

(1) *Froissart, Du Tillet.* (2) *Dupleix, Mezeray.*
France. (5) *Gaguini Historia.* (6) *Le Gendre.*
notes upon *Rapin.* (8) *Gaguini Hist.* (9) *Le Gendre.*

(3) *Jean de Serres.* (4) *Monstrelet, Annales de*
(7) *Hen. Knyghton Chron.* See also *Tyrrel, and the*

into

- a into *Paris*, with great magnificence, in which he was never deficient on such occasions, tho' ^{ims by which he raised France.} remarkably frugal at other times^a. He found the kingdom in a distracted and distressed condition; he bent his utmost endeavours to recover and restore it, and he did this slowly and silently, by making choice of wise ministers and able generals, reserving to himself the great secrets of state, and issuing his orders with the same coolness and punctuality, when his affairs were in the worst and in the best condition. The king of *Navarre* was in arms in *Normandy*, at the time of his father's decease, and had a good army there, well paid, under the command of *John de Grailli*, captal de *Buch*. *Charles* had not either men or money to oppose him; but he sent *Bertrand du Gueslin*, an officer of great reputation, to command in *Normandy*, and he, partly by his arts, but chiefly by his fame, raised a considerable body of
- b forces, with whom he beat and made prisoner the captal, at the battle of *Cocherel*. It was no great affair; but we find it as particularly described by the writers of those times as any action that happened in *France*, out of regard, as they say, to the generals, who became afterwards the most distinguished of their time; but, in reality, because it was the first dispute of any note in which the *French* troops had been victorious, since the battle of *Cressy*^b. The king came soon after in person to *Rouen*, where he caused a nobleman of a great family and considerable fortune, to be beheaded, for being in arms against him at that battle. He declared *du Gueslin* marshal of *Normandy*, and count of *Longueville*, which county reverted to the crown by the death of prince *Philip*, brother to the king of *Navarre*. This method of punishing and rewarding with éclat the king commonly followed, and with good effect^c.
- c He confirmed his father's grants to his youngest brother, augmented the appenages of his other brothers, and rendered great kindnesses to all the princes of his blood, contrary to the maxims of his grandfather *Philip de Valois*, who did all he could to keep them low. Yet ^{Pullishes an edict of resumption, and uses other means of supplying his treasury.} to fill his coffers, in some degree, he had recourse to an act of resumption, making it his choice rather to disoblige the great than to oppress the little^d. In *Bretagne*, the war being renewed, the young count de *Montfort* defeated *Charles le Blois* in the battle of *Auray*, in which he fell. The king, who managed every occasion with great address, laid hold of this, admitted the count to do homage as duke of *Bretagne*, and secured to the widow of *Charles le Blois* the title of duchess of *Bretagne*, for her life, a pension of forty thousand livres, and the county of *Penthièvre* for her children, with the remainder of the duchy to them, in case
- d of the failure of heirs in the reigning family^e.

THE new duke of *Bretagne*, who was much of the same age with the *French* king, came to *Paris* to pay his homage, in virtue of the treaty; and, at this interview, both princes shewed great marks of esteem and condescension for each other. *Bertrand du Gueslin*, who had been taken prisoner in the war of *Bretagne*, was set at liberty; and the duke perceiving how great his credit was at the court of *France*, confirmed to him the grants that had been made by his predecessor; at the same time the king took *Oliver Clifson*, and other *Bretons*, into his service, without giving the duke any offence. But he could not draw that prince into a marriage to his satisfaction, upon the loss of his wife, who was a daughter to king *Edward*, but on the contrary he espoused the daughter of the princess of *Wales*, by her first

e husband, so that he still maintained his connection with *England*^f. The captal de *Buch*, though a prisoner, was extremely well received by the court of *France*. *Charles* was an excellent judge, and a liberal rewarder of merit; and having seen the dexterity with which the captal managed a treaty between himself and the king of *Navarre* (which, as we have shewn in its proper place, was concluded upon terms very favourable for *France*), resolved to gain, at any rate, one who, as it now appeared, was as able a statesman as he had shewn himself a general. The captal could not resist the king's caresses, who released him without ransom, and who, on his coming into his service, made him a present of the county of *Nemours*. But, upon his going to *Bordeaux*, the prince of *Wales* telling him, that it was impossible to serve two masters, he returned the king his patent for the county of *Nemours*,

f and remained with his old lord^g. The low state of his finances continued still to give the king a great deal of trouble; because the situation of his subjects in general was such, that it was not either prudent or safe to impose any new taxes, or even to exact, with the usual rigour, those they had been formerly accustomed to pay^h. This obliged the king to have recourse to methods not very agreeable either to his rank or to his nature. His uncle *Philip* duke of *Orleans*, who had been long prisoner in *England*, had a very large estate, a considerable part of which arose from grants that had been made by the late king; and these, in the present state of things, the king had a mind to resume. The process was no sooner commenced with this view, than the duke of *Orleans*, instead of defending himself, declared in full parliament, that, though he thought and believed he possessed nothing but by a legal

right,

^a Contin. NANG. Chron.^b GAGU. Hist.^c Annales de France. MEZ.^d P. ÆMIL.

L'Abbe de CHOISY.

^e D'ARGENTRE Histoire de Bretagne.^f Ancien. Chronique de France.^g Ancien. Chron. de France.^h Annales de France.

right, yet, knowing the king's motive, he surrendered the whole into his hands, and should a be content with whatever he thought fit to restore¹. This defeated *Charles's* scheme, who only accepted of his uncle's renunciation to confirm his titles in the strongest manner. The king, however, had recourse to sumptuary laws for repressing luxury, which was still at a great height; and for encouraging industry, as the sole means of relieving his people; and enforcing these, not so much by penalties as his own example, they had their effect.

The grand companies ravage France, and reduce the king and his subjects to the utmost distress.

THE composition of affairs in *Bretagne*, and the peace concluded with the king of *Navarre*, seemed to leave *France* much at ease, and to allow king *Charles* leisure to put in practice the schemes he had formed for restoring prosperity to his subjects; and yet from these treaties followed an evil, that brought the nation into greater distress than ever it had felt before. While the war lasted, *Bretagne*, which did not belong to the crown of *France*, and *Normandy*, b felt the weight of it, while other provinces had time to breathe. But now these mischiefs were carried into every part of the kingdom, by the troops that were disbanded on all sides on the conclusion of those treaties¹. This flowed chiefly from the manner in which armies were formed in those days, and was the most terrible scourge to which any country could be exposed. For these soldiers did not straggle about the country, either singly or in small bands, robbing and pilfering at their pleasure, but were formed into large corps, under the command of some knight or officer of distinction, who, having raised himself in service, but having no estate, chose this method of supporting himself, and those who adhered to him^m. When these corps appeared single and separate they were stiled the *Malandrins*; but, after six or seven of these knights entered into a confederacy, though their corps were at a considerable c distance, to march to each other's relief, in case of any attack, they assumed the name of the *Grand Companies*, and became very formidable in point of strength, as well as dreadfully oppressiveⁿ. One of these knights, who stiled himself the archpriest, had such a strength, that, after spoiling *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, he made an irruption into the territories of the empire, and had done more mischief, if some of his own soldiers had not murdered him in a fit of resentment. The king saw, with the greatest anguish of mind, his subjects oppressed and exhausted, and himself treated with contempt, without any power of redress. With small forces, or even larger bodies of the troops hastily raised, there was nothing to be done; and to set on foot an army required money, which he had not^o. In the mean time this evil was intolerable. He complained of it to king *Edward*, a great part of the companions being his d subjects. It touched the king of *England* in honour as well as in interest; he therefore issued a proclamation, requiring them to lay down their arms, and no longer to molest the people of *France*. Some few obeyed, and but a few; the rest sent him for answer, that they held nothing from him, and that they would not abandon the places they had seized, or disband their corps, for him or any prince living. This so provoked *Edward*, that he resolved to pass the seas with a numerous army, if king *Charles* had not declined his assistance, having, as he said, found out a method of relieving himself: on which *Edward* swore, he might trust to that method, for help he should have none from him, if they drove him out of his dominions^p. But *Charles* was by no means willing to have *Edward* again in *France* at the head of a potent army; for reasons that will appear. e

Bertrand du Gueslin engages them in an expedition into Spain with the king's consent.

THE man who delivered the king and his subjects, when in this terrible dilemma, was *Bertrand du Gueslin*, who undertook to persuade the companions to quit *France* of their own accord; and, having opened his project to the king, he approved, and offered him all the assistance in his power^q. Thus encouraged, he went to a meeting of their chiefs, who were all his old acquaintance, and most of them his intimate friends; after being, for some days, a companion of their mirth, he observed to their chiefs, that it was a base and dishonourable kind of life they led, and that the shame of it, instead of being alleviated, was heightened by their birth and rank. They pleaded necessity; to which *du Gueslin* replied, that the *Moors* were still in possession of *Granada*, and other rich provinces in *Spain*; that it would be more safe, more advantageous, as well as more honourable, to turn their arms f against those infidels; that he would undertake to procure them the means, in every respect, of doing this, and would accompany them in the expedition^r. This they readily accepted; upon which thirty-five of their chiefs went to *Paris*, where they were kindly received, and magnificently feasted, by the king, at the temple, and, besides rich presents, had two hundred thousand franks given them for the current expences of their expedition. Their rendezvous was fixed for *Chalons* on the *Soane*, where *du Gueslin* joined them, with three hundred of the most gallant gentlemen in *Bretagne*. *Charles* sent a marshal of *France* to see them out of his dominions, and to conduct them with as little prejudice to his subjects as possible.

¹ P. ÆMIL. MEZ. P. DAN.

^k P. HENAUT.

^l Annales de France, Hist. de Bertrand du

Gueslin. ^m J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET.

ⁿ Ancien. Chron. de France. P. ÆMIL.

^o FROISSART,

Annales de France.

^p P. VIRG.

^q Annales de France.

^r Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin.

- a possible. The route that they took was to *Avignon*. The pope, alarmed at their approach, sent a cardinal to meet them; who demanding what they were, and why they came, *du Gueslin* told him, they were thirty thousand crosses, marching against the infidels, and that they were desirous to have the pope's absolution, and a couple of hundred thousand florins by way of alms¹. The cardinal promised the absolution at the first word, but hesitated as to the money. However the pontif, seeing there was no remedy, taxed the inhabitants of *Avignon* at one hundred thousand florins, in hopes they would be content with that sum². A. D. 1365! But *du Gueslin* told the cardinal, they did not come to plunder poor people, but to receive alms from the rich; that therefore he must take back the money, and restore it punctually to those from whom it was taken, and bring them two hundred thousand florins from the pope and the college, who could spare it; which, as there was no remedy, he was obliged to do, together with a plenary absolution³.

- BEFORE they passed the *Pyrenees*, *du Gueslin* acquainted them with his true design; which was to dethrone *Don Pedro the Cruel*, and to advance his brother *Henry*, count of *Trastemara*, to the throne. We have already reported the progress and event of this expedition, and it shall suffice to say here, that *Charles* the fifth never gave a stronger proof of his consummate policy than in the assistance he afforded to count *Henry*, though it might seem very extraordinary for a monarch, whose dominions and whose treasures were equally exhausted, to advance such prodigious sums in favour of a young prince, whose title was none of the best, and by whom at this time he was not so much as personally known⁴. His penetration shewed him, that nothing could be more advantageous for *France* than this undertaking, which, at the bottom, had the approbation of the pope, and at the same time his address enabled him to persuade the new king of *Castile*, that what he had done was out of pure generosity, and that as he acquired, so he had no other means of preserving, the crown, but by the support of *France*, which gained him a firm and constant ally, and put such a check on the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, as fully compensated the succours afforded to the king *Don Henry*, even supposing them to have had no other motive⁵. The famous black prince having, from a point of honour, taken the dethroned *Don Pedro* under his protection, improving the mistake of *Don Henry*, who had too soon dismissed the greatest part of the companions, and employing his interest to draw off the rest, who were either *English* or *Gascons*, defeated *Don Henry* in the famous battle of *Navarette*, made *du Gueslin* prisoner, and reelected *Don Pedro* on the throne⁶. *Charles* did not, upon this, change his measures, but relieved *Don Henry* with the same alacrity and apparent generosity as before, furnished him with troops and money, negociated for him at several courts, procured him the liberty of *du Gueslin*, though set at a high price, and therefore contributed, in a great degree, to change once more the face of affairs in *Spain*, and the fortune of her kings, replacing *Henry* on the throne, to which he made his way, not only by the defeat but the death of his brother; an event which, in its consequences, had a great operation on the political system in that age⁷.

- WHILE these things happened abroad, *Charles* administered with the utmost prudence, and with indefatigable diligence, the public affairs at home; he restored the credit and authority of parliament, by assisting there frequently in person, by causing the judgments given therein to be strictly executed, and by introducing persons of established probity and learning in its principal dignities. He looked into the management of his finances narrowly; he remitted some impositions, abated others, and levied all with great moderation⁸. He granted new privileges to the cities, rendered the roads safe, and, by many new devised encouragements, repopled his dominions. He repressed luxury by his own example, and by the sobriety of his court, where a well-managed magnificence appeared on public occasions, and the strictest frugality at all other times⁹. He neglected nothing that might conciliate the friendship of the neighbouring princes. The pope was entirely in his interests, so was the emperor, and several of the princes of *Germany*; the count of *Flanders* (whose daughter *Margaret*, the widow of the last duke of *Burgundy*, was the greatest heiress in *Europe*), he held in continual suspense. The count was inclined to marry this rich princess to a younger son of *Edward* of *England*; but this could not be done without a dispensation, and *Charles* had so great an interest with the pope, that it could not be obtained¹⁰. He afterwards proposed his brother *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, and procured a dispensation, about which there had been so much difficulty¹¹. By these arts, and more especially by rewarding

The black prince restores Don Pedro to the crown of Castile, of which he is again dispossessed by Don Henry.

Charles's domestic administration restores the French monarchy imperceptibly.

¹ P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. ² Annales de France, Ancien. Chron. de France. ³ Histoire du Bertrand du Gueslin, Annales de France. ⁴ Ancien. Chron. de France. ⁵ Annales de France, Hist. de Bertrand du Gueslin. ⁶ FROISSART. ⁷ Annales de France, J. DE SERRES. ⁸ Contin. NANG. Chron. ⁹ GAGUINI Hist. P. ÆMIL. ¹⁰ Annales de France, J. DE SERRES, P. DAN. ¹¹ MEYER in Annal. Fland.

liberally men of parts of all characters, the king found himself in a situation of making the most of any opportunity that should offer. It was not long before one presented itself to his view, the most favourable that he could wish, and he managed it with such calmness and dexterity, as drew from it such events as none but a true genius could have discerned it would produce: his neighbours looking on his conduct as the effect of an humble and placid spirit, from which they had nothing to apprehend^c.

He begins to controul the black prince in Guienne, and prepares for a war.

At the time the gallant prince of *Wales* returned from his *Spanish* expedition, he found a melancholy alteration in his affairs. Pestilence and a very hot climate had consumed the greatest part of his army. Don *Pedro*, in deceiving him, left an immense debt upon his shoulders, instead of the mighty reward he had promised him; and, which was worst of all, a latent disease, which degenerated into a dropsy, brought upon him great infirmity of body, which rendered him the less able to apply proper remedies for stopping the declining state of his affairs. The war had drawn him into a prodigious expence, and into a variety of engagements, which he knew not how to discharge. Six thousand of the companions, all that remained of those dreadful troops, were quartered in his territories, till their wages could be paid. Besides, he could not bear the thoughts of retrenching his court, which had been hitherto at least as magnificent as those of *Paris* or *London*^d. This obliged him to impose a florin upon every hearth within his territories; which, though submitted to in most places, yet in *Guienne* it was opposed with the greatest vehemence, the count of *Armagnac* and other great lords looking upon it as a violation of their privileges; which, at all events, they determined to maintain^e. *Charles*, considering that two-thirds of his father's ransom was paid, most of the hostages redeemed, his people in a great measure recovering, his neighbours well-affected to him, and the concerns of *Edward* such as left him less able to maintain a war, than at any time since the peace of *Bretigny*, began to listen to the complaints of the *Gascons*, had his emissaries in the county of *Ponthieu*, and in other parts of the *English* conquests, where they found a great spirit of discontent, which they took all possible pains to cherish and increase^f. At length, he laid the treaty of *Bretigny*, and all the subsequent proceedings, before his court of peers, and demanded their advice; in consequence of which he summoned the prince of *Wales* to appear, and answer the complaints made against him by his barons. To this he answered with disdain, that he would appear, but it should be with a retinue of sixty thousand men; and he likewise caused those, who had summoned him, to be arrested^g. Hostilities did not immediately follow; on the contrary, a negotiation ensued with the court of *London*. King *Edward* insisted, that the crown of *France* had no sovereignty over the provinces he possessed, and the appeal of the *Gascon* lords was an act of rebellion: on the other hand, *Charles* asserted, that *Edward*, having never renounced his pretensions to the crown of *France*, the duchies of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, he still retained the sovereignty over *Guienne* and the rest of the provinces^h.

A. D. 1368.

By the assistance of his estates, Charles finds himself in a condition to begin a war.

As the embarking in a new war was a very dangerous step, *Charles* proceeded very deliberately, and with seeming irresolution; by which he gained time to enter into distinct treaties with his allies, held his enemies in suspense, and called an assembly of the states in the month of *May*, that it might appear he did nothing but by the advice and with the consent of his subjects. In this assembly he managed all things with such address, that the clergy declared the king, in all his proceedings, had acted in a manner suitable to the principles of religion and equityⁱ. The nobility promised to assist him with their lives and fortunes, and the third estate applauded his majesty's justice and moderation, with a promise to support so good a cause to the utmost of their power. As the king wanted no more at this time, they were dismissed without so much as the mention of new taxes; but, in consequence of these declarations, *Charles*, without ceremony, declared war against *Edward*; who resumed the title of king of *France*, and prepared to punish what he styled temerity and breach of faith. The war, on the side of *Guienne*, was rather favourable to *Charles*; for the companions revolted, in a great measure, to him, which surprised the prince of *Wales*, who had also the misfortune to lose the lord *Chandos*, one of the wisest men, and one of the ablest officers, in his service, who was killed in a skirmish^j. The county of *Ponthieu*, in *Picardy*, revolted; but the fleet, which the king had assembled at *Harfleur*, with an intent to invade *England*, was rendered useless by the arrival of *John* of *Gaunt* duke of *Lancaster*, and a great body of *English* troops; for this obliged the king to oppose to him his brother *Philip* of *Burgundy*, with the forces that should have embarked for a naval expedition. There was, however, very little done on this side by either party; for *Charles* had expressly prohibited his brother from fighting, and the attempt made by the duke of *Lancaster* to burn the fleet was also very

^c Cont. NANG. Chron.

France.

^b Contin. NANG. Chron.

¹ Annal de France.

^f Annales de France. H. KNYGHT. Chron.

¹ Annal. de France.

^m Ancien. Chronique de France.

Ancien. Chronique de

^k Froissart. H. KNYGHTON.

- a luckily prevented^a. In *September*, the states met again, and, upon a detail of what had happened since they had been held last, they unanimously agreed to impose the same taxes that had been levied for the release of king *John*, with the addition of hearth-money; which was esteemed a more equal, though a heavier, tax than a capitation. A method of proceeding which astonished all *Europe*, who supposed *France* to be quite exhausted^o. A. D. 1370.
- In consequence of these great aids, the king augmented his forces; and, upon the resignation of the good old constable *Fiennes*, determined to recall *Bertrand du Gueslin* out of *Spain*; who not only very readily obeyed, though amply provided for by the king of *Castile*, but negotiated and signed a treaty with that monarch, by which he agreed to assist king *Charles* with a force by sea. On the arrival of this celebrated officer in *France*, he was first employed
- b in *Guienne*, where the king's brother made no scruple of serving under him, though he had no title, or so much as a regular command^p. He recovered many places in a short space of time, and had, without doubt, made a greater progress, if the king had not sent for him to oppose Sir *Robert Knolles*; who, with a body of *English* forces, after having ravaged *Champagne*, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Paris*, and burnt some small towns in the sight of that city, where the king was with a considerable number of troops; but he would not be drawn out, or run any hazard: on the arrival of *Bertrand*, he had the sword of constable delivered to him, and was directed, with a small sum of money, to raise what forces he could^q. The king might have given him greater forces, but he was afraid he would hazard a battle. The constable, with the few troops he had, stopped the progress of
- c *Knolles*, and recovered most of the places he had taken: the king commended his prudence highly, though now and then he ventured on a bold stroke. His success revived the spirit of the *French* nation, and made them endure with patience the heavy taxes which the last assembly of the states had imposed, the rather, because the king took the precaution of engaging the clergy every-where to preach up the justice of his cause, and to urge the necessity of continuing a war, that was of equal importance to the crown and to the people^r. About this time died pope *Urban* the fifth, who had done that monarch essential services, and who was succeeded by *Gregory* the eleventh, whom he likewise gained to his side. To balance these advantages, king *Edward* drew over the duke of *Guelderland* to his party; and would have made a greater progress amongst the princes of the empire, if *Charles* had not
- d prevented him, by augmenting their pensions, and by inviting several of them to his court, where they were treated with all possible attention and respect. He could not, however, prevent the king of *Navarre* from passing privately into *England*, where he concluded the treaty of *Clarendon* with king *Edward*, the substance of which was not known in *France* till some years after; but *Charles*, however, took his measures so prudently, that it had no effect^s. 1370.

Through the king's management it is carried on with advantage on all sides.

- THE constable returned in the winter to *Paris*, and concerted with the king the operations of the next campaign; in regard to which the greatest difficulty was to find the funds requisite for the payment of the troops. By the counsel of *du Gueslin*, the king gave a gentle squeeze to the officers of his treasury, who, it was suspected, had stole, but who, it was
- e certain, could spare: he borrowed likewise large sums of the lawyers: and the clergy, who having so often declared to the people the justice of the war, could not refuse to support it. But these were temporary expedients, which the king knew might, in their consequences, do him more hurt than good; and therefore he appointed commissaries for the payment of his troops, who accounted to the constable, and the constable to the king; and out of the money he saved, he punctually paid his debts^t. He had this year five corps in the field; none of any great force, but sufficient to take towns, more especially by intelligence, and to harass the *English* army, instead of coming to a battle; for he still remembered *Creffy* and *Poitiers*; though he kept a numerous body of troops about his person, that he might push any extraordinary success, or repair any unforeseen misfortune, without delay^u. The king of *Navarre*, who was returned
- f from *England* into *Normandy*, perceiving that he made war with success, and took all his measures with so much precaution, consented, upon hostages given, to confer with the king, concluded a treaty with him, and left his children in his hands, notwithstanding his late treaty with *England*. For, knowing that neither of these monarchs wished him well, he held it best, either by force or by fraud, to provide for himself^v. About this time *Charles* of *France* concluded a treaty with *Robert* king of *Scots*, and established the *Scots* gens d'arms at a hundred men; but it was St. *Lewis* who first formed this corps, intrusting his person to twenty-four of that nation^w. The cardinal bishop of *Beauvais*, perceiving how incompatible

Methods taken to strengthen his alliances, to prolong the war, and to weary the black prince.

^a THOM. WALSINGHAM, POLYD. VIRG.

de France. ^q Ancien. Chron. de France.

P. DAN. LE GENDRE.

^w Annales de France.

^o P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES, DU TILLET.

^r HEN. KNYGHTON Chron.

^t Cont. NANG. Chron. Annales de France.

^u MS. de la Biblioth. du Roi, c. 8354.

^p Annales

^s T. WALSINGHAM,

^v Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin.

A. D. 1371. it was to be the counsellor of the king and pope at the same time, laid down his office of a chancellor, in which, however, he was succeeded by his brother; for it was not the king's custom to disgrace his ministers^y. In the mean time the prince of *Wales*, vexed at the success of the *French*, resolved to recover *Limoges*, which he suspected had been delivered to them by treachery; and, having reduced it, he caused a great part of the inhabitants to be put to the sword. This was his last exploit; for, perceiving the people chagrined, being himself afflicted for the loss of his son *Edward*, and, in a manner, wore out by his disease, he returned into *England*. He left the government of *Aquitaine* to his brother *John* duke of *Lancaster*, having first taken an oath of fidelity from the barons, who troubled themselves little about it after his departure; for the imposition, feuage, and other duties, had alienated their affections, which he formerly commanded^z.

Don Henry of Castile sends a fleet to the assistance of France, which does great service.

By the treaty which the constable had concluded with *Henry* king of *Castile*, that prince was bound to assist the *French* monarch with a fleet; and as he would certainly have done this out of gratitude, so he was not the less willing to do it, when, from an unexpected event, it became visibly his interest. The duke of *Lancaster*, having espoused the daughter of *Don Peter the Cruel*, assumed thereupon the title of king of *Castile* and *Leon*; soon after which he returned to *England* with his brother, who had married her younger sister, leaving the command in *Aquitaine* to the famous capital *de Buch*, with the title of constable. *Don Henry*, who knew the connections which the duke of *Lancaster* had with the king of *Navarre*, and suspecting his intentions to make a new irruption into *Spain*, in case the war with *France* had a favourable issue, sent a fleet of forty sail of large ships, and thirteen frigates, with instructions to act as the king of *France* should direct^a. *Charles*, having early intelligence of a great succour, under the command of the earl of *Pembroke*, that was to be sent to *Rochelle*, gave timely notice of it to the *Castilian* admiral; who attacked that fleet on the eve of *St. John*, within sight of the port; and, being much superior in strength, defeated, and almost destroyed it entirely, made the earl of *Pembroke*, with many other persons of distinction, prisoners, and, amongst other large vessels, sunk that which had the treasure on board for the pay of the troops; so that it may be very truly affirmed *Don Henry* repaid, by this naval succour so opportunely given, whatever support or assistance he had received from the *French* crown^b. The constable *du Gueslin* took advantage of the consternation this occasioned to make an irruption into *Poitou*, where he took several places of great strength, and afterwards joined^c the duke of *Berry* in the *Limousin*. It is, however, uncertain what the fate of the war would have been, if the capital *de Buch* had continued to command; but he, being surprised and taken prisoner in a skirmish, was sent to *Paris*, where he was confined in the temple; and, though immense sums were offered for his liberty, he ended his days there, after five years confinement^d.

The constable du Gueslin conquers great part of the English possessions.

IMMEDIATELY after this accident, *Poitiers* opened her gates to the constable; at which the king was so agreeably surprised, that he declared noble the mayor, the sheriffs, their descendants and successors; *St. John de Angeli*, *Taillebourg*, *Angoulesme*, *Xaintes*, and several other places, followed the example of *Poitiers*. The city of *Rochelle* would willingly have followed their example, but there was an *English* garrison in the castle. The *French* mayor was too hard for the *English* governor, whom he invited to dinner, and produced to him an old letter, under king *Edward*'s seal, knowing that the governor could not read; who, after he looked upon it a little time, returned it. You see, said the mayor, that the king commands we should muster both our garrisons together, that the people may be better acquainted with, and have greater confidence in, each other, and I shall leave the time and manner to you. The governor drawing out his garrison the next day, the mayor surprised the castle; but, before he would render the place to the constable, he insisted upon having the king's consent to raze that fortress, and a charter for the town as ample as that of *Paris*; both which were obtained, and the mayor actually demolished the castle before he delivered the keys^e. The progress of the constable's arms received some check from the gallant defence of *Fontenai-lè-Comte*, in which the lady of Sir *John Harpedon* commanded; who, though young and handsome, exposed her person as much as any private man during the siege, and even when the place came to be stormed, nor once offered to capitulate, till on the point of being taken; when the constable, who was a gallant man, gave her leave to prescribe her own terms. The remains of the *English* officers and troops threw themselves into *Thouars*, which was a very strong place, and which they meant to defend to the last extremity; but the constable offering to allow them till the feast of *St. Michael* for the succours they expected, they consented to surrender, if not relieved by king *Edward* or the prince of *Wales*. *Edward* assembled and embarked an army, commanded by himself and

^y Annales de France.

^z H. KNYGHTON Chron. THOM. WALSHINGHAM.
de France. FROISSART.

^a Ancien. Chron. de France, H. KNYGHTON.

^b Annales de France.

^c GAGUIN. Hist.

^d Annales de France.

^e Ancien. Chronique

- a his sons, which, if it had arrived in time, might yet have changed the face of affairs; but, meeting with contrary winds, they were constrained, not without great hazard, to regain the *English* coast; so that, at the time appointed, *Thouars* submitted^f. The constable had afterwards the good fortune to beat *John d'Evreux*, who came with twelve hundred men at arms to relieve the castle of *Chisai*, made himself master of that place, and surprised *Niorp*, which was stronger, and of greater consequence, all in a day; so that *Poitou* was entirely reduced, and the king gave that county to his brother the duke of *Berry*^g. The best part of the expence of this campaign was borne by the *Jews*, to whom the king sold a permission to remain ten years longer in *France*, at a very high rate; though this event is placed lower in his reign by many historians^h. A. D. 1372.
- b THE duke of *Bretagne*, who, as we have shewn, still maintained his connections with the *English* nation, as having a grateful remembrance, that, to their assistance, he owed his dominions, found himself in a wretched dilemma from the ambition and artifice of the king, who never discovered his discontent till it was in his power to make himself felt severely. The constable and *Oliver de Clifton* were not the only *Bretons* provided for in his service; and, besides those in his pay, he had many of the nobility in pension; so that he ran no great hazard in summoning the duke to attend him as his vassal, with all the forces he could raise. It was in vain that he pleaded he was allowed a neutrality by the treaty of *Bretigny*; it was to little purpose he distinguished between his homage for the duchy, and for his county of *Montfort*ⁱ. The constable entered *Bretagne*, with an army, on one side, *Oliver Clifton*, with his
- c forces, on the other, the nobility and the people revolted in most places; so that, having distributed the *English* succours into *Brest*, and some other towns of importance, he retired into *England*^k. But it was not long before he returned with *John* duke of *Lancaster*, who debarked at *Calais* an army of fifty thousand men, with which he proposed to restore his father's affairs, and to rival his brother's great exploits in that kingdom. He began his march towards the end of *July*, and passed through *Picardy* and *Champagne*, leaving behind him every-where sufficient marks of his resentment. *Charles* had three armies in the field; one commanded by his brother the duke of *Burgundy*, another by his cousin the duke of *Bourbon*, and a third by the constable, which consisted chiefly of cavalry. Besides these, the king had a corps of four thousand gens d'arms, and a numerous body of infantry, under his
- d command^l. The two dukes coasted the *English* army on each side, the constable followed in the rear, so that there were frequent skirmishes; but as none of them had a strength sufficient, and were besides restrained by the king's orders, there was no battle. The duke of *Bretagne* pressed the duke of *Lancaster* to march into his duchy; but that prince persisting in his resolution to proceed to *Guienne*, there was never after a right understanding between them^m. The duke of *Lancaster*, however, pursued his own measure, traversed *Burgundy* and *Auvergne* with great rapidity, and suffered so much in this long march through an enemy's country, that, when he arrived, in the *Christmas* holidays, in the neighbourhood of *Bordeaux*, he had scarce a fifth part of his army left. In the course of this year, the king lost his two great ministers, the chancellor and his brother the cardinal *de Beauvais*. He replaced
- e the former by *Peter d'Argemont*, by the election of the parliament, and the latter by the bishop of *Amiens*, by his own choice; but, tho' fortunate in these respects, yet this year was alike fatal in *Italy* and *England*, as well as *France*, by a severe famine, and by a devouring pestilence that followed itⁿ. The king, however, did all he could to keep up the spirits of his people, and obliged the clergy to do all that was in their power likewise to cherish and relieve them; shewing such a vigilance and activity, even in the minutest things that regarded the public welfare, as contributed greatly to maintain a tranquillity that had never been seen before under circumstances of a like kind, and which contributed as much to the support of his character, and preserving the affections of his people, as the victories he had gained, and the great turn he had given to the affairs of *France*^o.
- f THE pope, who had sent repeated admonitions, and employed different legates to reconcile the two kings, now pressed things so warmly, and set the epidemic diseases reigning throughout their dominions in so strong a light, that they, at length, agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to *Bruges*, in order to conclude a peace, or at least a truce. At the head of these plenipotentiaries, on one side, were the king's brothers, *Lewis* duke of *Anjou* and *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, and at the head of the other *John* duke of *Lancaster*. All hopes of peace were lost, by the *English* insisting peremptorily, that *Edward* should hold *Guienne* in sovereignty; to which the *French* would not harken. At length, however, a truce was concluded for a year; but without making any mention of *Bretagne*^p. This was a great stroke of policy

Duke of Bretagne being pushed by the king, quits his dominions, and serves under the English.

Charles sends to a truce, and makes use of it to improve the domestic state of France.

^f Annales de France, THOM. WALSHINGHAM.

P. ÆMIL. ⁱ D'ARGENT. Histoire de Bretagne.

^m Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin.

LE GENDRE.

^g DU TILLET, P. HENAUT.

^k Ancien. Chron. de France.

ⁿ Annales de France, FROISSART.

^p Ancien. Chron. de France, FROISSART.

^h GAGUINI Hist.

^l Annales de France.

^o GAGUINI Hist. P. DANIEL.

between the two kings, to relieve their own territories, and give their subjects time to breathe; but at the same time to nourish the flame of war in a corner, that such as wanted either a will, or the means, of being quiet, might find employment, and prevent the reviving of the companions. In consequence of this, *John* duke of *Bretagne* returned into his own dominions, with a considerable body of *English* troops; where, from the inveterate spirit that prevailed between the two parties, much blood was shed, the duke considering the opposite party as rebels, and *Oliver Clifton* openly professing his intention to exterminate the *English*, though he had served amongst them with great vigour in the beginning of this war. The duke, however, was very near seizing him, and most of the other chiefs, whom he had reduced to the last extremity, and to whom he refused all terms, if they had not been rescued from his vengeance by renewing the truce of *Bruges* for another year; in which *Bretagne* was included.^a *Charles* willingly seized these short intervals of peace, in order to accomplish many things he had in his mind for the benefit of himself, his family, and his people. He made an edict to fix the majority of the kings of *France* at their entrance into their fourteenth year; whereas *Philip the Hardy* had fixed it at fourteen complete. *Charles* caused this edict to be registred in parliament, and then declared it a fundamental and irrevocable law of the kingdom.^b The death of his uncle the duke of *Orleans* was a loss to him in some respects; but it augmented his revenue considerably. He was so provident, that, from the time of the first truce, his coffers were always full, and yet there never was a prince more liberal. He was continually giving lands and estates to the constable, who sold them almost as fast as he received them, and spent the money; yet he was so far from being extravagant, that he did not so much as affect magnificence; but he suffered no service to pass unrewarded, he left no man of merit that he knew in distress.^c The king, who was perfectly informed of this, took care to support a generosity that was of such use to his service. The king did the like with regard to his ministers; he had many in different departments, and, in cases of difficulty, he took the advice of them all; reported them to three or four persons in his cabinet, and determined with them what was to be done. His maxim was, that, even in matters of state, reasoning might be public, provided the resolution was kept secret.^d

He makes use
of the death of
the prince of
Wales, and of
king Edward,
to ruin the
affairs of the
English.

THE next year died the great terror of *France*, *Edward* the black prince, for whom the king caused a solemn service to be performed; not so much, say the *French* writers, out of respect to their kindred, as through esteem for his person, and for his virtues. Immediately after, and he could not have chose a more proper season, he published a general amnesty; knowing that there were many of his subjects who had hitherto adhered to the *English* interests purely out of gratitude and affection to the prince of *Wales*, and it had a good effect.^e It happened otherwise in respect to the embassy he sent to *Avignon*, in order to dissuade pope *Gregory* from returning to *Rome*; and this notwithstanding he sent his brother and the duke of *Anjou*. The truce was renewed for another year; but the hopes conceived on both sides for a peace were defeated. The truth seems to be, that *Charles* had never any intention to conclude it; for at this time he entered into fresh alliances with the kings of *Castile* and *Scotland*; and, as soon as the truce was expired, the joint fleets of *France* and *Spain* came upon the *English* coasts, made several descents, and attempted more; but, except burning the town of *Rye*, did nothing very considerable. It was by the prisoners taken in this expedition that the *French* had an account of king *Edward*'s death; which happened near a month before, but had been concealed by an embargo.^f This was a kind of signal, upon which the armies of *Charles* attacked the *English* on all sides. One army, under the command of the duke of *Burgundy*, entered *Artois*; another entered *Auvergne*, under the command of the duke of *Berry*; that which acted in *Guienne* was commanded by the duke of *Anjou*; and the forces in *Bretagne* were under the constable: the king himself had a powerful body of troops, that he might be able to repair any accident that happened through the chance of war. The constable joined the duke of *Burgundy*, who found it difficult to deal with Sir *Thomas Felton* and the seneschal of *Bordeaux*. Soon after his arrival, the constable attacked and defeated them, making both their commanders prisoners of war.^g This victory was so well pursued, that, at the close of the campaign, *Bayonne* and *Bordeaux*, with the districts about them, and the fortress of *Calais*, with its dependencies, were all the places left to *England* on the continent; and a strong appearance there was that they would not long keep these; for, besides the weakness natural to a minority, there were already great divisions in the *English* councils.^h

1377.

The emperor
Charles IV.
visits the king
at Paris, who

It is reckoned a very singular honour by the *French* historians to this reign, that the emperor *Charles* the fourth, and his son *Wenceslaus* king of the *Romans*, came to make the king, who was the emperor's nephew, a visit at *Paris*. They were received with all possible marks

^a D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne. ^b Ancien. Chron. de France. ^c Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin.
^d POLYD. VIRG. P. ÆMIL. ^e Annales de France. ^f Ancien. Chro. de France, FROISSART, J. DE
SERRÈS. ^g Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin. H. KNYGHTON, P. ÆMIL. ^h Ancien. Chron. de France,
FROISSART.

- a of respect, and entertained with all imaginable kindness, as well as with the utmost magnificence; but, with all this, *Charles* took care not to push his complaisance so far as to afford the smallest foundation for those claims of superiority, which some princes have been inclined to make from being invested with the imperial dignity. He took occasion, on the contrary, to make some use of this interview, by procuring his son the dauphin to be declared perpetual vicar in the county of *Dauphine*, and the ancient kingdom of *Arles*, which were still reputed dependent on the emperor². About this time happened the famous process against the king of *Navarre*, on a charge of intending to procure the king to be poisoned; for which some persons suffered, and that king lost his valuable possessions in *Normandy*, by which he had been so troublesome to the *French* crown, and his lordship of *Montpellier*; which was all he
- b had for the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and the duchy of *Burgundy*; and at this very juncture he was on the point of being deprived of the rest of his dominions, by the infant of *Castile*; but *Edward* the third was now dead, which abated the terror of the *English* arms³. The reigning queen of *France*, and the dowager queen *Joan*, deceased this year; which gave the king great concern. Pope *Gregory* the eleventh also died; upon which the cardinals elected an *Italian* prelate, who assumed the name of *Urban*; but, as he had the misfortune to disoblige the cardinal of *Amiens*, the *French* minister, whom he charged with being an enemy to peace, he and his associates chose another, who took the name of *Clement* the seventh, fixed his residence at *Avignon*, and procured himself to be acknowledged by all the crowns in alliance with *France*, except the king of *Castile*, who would acknowledge neither⁴, but maintained a prudent and exact neutrality. A. D. 1378.
- c THE king thought he could not have any season more proper for executing the great design he had formed, of annexing the duchy of *Bretagne* to the crown; in order to which he proceeded against the duke before the court of peers in parliament, with all possible solemnity; procured him to be attainted of felony, and his duchy, with the rest of the lands he held, to be confiscated, notwithstanding the opposition given by the widow of *Charles de Blois*, in respect to the claim of her children on the extinction of the reigning house⁵. But, contrary to all probability, what was intended for the ruin, produced the restoration, of the duke; for the nobility, who had hitherto followed the *French* party, revolted, recalled and received their natural prince, with all possible testimonies of loyalty and affection, and drove the *French* out
- d of the province. The king, listening to the insinuations of the cardinal of *Amiens*, shewed some coldness to the constable, who thereupon offered to resign his office, and to retire into *Castile*; from which he was, with great difficulty, diverted; and even then declared, without ceremony, that he would not serve against his country⁶. Another egregious slip of the king was, the disbanding at once all the *Breton* officers and soldiers in his service; by which the duke was furnished with a complete army of his own subjects, formed and disciplined at the expence of *France*; with which he gained such advantages as produced a negociation, and a sort of project for a peace. The *English*, while the king was thus occupied, began to restore their affairs, and had recovered some considerable places in *Guienne*, and several castles in *Auvergne* and the *Limosin*. The constable was sent, with a considerable body of troops, to
- e repress them; and with these he laid siege to the castle of *Chateaufort de Randan*, in which there was a numerous garrison; who, after a long siege, entered into a capitulation, by which they promised to surrender, in case they were not relieved by the twelfth of *July*. On that very day the constable died, and the governor of the fortress, notwithstanding, brought the keys, and laid them at the feet of his corpse⁷. The king, as he had reason, expressed great concern for his death, and ordered his body to be interred in the abbey of *St. Denis*, between the tomb of the queen his wife, and that intended for himself. The earl of *Buckingham*, uncle to *Richard* the second, arrived at *Calais* with a strong corps of troops, and traversed all *France*, though not without some loss, in order to throw himself into the country of *Guienne*; which he, at length, performed; and, before the king could well receive advice of this, he was
- f advertised, by the stopping of the issue in his arm, that he had but a short time to live⁸. He thereupon sent for the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, to whom he gave his last instructions as to the government during his son's minority; advised them to give the constable's sword to *Oliver de Clisson*, to marry the young king to a princess of *Germany*, in order to strengthen their alliances, and to remove, as speedily as it was possible, that heavy load of taxes which the necessities of the times had obliged him to impose. He supported the approach of death with great constancy of mind, and, in his last moments, shewed much piety, and a perfect resignation. He breathed his last at a country palace near the wood of *Vincennes*, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign⁹, exceedingly

makes a new
treaty with
the king of
Navarre.

The death of
Charles V.

1373.

² Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin, P. ÆMIL.

³ Ancien. Chron. de France.

⁴ Annales de France,

GAGUINI Hist. P. DANIEL.

⁵ Ancien. Chron. de France.

⁶ GAGUINI Hist. DU TILLET.

⁷ An-

cien. Chron. de France.

⁸ Annales de France.

⁹ Ancien. Chron. de France.

regretted

regretted by his subjects, and respected, as a wife and religious monarch, by all the princes ^a of Europe (D).

Charles VI.
succeeds, under
the tutelage of
his uncle, and
public affairs
fall into con-
fusion.

CHARLES the sixth, at the time of his father's decease, was about twelve years old, and consequently under the necessity of having a guardian; but who that was to be was not easily determined. The duke of *Anjou*, the eldest of the king's uncles, who had quitted the command of the army on the news of his brother's illness, claimed the regency as his right; and, upon a hearing before the parliament, it was allowed him ^b. The duke of *Berry*, less able, but not less ambitious, being for the present excluded, the care of the king's person and education was committed to the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, the former his uncle by the father, and the latter his uncle by the mother's side. The young king was, with great splendour, crowned at *Rheims*, and the duke of *Burgundy* took place of his elder brother, the regent, at table, as being the first peer of *France* ^c. The sword of constable was given to *Oliver de Clifton*, and most of the heavy taxes were suppressed; but this was only for a little time. The regent, whom *Joan* queen of *Naples* had adopted, and who, upon her decease, determined to assert his pretensions to that crown, seized all the late king's treasure, which amounted to many millions, his jewels, plate, and whatever else he had of value, to defray the expence of this expedition ^k. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* plundered also; and though not with equal success, yet, taking all they could, the heavy taxes, so lately laid aside, were again to be imposed. The late king's servants were ill-treated; the chancellor, who had opposed the duke of *Anjou's* regency, was glad to resign and retire ^l. The bishop of *Amiens*, whom the young king hated, fled to *Avignon*, with an immense sum which he had amassed; ^c

^h Ancien. Chronique de France, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
PLEIX, LE GENDRE.

ⁱ FROISSART, P. ÆMIL.

^k DU-

^l Ancien. Chron. de France.

(D) The sagacity of this prince was as much celebrated in his life-time as after his demise, and yet it was not more considerable than his modesty. He did nothing without advice, which he received thankfully, and heard patiently; but, in the end, squared his actions by his own judgment, which was always acknowledged to be right, because it was always attended with success (1). He had a singular felicity in judging of the characters of men, which was much assisted by his conversing with them very familiarly. He chose his ministers and his generals with great caution; but he treated them with confidence, and never disgraced them. He had an eye to every thing himself, and he had two maxims in œconomy that were very remarkable. The first was, that he paid liberally; for he had a notion, that, when a king was cheaply served, he was generally cheated: and he paid in ready money, without deduction; which, he thought, went as far again (2). He left an immense treasure behind him, for which he has been censured by some, and commended by others; but, without question, his aim in collecting it was good. He had seen the monarchy on the very point of perishing for want of money, and this, as wise as he was, made him think he could never have too much; he repented this when it was too late, and remitted some of the heaviest taxes the very day that he died (3). He was the founder of the royal library, which is now become one of the principal ornaments of *France*; he left therein nine hundred volumes; whereas his father king *John* had not above twenty (4). He was rather knowing than learned, but he was a lover of learning, and a great patron of learned men, and took so much pleasure in their conversation, that some of the nobility, who were not of that number, took it amiss; upon which *Charles* said once what ought to be ever remembered, "It is true I love (clerks) men of letters, and I hope my successors will ever esteem them; for so long as learning is cherished and promoted, so long shall this monarchy flourish, and, when it loses its reputation, this kingdom will dwindle and decay (5)". His private life was perfectly

regular; he rose early; was punctual in his devotions; dined before noon; slept after dinner; took moderate exercise; was never idle; and went to bed betimes (6). He had a calmness in his temper which those about him often mistook for coldness; with which they sometimes reproached him, which he bore with great patience; and very often they had the news of things being effected, for which they were soliciting his orders; and then the king smiled at their confusion (7). He was less solicitous about glory than any of his predecessors, or rather he considered it in another point of light, making the public utility his sole aim, and giving himself very little trouble about what the bulk of his courtiers either said or thought. He was very determined, with a great appearance of irresolution, taking his measures while he seemed to deliberate; by which he frequently defeated oppositions that could not otherwise have been overcome: he was more solicitous about discipline than numbers in his armies, and took care himself about magazines and provisions, which former princes thought beneath them; and had so perfect a comprehension of whatever might happen, that he never wanted resources, either for repairing a loss or improving an advantage (8). His consort *Joan*, the daughter of *Peter* duke of *Bourbon*, was a princess of exquisite beauty, admirable parts, and exemplary in her conduct; for which reason the king took her into his councils, and advised with her about every thing he did, with a view chiefly to enable her to act as regent during the minority of her son; but she died before him in labour, in 1378. He had by her *Charles*, who succeeded him; *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, from whom descended the two royal houses of *Orleans* and *Angoulême*; five daughters who died young; *Katherine*, who espoused *John* count of *Montpensier*, son to his brother the duke of *Berry*, by whom she had no issue (9). His body, by his own direction, was interred at *St. Denis*, his heart at the cathedral of *Rouen*, and his entrails at the abbey of *Mauvaisson*. Theatrical entertainments were first introduced into *France* in his reign.

(1) MSS. de *Christine de Pisan*, Hist. de *Bertrand du Guesclin*, P. Æmil. de rebus Franc. Dupleix, Abbé de Choisy.
(2) MSS. de *Christine de Pisan*, Froissart, J. de Serres, Du Tillet, Le Gendre, Abbé de Choisy. (3) Gaguin. Hist. P. Æmil. de rebus Francorum, Mezeray, Le Gendre, Chalons. (4) Biblioth. du Louvre sous les Rois Charles V. Charles VI. & Charles VII. Dissertation historique par M. Boivin, Le Gendre, Abbé de Choisy. (5) MSS. de *Christine de Pisan*. (6) Mem. de Ch. Pisan, Gaguin Hist. Dupleix, P. Daniel, Abbé de Choisy. (7) Froissart, P. Æmil. de rebus Francorum, Du Tillet, Mezeray, Chalons. (8) J. de Serres, Du Tillet, P. Daniel, Le Gend. Abbé de Choisy. (9) Gaguin Hist. Dupleix, Mezeray, Le Gend. Abbé de Choisy.

and

a and a gentleman of the old king's chamber was forced to discover where his private treasure, consisting of many ingots of gold, lay concealed between two walls; this, however, he did not do, till the duke of *Anjou* sent for an executioner to put him to death. In fine, all things fell into confusion, the duke of *Bourbon* alone acting in a manner becoming his rank, and his near relation to the young king; and even his good intentions were, in a great measure, frustrated by the duke of *Burgundy*, who, though he had promised to take care of the young monarch's education, made his court to him by flattering his humour, and indulging him in all kind of diversions, in which lay his sole delight; and this proved, in the course of his life and reign, one principal cause of his misfortunes^m.

In such a situation as this, the *English* might have done much towards restoring their affairs, The people in Languedoc, and the inhabitants of Paris, rise in arms, and are punished in pursu.
 b if the general policy, or rather perfidy, of the age, had not prevented them. The earl of *Euckingham*, with *English* forces, had passed the winter in *Bretagne*; where, at the request of the duke, they had laid siege to *Nantes*, the only place of consequence in this duchy that was still in the hands of the *French*; but, while they were thus employed, he took the opportunity of treating with the crown of *France*; and, having obtained as good terms as he could desire, agreed to quit the *English* interests, and oblige them to return into their own island; which, without much difficulty, he performedⁿ. The duke of *Berry*, tired of living like a private man, demanded, or was put upon demanding, the government of *Languedoc*; in which he was supported by his brother the duke of *Anjou*, from whom it had been taken in the late reign, on account of the exorbitant oppressions of which he had been guilty, and bestowed
 c on the count of *Foix*: but when the duke of *Berry* came to take possession of it, the people peremptorily declared, they would not receive him; upon which it became necessary to reduce them by force^o. The young king, who had a martial spirit, proposed to have marched in person; but this the duke of *Burgundy* hindered: however the duke of *Berry* prosecuted his design with the greatest strength he could collect, but was beaten by the count *de Foix*; who reflecting on the consequences of his own victory, and how dear he might be made to pay for this triumph, compromised matters in time, and, withdrawing into his own dominions, left the government in dispute to the duke of *Berry*^p. The people of *Paris* enraged, and unable to pay the old and new taxes that were laid upon them, broke out into an insurrection; in which, having armed themselves with mallets, they were from thence stiled *Maillotines*. They rendered his capital unsafe for the king and his council, and, in the first transports of their resentment, were guilty of some cruelties and violences not to be excused^q. The more substantial
 d inhabitants, taking their measures in the night, assembled such a force as dispersed these rioters, and restored the public tranquillity: but the duke of *Anjou*, who knew there was nothing to be got by prosecuting beggars, made these burghers accountable for the mischiefs done by those they had dispersed; and, having engaged the king his nephew to act against them, in the end extorted one hundred thousand livres for their pardon; which was all that he wanted. Thus the king's guardian plundered his subjects^r. A. D. 1381.

An eager desire to gain possession of the crown of *Naples* was what induced the duke of *Anjou* to act in this rapacious manner. When he had accumulated all he could, he proceeded
 e to *Avignon*, to the great joy of the whole nation; and from thence into *Italy*, with a better army than either of the two last kings had been able to raise; where, without performing any thing remarkable, except wasting all his treasure to the last shilling, he died of chagrin^s. Upon his departure the duke of *Burgundy* had almost the sole management of the king, whom he led with an army of twenty thousand gens d'arms, and sixty thousand foot, to the assistance of his father-in-law *Lewis* count of *Flanders*, who were in arms, on account of the enormous taxes he levied to maintain a dissolute court, and to squander on his mistresses and parasites^t. The chief of the commons was *Philip Artevel*, the son of *James* the famous brewer of *Ghent*; and though he was forced into these troubles, yet, being once engaged, he acted with great spirit and prudence, but it may be with too much ferocity, when he ordered no quarter to be
 f given to the *French*, except to the little king *Charles*, whom he directed, if taken, to be brought to him, that being bred up at *Ghent* he might learn to speak good *Flemish*^u. The first operations of the war were favourable to the *Flemings*, but in a general action at *Rosebecque* they were entirely defeated, with the loss of twenty-five thousand men, amongst whom was their chief. This was followed by the most outrageous acts of severity; and the king having humbled the *Flemings*, as well as restored their count, returned into his own dominions with a victorious army, disposed to obey any orders, without presuming to distinguish whether it could be for the king's service to cut the throats of his subjects, who were in no condition to resist^v. A. D. 1382.

^m Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
^p Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
^s Ancien. Chronique de France, de Charles VI.

ⁿ P. ÆMIL. ^o Ancien. Chronique de France, GAGUINI Hist.
^q Ancien. Chronique de France. ^r Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
^t Idem ibid. ^u J. DE SERRES, LE GEND. ^v Hist. Anonym.

Returning
with a victo-
rious army, he
chastises those
who had
raised tumults
in his absence.

A. D. 1383.

In their young king's absence the people of *Paris* had fallen into fresh tumults, and been a guilty of various acts of indiscretion, urged by the weight of their taxes, and the scandalous manner in which they saw them consumed. They knew the king, or rather his uncles, were exceedingly displeased, and therefore they dreaded his return: but to put the best face they could upon the matter, they armed thirty thousand men very completely, and marched out to meet their monarch by way of parade, but in reality in hopes of making some impression *. In this, however, they lost their aim, their force was despised, and the insult was punished. The little king marched into his capital at the head of his forces, took possession of it as if he had entered it by storm, broke some of their gates, beat down the chains, and shut up their streets, compelled them to deliver up their arms, arrested between two and three hundred of their principal townsmen, put some of them to death every day for a fortnight, and amongst b them the advocate-general, who had been often a mediator between the crown and the people, who was upwards of seventy years old, and whose greatest offence consisted in having been of the party of the duke of *Anjou* †. After this the king deprived the city of its privileges; and having extorted an exorbitant sum from the rest of the burgeses, discharged such of his prisoners as were still in prison, and had not been included in those warrants by which others were put to death. Much the same conduct was used to the cities of *Rouen*, *Troyes*, and *Orleans*, and several other great towns, by which incredible sums were extorted from the poor people, and so little of them applied to the king's service, that the greatest part of the army was disbanded, without being paid. The *English*, under the command of the earl of *Buckingham*, now duke of *Gloucester*, landing at *Calais*, marched through *Picardy* and *Artois* c to the assistance of the *Flemings* (for the people of *Ghent* still held out), and in conjunction with them besieged *Ypres*; to the relief of which the king marched with a potent army, which the allies being too weak to resist, raised the siege, and the *English* quitting the places they had taken, were at length obliged to fortify *Bourbourg*, where they made so gallant a defence, that at length it was agreed to permit them to retire, with all the honours of war, to *Calais* ‡. The duke of *Bretagne*, at whose request it was done, was deeply censured, notwithstanding which he had credit enough to negotiate a truce between the two crowns for six months; and his power of doing this by dint of influence at the court of *London*, made him more suspected and more hated §.

The duke of
Burgundy
established in
Flanders, and
the young duke
of Anjou
crowned king
of Sicily.

1384.

THE year following was remarkable for the death of *Lewis*, count of *Flanders*, which hap- d pened towards the end of *January*; by which the king's uncle, *Philip*, added to his duchy of *Burgundy* that county, together with those of *Artois*, *Retel*, *Nevers*, and several other lordships, of which he went in person to take possession †. There was a negotiation at this time carried on between the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bretagne*, on one side, and the dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* on the other, for a peace; but it ended only in a continu- e ance of the truce ‡. The duke of *Anjou*, the first of the second *French* line of the monarchs of *Sicily*, died about this time, under circumstances which have been before-mentioned; the king took his widow and his son under his protection, procured the pope to acknowledge the young prince in quality of king of the *Two Sicilies*, and sent an army to establish him in the county of *Provence*, which he held by the same title. The king being now seventeen, of a e very robust and sanguine constitution, his uncles thought it time that he should marry; and this being once declared, a great many princesses were mentioned, such as a daughter of the duke of *Lancaster*, a daughter of the duke of *Lorraine*, and several others; but the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, reflecting on the strict charge the late king had given them, that his son should espouse a princess of *Germany*, they were more inclined to the princess *Isabella*, daughter to the duke of *Bavaria*, of whose wit and beauty they caused a very high report to be made to their nephew §. The king declared that he would not follow the custom of princes in binding himself for life to a woman he had never seen; and therefore insisted upon an interview with this princess. This was at length stipulated should be at *Amiens*, where she was brought f by her aunt, the duchess of *Brabant*, who took care to give her all the instructions necessary for securing the heart of the young monarch, which she did so effectually at first sight, that he declared immediately his resolution to conclude a marriage, which proved equally fatal to himself and to his subjects ¶.

The young king
makes all ex-
pedition into
Flanders, and
sends relief to
the Scots.

THE fixing and celebrating the king's marriage did not so entirely occupy the thoughts of his uncles, and other counsellors, as to take off their thoughts from the war; on the contrary, conceiving that the possession of *Calais*, which put it in the power of the *English* to make an offensive war on *France* at their pleasure, was the true reason why they stood upon such high terms, and would not hear of peace without the restitution of *Normandy* as well as *Guienne*,

* GAGUIN. Hist. FERRERAS.

† Annales de France, P. ÆMIL.

‡ Anonym. vit. Richard II.

§ D'ARGENTRE.

¶ L'Abbe de CHOISY.

DU TILLET.

J. DE SERRES. P. DAN.

GAG.

Hist. P. HENAUT.

they

- a they projected an invasion of *England*, as the most likely means to bring their enemies to reason. As this enterprize required long and vast preparations, they began early, and the port of *Sluys* was appointed for the place of rendezvous^f. The inhabitants of *Ghent*, and the *Flemings* in general, who continued in arms against the duke of *Burgundy*, having intelligence of this, and having lived long in connection with the *English*, framed a project for burning the *French* fleet in the harbour. This scheme, which was so well laid by the inhabitants of *Danz* that it could scarce have failed, was discovered by one who had engaged in it, which so provoked the king, that he was very easily prevailed upon by the duke of *Burgundy* to transfer the seat of the war into the *Low Countries*; where having in person made himself master of that place, and punished the people severely, it so much affected the burghers of *Ghent*, that
- b they entered into a negotiation with the duke of *Burgundy*, and submitting to him on certain terms restored peace to the *Low Countries*^g. This was a point of great consequence to the duke, who, in the management of the king's affairs, took care to make them turn to his own advantage; for having married the king to a princess of *Bavaria*, he from thence took an opportunity of marrying his own son to the daughter and heiress of *Albert* of *Bavaria*, count of *Zealand*, *Hainault*, and *Holland*, by which he secured to his family that important succession, and vastly augmented his own power, which the *French* patriots considered as but too great before that accession^h. The same year *John de Vienne*, admiral of *France*, was sent with a powerful succour to the assistance of *Robert II.* king of *Scots*, and, in conjunction with that prince, gained considerable advantages in the north of *England*; so that high and well-
- c founded hopes were entertained of a peace, to be made on advantageous terms, in consequence of this diversion; but the admiral becoming amorous of one of the king's nearest relations, and his officers imitating his gallantry, they found themselves quickly upon so bad terms with their allies, that they were glad to seize the pretence of a short truce to return home, without having done any thing but discrediting their countryⁱ. Many of the *French* historians reproach the *Scots* with their coldness, stupidity, and clownishness, upon this occasion; but a modern writer very fairly owns, that the admiral and those about him were the only people to blame, and who sacrificed to their pleasures their interests and their duty^k. A. D. 1385.
- d THE duke of *Burgundy*, who both proposed and disappointed the expedition against *England*, the preceding year, in order to serve his own turn in the *Low Countries*, was now very forward to carry it into execution. Having disposed the king's forces in such a manner as to prevent any impression from being made on his dominions, he at length assembled a very numerous army in the neighbourhood, and a prodigious fleet in the harbour, of *Sluys*. Some writers say twenty thousand horse, twenty thousand cross bows, and twenty thousand foot, differently armed, and, which is much more extraordinary, upwards of twelve hundred vessels^l. There was besides a vast wooden edifice, or floating town, which was contrived for the protection of the soldiers when landed; and yet all these stupendous preparations, which cost so much time, trouble, and expence, and of which such great expectations had been raised, came to nothing, through the indolence of rather the obstinacy of the duke of *Berry*, who, having been originally against this measure, carried on his part of the armament so slowly, that he did not arrive at *Sluys* till the middle of *September*, when it was found that the season was too far advanced, and that no invasion was then practicable^m. A storm that happened soon after drove the greatest part of the fleet on shore, and beat the wooden edifice all to pieces; the remains of which the king bestowed upon the duke of *Burgundy*, to which he also gave the port of *Sluys*, which was then very commodious, and of the utmost importance. This consoled him for the misfortunes of the campaign, and all kind of diversions were contrived to amuse the young king, and render him less attentive to the clamours of the people, who bore with great impatience the prodigious impositions laid upon them without pity, levied with the utmost violence, and then diverted to private uses, or squandered to no purposeⁿ. 1386.
- f In a state weakly governed, every man, who has a high spirit and a competent proportion of power, is apt to fancy himself independent, and to act as if he really was so. The duke of *Bretagne* had long acted in this sort, and was much suspected of corresponding with the *English*; but he was possessed of great abilities as well as power, and he saw that these rendered him so much respected, that he ventured on an action as unaccountable as it was inexcusable. The constable of *Cliffon* had ransomed the two sons of *Charles de Blois*, and had given a daughter of his to the eldest, who continued to bear the arms of *Bretagne*, contrary to treaty; the duke resented this extremely. Having summoned an assembly of his estates, he cajoled the constable till he got him into his power, and then seized and sent him prisoner to a fortress

^f BOULANVILLIERS.^g Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.^h MEYER in Annal. Flandr.ⁱ JUVENAL

DES URSINS.

^k LE GENDRE.^l FROISSART,^m Ancien. Chronique de France, P. ÆMIL.ⁿ J. DE SERRES, DU TILLET.

near to the sea side, where, in the height of his passion, he more than once ordered him to be murdered, but those who received his orders were too wise to execute them: at length the duke, after obliging him to render the fortresses he had in his territory, extorted a vast sum of money from him, by way of ransom, and then set him at liberty^o. The constable complaining to the king of this usage, he was inclined to do him ample justice; but his uncles, who disliked the influence of the constable over his young master, obliged the duke to restore the fortresses, refund the money, and let the thing rest there^p. At this juncture the young king of *England*, *Richard II.* had made an entire change in his administration, not without exciting great commotions amongst his subjects, of which the constable thought to take advantage, by landing with a great body of troops in his dominions; which project was entirely overthrown by this management of the duke of *Bretagne*, who, it was thought, received an equivalent for the restitutions he had been obliged to make in *France*^q.

Charles VI.
frees himself
and his sub-
jects by assum-
ing the go-
vernment, and
naming a new
council.

THE duke of *Burgundy* prevented the king's attention to his own affairs the next year, by engaging him to turn his arms against the duke of *Gueldres*, who making a speedy submission, left *Charles* at liberty to return into his own kingdom, and to execute the design he had been long meditating, of becoming in fact, as well as in show, the sovereign of his people: he kept his secret till he found a favourable opportunity of doing what he proposed, and then confided it only to those who were to be employed in bringing it pass: he called a council at *Rheims*, at which were present his uncles, the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, the princes of the blood, the constable, the archbishop of *Rheims*, the chancellor, and many other persons of distinction in the church and of the robe^r. The king then acquainted the assembly, that he was under great obligations to his uncles, as well for the trouble they had taken in giving him instructions, as for the pains they had been at in governing the realm, but that, for the future, he was determined to discharge his duty himself, with the assistance of such a council as he should think fit to appoint. The chancellor explained the subject more at large, and then collected the opinions, beginning with the cardinal of *Laon*, who, in a succinct speech, approved and applauded the king's intentions, and, in shew at least, his sentiment was approved by the rest; but the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* were extremely displeased, and the cardinal being the chief object of their malice, perished soon after by poison^s. Of his uncles, the king only retained the duke of *Bourbon*; and the constable, the chancellor, with some other of his father's old officers, made up the new council. The face of affairs was immediately changed; a truce with *England* was concluded for three years, that the king might have leisure to look strictly into the state of his affairs, and to give what ease he could to his people^t. He began by reforming the parliament and his household, lessened the number and expence of both, restored the liberties and privileges of *Paris*, abolished taxes and imposts, received whatever petitions were brought him, and redressed grievances of every kind with such alacrity, as plainly shewed, however his name might be employed, they did not take their rise from him^u. As all historians agree he was the best made, the best bred, and the best tempered man in his dominions, it is easy to conceive that, by this change of measures, he became highly popular, insomuch that his subjects bestowed on him the surname of *the Well-beloved*, which he certainly deserved. He was so far from being suspicious, that the most malevolent insinuations made no impression on him; "I had rather (said he) believe well of an ill man, than run the hazard of conceiving an ill opinion of one who behaves well." Being told that a courtier, to whom he had been very kind, spoke amiss of him, he answered, without emotion, "It cannot be true; for how can a man speak evil of us who have done him much good?" He had a very retentive memory, and as he passed through the streets, upon public occasions, not only returned the salutes of private persons, but spoke to them by their names, and enquired after their families. With all this affability there was nothing of artifice, and though he made many promises he never failed to make them good. So many good qualities scarce ever centered in one who made so indifferent a prince^v.

1388.

Makes a tour
to Avignon,
and in his re-
turn visits
Languedoc,
and redresses
the people's
grievances.

HE loved spectacles; and to indulge this humour caused the queen to make a public entry into *Paris*, after which she was crowned with great solemnity: he then made a tour to *Avignon*, where he saw his cousin *Lewis*, duke of *Anjou*, crowned by pope *Clement* king of the *Two Sicilies*. In his return he examined strictly into the state of affairs in *Languedoc*, received all applications to him graciously, and, in redressing grievances, forgot that the duke of *Berry*, who was the author of most of them, was his uncle, though he treated him upon all occasions with great personal respect^x. In this progress also he visited the count *de Foix*, *Gaston Phœbus*, one of the most accomplished princes of that age; or, as others say, he was visited by him at *Thoulouse*. He was so well pleased with the respect shewn him by

^o JUVENAL DES URSINS, LE GENDRE.
France.

^r Anonym. vit. Richard II.

^s P. HENAUT.

^t LE GENDRE.

^u FROISSART, J. DE SERRES.

^v P. ÆMIL. L'Abbe de CHOISY:

^w Anonym. vit. Richard II.

^x Ancien. Chronique de

^y P. DANIEL.

^a *Charles*, that, having no children, he declared him his heir: and as he died soon after suddenly, the king might have annexed that county to the domains of the crown, if he had not, at the intercession of the duke of *Berry*, regarded the rights of the count's nephew; yet the duke had not interest enough to preserve his own government, which the king gave away, to prevent his revenging himself upon those who had laid open his tyranny and oppression^y. The same year his brother the duke of *Touraine*, afterwards duke of *Orleans*, espoused *Valentina*, daughter to the duke of *Milan*, and his cousin german, after a great disappointment in regard to the heiress of *Hungary*, to whom he was contracted, and who by real or pretended force was prevailed on to espouse another prince^z.

A. D. 1389.

- ^b The king, who was of a very active disposition, who delighted in feats of arms, and who was desirous of distinguishing himself in the field, had often great enterprizes in his head. Sometimes he thought of marching against *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Turks*; at other times he proposed putting an end to the schism which had subsisted for so many years, by putting pope *Clement* the seventh, who resided at *Avignon*, in possession of *Rome*: but his ministers, and more especially the constable, shewed him so clearly what dreadful consequences would follow in case he embarked in either of these enterprizes, that, being convinced, he acquiesced in their council. But they sent troops to the assistance of the *Genoese*, and other allies, and shewed all possible attention to whatever concerned, even in a distant degree, the honour of the crown^a. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, though they kept within the bounds of their duty, were extremely mortified by their exclusion from court, which they attributed entirely to the constable; and by their contrivance at least, if not encouragement, the duke of *Bretagne* made no great haste in the performance of his treaty, and particularly in restoring the lands which belonged to the count *de Pentbievre*, son-in-law to the constable; upon which he invaded the territory of the duke, and great disorders were committed on both sides^b. The duke of *Lancaster* came over to negotiate a peace, in which finding much more difficulty than he expected, he contented himself with renewing the truce for another year. The death of the duchess of *Orleans* gave the king an opportunity of bestowing on his brother that title and duchy, not much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, who were very unwilling to fall under the dominion of a prince of the blood^c. This was chiefly owing to what had happened to the people of *Languedoc*, under the administration of the duke of *Berry*, and what they were still like to suffer; for that prince had obliged the baron *de Chevreuse*, his successor, to leave it, and resign the government into the king's hands, by threats of causing him to be assassinated^d. At length, not without difficulty, the king restored peace on the side of *Bretagne*, or rather suspended the war; for the duke remained the irreconcilable enemy of the constable, who was no less hated by the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, all the malecontents referring their supposed grievances to him, because he was at the head of the council, and stood highest in the king's favour; and because that, from being a private gentleman, he had raised himself by his merit to such high honours, and by his prudence and œconomy had acquired an immense fortune; which his enemies not only envied, but in case of a confiscation were in hopes they might share^e.
- ^c AMONGST the lords who made a figure at court, there was one *Peter Craon*, a man of parts and pleasure, but very profligate. He had been the confidant of the regent duke of *Anjou*, and was intrusted to bring him supplies of money when he was in *Italy*; but he betrayed his trust, and lavished in his debaucheries at *Venice*, what should have supported his master and his friends at *Naples*, who perished for want of it^f. At his return to *France* he was prosecuted, and paid a large fine; but being well with the rakes at court, and becoming the declared favourite of the duke of *Orleans*, he had more credit than ever. The knowledge he had of that prince's intrigues proved his ruin; for, hoping to gain the esteem of the duchess, he informed her of some things; she, to bring about a reconciliation, gave him up to the duke, who would have had him assassinated; but the whole tale coming to the king's ears, he forbid him the court, and ordered him to retire to his own estate, which he did^g. There, distracted with his disgrace, which he attributed entirely to the constable, he took the cruel resolution of murdering him, and having dispatched a band of assassins, one by one, to *Paris*, he followed them thither. As the constable returned from court about midnight, with a few attendants, he attacked him with his band of ruffians, and left him for dead, after they had given him fifty wounds^h. *Craon* making his escape fled into *Bretagne*, where the duke, out of enmity to the constable, received and protected him. In a month's time that great man recovered, to the amazement of the court, and to the great joy of the

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy retain a strong sense of their being excluded the government.

1390.

1391.

P. Craon attempts to assassinate the constable de Clif. son, and leaves him for dead.

^y GAGUINI Hist. P. HENAULT. Chronique de France.

^z MEZ. P. DAN.

^a FROISSART, P. ÆMIL.

^b Ancien.

^c P. HENAULT, L'Abbe de CHOISY.

^d Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. GAGUINI Hist.

^e MEZ. P. DANIEL.

TILLET.

^f P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES.

^g Anonym. vit. Richard II. JUV. DES URSINS.

^h DU

king his master, who caused such of the assassins as could be seized to be put to death, condemned *Craon* to the like punishment, causing his house to be demolished, which has since been converted into a church-yard ⁱ.

The king
marching into
Bretagne, is
attacked with
a sudden
phrensy.

THE king having demanded *Craon* to be sent him in chains by the duke of *Bretagne*, that prince answered that he knew nothing of him; to which the king yielding no credit, marched with all the forces he could collect into his territories, notwithstanding the pains taken by the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* to appease him, who, after being so long kept from court, were recalled to accompany him in this expedition ^k. The army arriving at *Mans*, the king was seized with a slow fever, but could not be prevailed upon to rest or take physic. On the fifth of *August*, having marched all day in the heat of the sun, a miserable, ragged, wild-looking fellow, darted from behind a tree, and laying hold of the bridle of his horse, cried out, "Stop! where are you going king? you are betrayed," and immediately withdrew again into the wood. The king passing on, not a little disturbed, it happened that one of the pages who rode behind him and carried his lance, overcome with heat, fell asleep, and let it fall upon the helmet which was carried by the other; the king hearing a tinkling noise, looked behind, and seeing the page lifting the spear killed him immediately; then riding furiously with his sword drawn, he struck on every side and at every body, till having broke his sword, one of his gentlemen leaped up behind him and held his arm ^l. He fell soon after, and lay as if he had been dead; so that being taken up and tied in a waggon, he was carried back to *Mans*, where he fell into a lethargy that lasted for two days, and then he came a little to himself ^m. This accident put an end to the war. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* seized the government, excluding the duke of *Orleans*, whom his brother, at the time he became frantic, had like to have killed. At their return to *Paris* they sent the king's principal ministers to several prisons, bestowed the office of constable on *Philip de Artois*, count *d'Eu*, *Oliver de Clisson* having retired into *Bretagne*, where he defended his lands against the duke with such spirit and courage, as at length forced him to seek a reconciliation ⁿ. In the winter the king so far recovered, as to save the lives of his ministers, whom his uncles had procured to be condemned, but he was obliged to banish them, to gratify those in whose hands he was ^o.

His indisposi-
tion is aug-
mented by ano-
ther singular
and unfortu-
nate accident.

HISTORY scarce affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and at the same time more miserable, than that of this unfortunate prince and his subjects, in consequence of his misfortune: all was discord and confusion, intrigues, debauchery, and dissension. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* ruled the kingdom, excluding the duke of *Orleans*, under pretence of his youth, from any share in the government, and even from the shadow of power. It was not so with his duchess, the daughter of the duke of *Milan*, and the grand-daughter of king *John*; young, beautiful, and insinuating, she acquired such an empire over the king, that she governed him at her pleasure; and, which is more extraordinary, it was she only that could govern him, for in the time of his malady he knew nobody else, not even the queen ^p. This offended the duchess of *Burgundy* extremely, who could not endure to see so much court paid to that princess, for the sake of the influence she had over the distempered king; and, as is too frequently the case, the quarrels between the wives extended themselves to their husbands, and produced that furious and implacable hatred, which in its effects was so pernicious, and in the end was very near proving destructive to *France*. To render the duchess of *Orleans* odious to the people, it was given out that she had bewitched the king, and, to heighten the odium, it was laid that the duke of *Orleans* had also bewitched the queen. But the most candid writers confess, that there was no ground to suspect any other kind of magic than what flowed from the assiduity of the young and handsome, when unrestrained by principle or sentiment they give a loose to their passions. When the king, through the care of his physician, seemed to be tolerably well recovered, another unlucky and unforeseen accident deprived him again of his senses ^q. The queen married one of her ladies of honour, a *German*, to a person of distinction about the court, and the marriage was to be kept with great solemnity at the palace of the queen dowager, relict of *Philip de Valois*. Amongst other amusements there was to be a masque, which gave occasion to some young lords to appear in the dress of savages, made of linen, which sat close to their bodies, covered with rosin, which while hot had been powdered over with down, that they might appear like satyrs; the count *de Joigny*, *Jobain* natural son to the count *de Foix*, the son of the count *de Valentinois*, *Nantouillet*, and *Guisai*, one of the esquires of the body, were of this party, and the king made the sixth ^r. This trivial secret was so well kept, that, when they came to the ball, they were not known, but their whim was mightily applauded; the duchess of *Berry*, seeing him robust and well-made,

ⁱ GAGUIN. Hist. LE GEND.

^k DUPLEIX.

^l JUV. DES URSINS.

^m Ancien. Chron. de

France. ⁿ Ancien. Chron. de France, DU TILLET.

^o GAG. Hist. DUPLEIX.

^p J. DE

SERRES.

^q Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^r JUV. DES URSINS. Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

laid

a laid hold of the king, and told him she would not part with him till she knew who he was. In the mean time the other five began the dance, when the duke of *Orleans*, out of levity, making a shew of running a lighted torch against one of the savages, set his habit on fire, which quickly communicated the flame to the rest, and changed this scene of wanton mirth into sorrow and distress.

In the midst of their torments, the masks roared out continually save the king, save the king. The duchess of *Berry* immediately recollected that he must be the mask which stood by her, and thereupon throwing her robes over him, and wrapping them close about him, put out the fire: *Nantouillet*, by jumping into a cistern of water, saved his life; the other four were so terribly burnt that they died in two days; and the king was so much affected with the fright and with grief, that it caused a relapse^s. After this the king had four or five fits every year to the time of his death. He grew heavy and uneasy the evening before the fit, and the next morning, as he awaked, appeared either furious or foolish. Sometimes he was boisterous and cruel, at others melancholy and full of tears; and sometimes he would laugh and play like a child, but knew nobody, and would take nothing, save only the duchess of *Orleans*, and from her hands^t. In his lucid intervals his uncles took care to amuse him with diversions of every kind, and, to the utmost of their power, hindered his addicting himself at all to business, under colour of concern for his health: this was of a piece with their politics in the time of his minority; but they acted more wisely in another respect, since, contenting themselves with the annual and entire revenue of the crown, they did not, as before, oppress the people with taxes; and perceiving that the passion which prevailed at court for gaming began to extend itself into the provinces, they took care, by good laws, to stop the progress of this malady, and to substitute martial and manly exercises, instead of such methods of consuming their leisure time^u. They shewed likewise great respect to the parliament, which now began to sit through the year, with only some short vacations, according to the regulations prescribed by the king, who made several other rules, that were so prudent and useful as to be ever since retained^w.

His disease returns gradually, more frequently, and with greater violence.

A. D. 1393.

The government of *France* did all that lay in their power to compose the schism that had so long disturbed the church, and laboured earnestly to persuade the two popes to resign their dignities, to facilitate a measure of so great importance. But the pontiffs, who never could agree in any thing before, understood each other's mind in this, and concerted their excuses so well, that *Clement*, who resided at *Avignon*, died in possession of the papal character; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the crowned heads, the cardinals of his faction chose *Peter de Luna*, a *Spaniard*, who assumed the name of *Benedict* the thirteenth, and proved even more intractable than his predecessor^x. The truce with *England* was prolonged from time to time, till at length king *Richard II.* found it expedient to marry the princess *Elizabeth*, the daughter of *Charles*, though a child; upon which they had an interview with each other, and concluded a truce for thirty years. On this occasion *Charles* prevailed upon the king of *England* to restore the important fortrefs of *Brest* to the duke of *Bretagne*, who had mortgaged it to his grandfather for an immense sum of money: he also redeemed *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, which belonged to *Charles the Noble*, king of *Navarre*, to whom he gave the duchy of *Nemours*, as an equivalent for his estates in that province, and for all his other pretensions^y. On the other hand, the king of *England* procured the pardon of *Peter Craon*, and the restitution of his lands, who, at his return to *Paris*, shewed himself a most exemplary penitent, and employed his revenues in making satisfaction to a multitude of persons whom he had injured^z. The *Genoese*, wearied with domestic troubles and foreign wars, put themselves under the protection of *France*^a. On the contrary, the count of *Perigord* having assembled a considerable body of troops, made use of them to subdue by force several places to which he had pretensions, without respecting the arrets of parliament, or the king's orders. One of the marshals of *France* being sent against him, beat his troops, besieged him in one of his fortresses, and, having constrained him to surrender, carried him prisoner to *Paris*, where his process was quickly made, in consequence of which he was condemned to lose his head and his lands. The duke of *Orleans* interposed, and by that means preserved the one and acquired the other; for this young prince was yet more violent and more rapacious than his uncles, and one way or other had amassed prodigious wealth, besides many counties and seigniories, omitting nothing that could extend his power or augment his wealth^b.

Accommodates all disputes with king Richard II. who espouses his daughter Isabel.

1395.

SIGISMUND, king of *Hungary*, being attacked by *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Turks*, demanded, in very humble terms, the assistance of the crown of *France*, to which indeed he had little

The count of Nevers and

^s Ancien. Chronique de France. GAG. Hist. ^t P. HENAUULT. ^u GAG. Hist. LE GEND.
^w JUV. DES URSINS. ^x P. DAN. ^y J. DE SERRES. ^z Ancien. Chron. de France. ^a Hist.
 Anonym. de Charles VI. P. DAN. ^b GAG. Hist. DU TILLET, BOULANVIL.

pretence,

*the constable
d'Eu, go with
a corps of
troops against
the Turks.*

A. D. 1396.

1397.

*The emperor
makes a tour
to Paris, and
Henry IV.
supplants
Richard II.
in England.*

1398.

*Duke of Bre-
tagne dies and
leaves his fa-
mily to Oliver
de Clisson.*

1399.

pretence, since he had carried away by force, and espoused, the heiress of Hungary, at a time when she was contracted to the duke of Orleans^c. However, the great humility of the application having effaced the memory of the affront, the flower of the French nobility marched to his assistance. At the head of these forces was John, duke of Nevers, eldest son to the duke of Burgundy, the count de Eu, constable of France, the count de la Marche, prince of the blood, the marshal de Boucicaut, the sieur de Coucy, John de Vienne, admiral of France, the princes of Bar, the sieurs Sempy and Tremouille, Rainald de Roie, with upwards of two thousand gentlemen, at their own expence. It is agreed, that there never appeared a body of troops better equipped, more warlike, or more wicked^d. They forced king Sigismund to fight the Turks at great disadvantage; the battle was lost entirely through their imprudence, in which the admiral John de Vienne was killed on the spot; the count de Eu, and the sieur de Coucy died in prison; the count de Nevers, the marshal de Boucicaut, and the rest of the princes, were ransomed at a vast expence, which did not displease the duke of Burgundy his father, who, under colour of his son's ransom, levied twice as much upon the people^e. This was the famous defeat of Nicopolis, which rendered the French equally odious in the eyes of the Turks and of their own allies. The office of constable was bestowed on the marshal de Sancerre^f. The next year the king had more frequent returns of his malady than ever, and was once surprized so suddenly, that he called to the duke of Burgundy to take his dagger from his side; adding, "I had rather die than injure any of my subjects." His daughter the princess Mary, a child of five years old, was sent to a nunnery, in pursuance of the king's vow; and the queen dowager Blanch of Navarre, widow of Philip de Valois, died universally regretted^g.

THE emperor Wenceslaus made a tour into France, in order to visit the king, and to concert measures for obliging pope Benedict to resign, as the only effectual means for putting an end to the schism; but the king being attacked by his disease, during the emperor's residence at court, the projects concerted with him came to nothing. The marshal de Boucicaut, however, was sent to besiege the pope in his palace, which he did, but with very little effect; for the duke of Orleans, merely because he was attacked by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, became his protector, and in the king's lucid intervals set aside what they did by their own authority at other times^h. Henry earl of Derby, son to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, having been banished from England, after visiting other foreign countries came into France, where he was received very kindly, and treated with great marks of esteem; but returning into England, under pretence of demanding his inheritance on the death of his father, he found the affections of the people so much alienated from the king his cousin, that he found it no difficult matter to depose Richard, and to seat himself on his throneⁱ. The French were not much disturbed at this event, because they flattered themselves that the people of Guienne, and more especially the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, where Richard was born, and where he was still exceedingly beloved, would have revolted. But they found themselves mistaken; upon which the king sent the sieur Albret to king Henry to demand his daughter, who with some difficulty was restored; but, as the French writers say, no part of her dowry was returned. The next year died John the Valiant, duke of Bretagne, full of years, and covered with glory^k.

HE left his children to the protection of the duke of Burgundy, and to the care of his old enemy, but older friend, Oliver de Clisson, who, after his disgrace at the court of France, retired to his own estate in Bretagne, where, with the troops which his own reputation and the assistance of his friends, particularly of the duke of Orleans, enabled him to assemble, he defended himself so gallantly against the duke, that he proposed a truce and a conference, and sent his son to Clisson as a hostage for his safety. Clisson complied with the invitation, and carried the young prince with him. The duke, amazed and confounded at this act of generosity, after what had passed between them, frankly granted him his own terms, and ever after confided in him as his best friend, leaving to him the regency of his dominions when he went to the court of France, and, as the highest testimony of esteem, the care of his children at his death^l. How well he merited this act of confidence immediately appeared. He was himself ill, and kept his bed at the time of the duke's death. His daughter the countess of Penthièvre, who had married the competitor to the late duke, proposed to him roundly dispatching the duke's children to make room for her own. Instead of making her an answer, Clisson laid hold of the javelin that stood at the head of his bed, and threw it after her as she ran down stairs; she tumbling through fear and haste broke her thigh, and, by

^c JUV. DES URSINS. Ancien. Chron. de France, LE GENDRE.

^e Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. LE GEND.

L'Abbe de CHOISY.

Hist. MEZ. P. DAN.

GAG. Hist.

^g Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

ⁱ Anonym. vit. Richard II. LE GEND.

^l J. DE SERRES.

^d P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX, J. DE

^f P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES, P. HENAULT,

Ancien. Chronique de France.

^h GAG.

^k Ancien. Chronique de France.

her lameness ever after, testified her father's honour and her own disgrace^m. The duke's eldest son succeeded, and from his care received an excellent education.

WENCESLAUS, emperor of *Germany*, being deposed by the electors, who sent the duke of *Bavaria*, the queen's father, to the court of *France*, to justify what they had done, the duke of *Orleans*, notwithstanding his regard for the queen, declared in favour of *Wenceslaus*, and led an army into *Germany* to restore him; but having secured the duchy of *Luxembourg*, which that prince had sold him, and finding that *Wenceslaus* himself was content with the kingdom of *Bobemia*, he returned without performing any thing of importanceⁿ. About this time also the marshal *de Boucicaut* returned from *Constantinople*, which city he most gallantly defended against the *Turks*; and not long after came the emperor *Manuel Paleologus* himself, to intreat further assistance against *Bajazet*; from whom, for the present, he was delivered by the famous *Tamerlane*, who, after his victory, is said to have written letters to king *Charles*, and to have made a treaty with the crown of *France*. *Archambaud de Grailly*, brother to the famous captal *de Buch*, by the death of the count *de Foix*, inherited that country: but having taken possession of it without the king's consent, the constable was sent against him with an army; and though he was not very successful, yet the count thought fit to come to *Paris*, where having made great submission, and done homage to the king, he was received into high favour, the rather, because he frankly declared that he never would have quitted the *English* interest, but for the murder of *Richard of Bourdeaux*, the son of his beloved master the black Prince^o. The king's disease was now grown to such a height, that, even during his lucid intervals, his brain was so weak, that it was improper to trouble him with business. In this situation he granted commissions to the proper officers, for executing justice and expediting public affairs^p. The duke of *Burgundy* making a tour into his own dominions, the duke and duchess of *Orleans* made so good use of that opportunity, and of the influence they had over the king and queen, that they prevailed upon *Charles*, who was then in his senses, to grant a commission, creating the duke his brother lieutenant-general and governor of the realm, at such times as, through the visitation of God, he was himself unable to administer public affairs^q. The duke of *Orleans*, in virtue of this commission, imposed a general and heavy tax, from which even the ecclesiastics were not exempted: the weather being very unseasonable, and the scarcity of necessaries great throughout the whole kingdom, this gave the duke of *Burgundy* great advantage, inasmuch as, at his return, he avowed publickly in parliament, that what was alleged of his consent to that edict was an absolute falsity, since, notwithstanding an offer had been made him of an enormous sum of money, he had constantly refused it^r. The two dukes arming, and each of them having his allies, the kingdom was in great danger of being torn by a civil war. At length the duke of *Bourbon* interfering as their common friend, engaged them both to quit the court till things could be adjusted. When the king was next in health he put the question in his council, his uncle and his brother being absent, so that their votes were free; in which situation the majority of votes was for the duke of *Burgundy*^s.

In quality of tutor to the young duke of *Bretagne* and his brothers, the duke of *Burgundy* certainly rendered a very considerable service to the crown of *France*, by bringing the three young princes, *John*, *Arthur*, and *Giles*, to *Paris*, which entirely defeated the views of *Henry IV.* of *England*, who, by marrying their mother the duchess dowager, had in view strengthening the *English* interest in *Bretagne*^t. The duke of *Orleans*, who, though inferior in age and prudence, was to the full as ambitious as the duke of *Burgundy*, sent a challenge to king *Henry*; who answered, that, as a king, he could not take notice of such letters if they did not come from a crowned head. The duke replied that he was no king, but a traitor, a murderer of his prince, and a usurper. *Henry* rejoined in the same language, that the duke was a turbulent and ambitious prince, who had bewitched his brother, that he might seize the royal authority, which he was unable to manage. These disputes occasioned animosities, and even hostilities, between the two nations; which, though entirely founded in pique and self-interest, yet both sides endeavoured to colour by specious pretences^u. The *French* exclaimed, that the marriage portion received with queen *Isabel* was not restored, which the *English* admitted, but offered to deduct it out of what was still due for king *John's* ransom^v. The constable *Sancerre* dying, the king bestowed the sword upon *Charles*, lord of *Albret*, his cousin, a young man, very nobly born, but without experience. The queen was delivered of a son, who succeeded afterwards to the crown^w. The marshal *de Boucicaut* was sent to command in *Genoa*, where he governed with so much severity that he rendered

^m Historia Anonymi de Charles VI.

ⁿ LE GEND.

^o Ancien. Chronique de France. DU TIL.

^p GAGUIN. Hist. P. DAN.

^q Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. Metz.

^r DU TIL.

Chron. de France.

^s Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^t DU TIL.

^u Ancien.

^v GAGU. Hist.

^w THOM. WALSHINGHAM.

his nation odious. The death of the duke of *Milan*, father to the duchess of *Orleans*,^a weakened the interest of the *French* in *Italy*; and the schism still continuing, served to disturb and distract their affairs; so that the residence of one of the pretenders to the papacy at *Avignon* did them no good^y.

Beginning of
those disputes
between the
houses of Orle-
ans and Bur-
gundy, which
proved so fatal
to France.

A. D. 1404.

THE close correspondence between the duke of *Orleans* and the queen, which was not without scandal, enabled them, however, to maintain their authority, and to plunder the people, which they did without mercy. On the other hand, the duke of *Burgundy*, either grown wiser from experience, or out of a desire of opposing them, was a constant enemy to the imposition of new taxes, and laboured all he could to relieve and protect the people; and this occasioned his death, which happened at *Hall* in *Hainault*, to be exceedingly regretted^z (E). He was succeeded in the greatest part of his dominions by his son *John*,^b count of *Nevers*, who, in point of ambition, was equal, in courage superior, but in abilities, or at least in moderation, very unlike his father. The queen and the duke of *Orleans* excluded him entirely from the government; and if they had acted with any tolerable temper and prudence, they might very probably have preserved the authority they had gained; but while they had nothing so much at heart as this, they acted as if it had been their intention to lose it. They took all possible methods, mean as well as oppressive, to amass wealth, and, when they had acquired it, they spent it as unworthily^a. The queen was said to send large sums into *Germany*, that, in case of any accident, she might have wherewithal to subsist: as for the duke, he was continually purchasing lands, though he would never pay his debts. Their courts were numerous and splendid, while those of the king and his children were so ill provided, that the people began to murmur. The king, in one of his lucid intervals, hearing how his children were used, sent for the dauphin's governess, and upon her owning that they sometimes wanted food, and often cloaths, the king, fetching a deep sigh, gave her a gold cup, out of which he drank, adding, that pomp was ridiculous where necessities were wanting^b. He ordered, however, a general council to be called of all the princes of the blood, to which the duke of *Burgundy* was expressly summoned. He came accompanied with a considerable force; and then the dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, the kings of *Navarre* and *Sicily*, declared openly against the queen and the duke of *Orleans*, who thereupon

^y P. HENAUULT.
STRELET, MEZ.

^z DU TIL. MEZ.

^a Annales de France MONSTRELET, P. ÆMIL.

^b MON-

(E) *Philip the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*, was going to take possession of the duchy of *Brabant*, in the name of his second son, when he was seized with an epidemic distemper, which then prevailed, at an inn, that had for its sign the great hart, in the town of *Hall* in *Hainault*, where he deceased on the 27th of *April*, 1404, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was the favourite of his father; and some historians have thought it a weakness in his brother *Charles the Wise*, that he so earnestly laboured to procure him the heiress of *Flanders*, by which he became at least as rich, and very near as potent, as himself. These historians did not certainly consider, that, in whatever light it appeared to them, both king *John* and his son *Charles the Wise* esteemed it a great act of policy; and it is but reasonable to suppose, that, in their own times, they could judge better of their own affairs than we at this distance. It may not be amiss to observe, that his consort *Margaret*, daughter to *Lewis III.* count of *Flanders*, though a maid, was the widow of *Philip de Rouvre*, the last duke of *Burgundy*, of the former line; so that it was probably with a view to this match, and at the same time to gratify the affection that he had for his favourite son, that, after solemnly uniting *Burgundy* to the crown of *France*, king *John* separated it again in favour of *Philip*, though he did not live long enough to accomplish this marriage. *Lewis*, count of *Flanders*, had been always in the *English* interest, and proposed marrying his heiress to one of the sons of *Edward III.* which he knew would have been very acceptable to his subjects, and which, as *Charles the Wise* very rightly foresaw, would sooner or later have been the ruin of *France*; which shews us that, after all, his confirming the duchy to, and procuring this marriage for, his brother, was no such solecism in politics as has been pretended. Yet, whether a right or wrong step, it had never been compassed but for the zeal of the young heiress's grandmother, who was so zealous

in the cause of her country, which was *France*, that she told the count her son, if he persisted in his design of marrying his daughter to a son of *Edward*, she would cut off the breast that suckled him; which shews what a point was made of this marriage, and of what consequence it was esteemed. By this marriage he became very powerful, and had as large a revenue as any monarch of his time; but he had a mind still greater than his fortune, and the magnificence with which he lived swallowed up all, inasmuch that, when he came to be buried, as he was with great magnificence in the chartreuse at *Dijon*, of which he was founder, the duchess his widow, according to the practice of those times, took off her girdle, with the purse and bunch of keys hanging to it, and laid it by his effigies, which had been carried in state, signifying thereby that she renounced, for herself and children, all claim to his personal estate, which came to, and was divided amongst, his creditors. *Philip the Hardy* had by this princess three sons and as many daughters; *John*, who succeeded him in the duchy and county of *Burgundy*; *Anthony*, who became duke of *Brabant* and *Limburg*; and *Philip*, who became count of *Nevers* and *Rethel*; *Margaret*, who was the second consort of *William of Bavaria*, count of *Holland* and *Zealand*; *Mary*, who espoused *Amadeus VIII.* duke of *Savoy*; and *Katherine*, who became the consort of *Leopold III.* duke of *Austria*. It is necessary to observe, that *Margaret*, his widow, died of an apoplexy, on the 20th of *March* following, at the age of fifty-five; on which her son *John*, duke of *Burgundy*, succeeded to *Flanders*, and all its dependencies, which rendered him as formidable as ever his father had been, and inspired him with the hopes of governing *France* in the same manner he had done, without considering that himself was the cousin only to the reigning monarch, whereas his father *Philip* was his uncle.

withdrew

a withdrew to *Melun*, and attempted to carry away the dauphin and the king's children: but the duke of *Burgundy*, to whose daughter he was contracted, and whose son was to marry his sister, pursued and brought him back^c. Things continued for some time in very great disorder, inasmuch that a civil war was apprehended; the duke of *Orleans*'s party having attacked the duke of *Berry* in his house in the night; but being repulsed, and finding his party too weak, and himself too much hated, to do any thing by force, he acquiesced in a provision, that, during the times of the king's absence (which was a phrase they made use of to express his madness), the kingdom should be governed by a council of state, composed of the princes of the blood; upon which a kind of outside reconciliation ensued^d. A. D. 1405.

As the two dukes continued to hate one another as passionately as ever, and were reciprocally framing plots to each other's prejudice, the other princes of the blood persuaded them rather to shew their courage and their power by expelling the *English* out of the kingdom: pursuant to this advice, the duke of *Orleans* marched into *Guienne*, where the constable had already taken several places, and extorted a great sum of money from the inhabitants of *Bordeaux*; and the duke of *Burgundy* at the same time, at the head of very numerous forces, entered *Picardy*^e. They could not have a more favourable opportunity of achieving what they proposed; for *Henry IV.* found himself so embarrassed by secret conspiracies and open rebellions, that it was not in his power to carry on the war with *France* as he would otherwise have done. Yet both the princes failed; the duke of *Orleans* rising before *Blaye*, which he had besieged, and, on his return to *Paris*, procuring the king's orders to the duke of *Burgundy* to quit the siege of *Calais*, in which he had made very little progress^f. These disappointments made the princes more furious; the duke of *Burgundy* attributing his disgrace entirely to the duke of *Orleans*, and the latter affirming, that, during his campaign in *Guienne*, he had not been properly supplied with money: new intrigues were commenced, new violences committed, and a new civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the duke of *Berry* interposed, who had been very ill treated by the duke of *Orleans*, and who had no great cause to be satisfied with the duke of *Burgundy*: but they were both his nephews, and his intercession was so cordial, and his whole conduct so impartial, that, overcome with his importunities, they consented to a reconciliation, which was sealed with the solemn rites of the altar, both of them swearing, in the presence of God, to live in perfect friendship and fraternal unity for the future^g. Within three days after this solemn act, the duke of *Orleans* being, as usual, at the queen's lodgings, where he spent his evenings, a person came in haste to inform him that the king desired to speak with him immediately, on an affair of importance; the duke, mounted on his mule, preceded by two pages, and followed only by two of his domestics, set out for the *Hotel de St. Pol*, where the king lodged, and in his passage was attacked by a company of about twenty ruffians, commanded by one whom he had removed from a trifling office in the king's service, who with his pole ax cut off his hand that rested on the side of his mule^h. He cried out immediately, "I am the duke of *Orleans*!" It is he, replied the assassin, for whom we wait, and with a second blow cleft his skull. One of his servants, a *Fleming*, endeavoured to cover his body with his own, and was dispatched with him. The assassins then made their escape with such expedition and address, that they were none of them knownⁱ. This execrable action was committed on the twenty-third, or, as some say, on the twenty-second of *November*. The author for some days was not known or suspected, appearing publicly, and assisting at the funeral of the duke (F). But the provost of *Paris* being sent for by the council, to know what discoveries

Duke of Orleans murdered by the command of the duke of Burgundy, who is forced to withdraw.

1045.

^c MEYER in Annal. Flandr. HAM, P. ÆMIL.

^d JUV. DES URSINS. ^e GAGUIN. Hist. POLYD. VIRG.

^f GAGUINI Hist.

^g THOM. WALSHING-

^h MEZ. P. DAN.

ⁱ BOULAN-

VILLIERS.

(F) *Lewis of France*, duke of *Orleans*, count of *Valois*, *Luxembourg*, *d'Ast*, *Blois*, *Dunois*, *Beaumont*, *d'Angoulême*, *Perigord*, *Dreux*, *Soissons*, *Vertus*, *Portien*, and *Poitiers*, lord of *Cussy*, *Montargis*, *d'Epernai*, and *Chateauthierry*, was in his person the most amiable man of his time, more elegant and less robust than the king his brother. He had great natural parts, and these were improved by a good education, under the care of his uncle the duke of *Bourbon*; so that he was, in all respects, a most accomplished prince: but thro' the licentiousness and corruption of the times, his manners were wholly spoiled, and he had not only great but opposite vices. He was ambitious and indolent at the same time, avaricious to a degree of rapacity, and yet profuse to the utmost degree of extravagance; amassing all he could, and by all means; but so void of justice, that he paid nobody, and treated

his creditors with scorn and ridicule. By fits, and as he was alarmed by any untoward accident, religious, we should have said superstitious, but that his last will plainly shews, in his serious moments, he made a right judgment of things, knowing very well that foundations and alms were not acts of piety, when not accompanied with justice and equity: but his great vice was women; and, as if this had not been sufficient to render him odious, he is said to have kept a cabinet, in which were the pictures of his mistresses, and to have celebrated his success in amours by poems and songs. The scandal he was under, with respect to the queen, did him great hurt, and the violent methods he took to enrich himself made him universally hated. On the other hand, his duchess *Valentine*, who was wonderfully handsome, had a great deal of wit, and such an ascendancy over the king, that she alone was known to and approached

veries or what enquiries he had made, he demanded leave to search the houses of the princes themselves, which was given him^k. The king of the *Two Sicilies* looking at this time upon the duke of *Burgundy*, saw him change countenance; and soon after he confessed to that prince, and to the duke of *Berry*, that it was by his order the duke of *Orleans* was killed; upon which they advised him to retire, which he did, accompanied only by five persons. The admiral assembled a company of one hundred and twenty knights, with whom he would have pursued him, but the council interposed, and obliged him to desist^l. The duke of *Bourbon* expressed great displeasure that he was not arrested; and equally abhorring the wickedness of some, and ashamed of the pusillanimity of others, left the court, and retired to his own estate. The council being informed that the duke of *Burgundy* was raising troops, and had published a manifesto, in which he avowed and justified the murder, were much alarmed. The king, who had a long lucid interval, went to the parliament, and held his bed of justice on the twenty-sixth of *December*, and there published an edict, by which he directed that the eldest sons of *France*, of what age soever, at the time of their accession, should be esteemed kings, anointed and crowned, and that all public acts should run in their name, and not in that of any regent whatever^m. This seems to have been calculated to secure the crown to his sons, then all of them children.

The duke of Burgundy comes and forces the diseased king to grant him a pardon.

THE duke of *Berry*, and other great lords, were sent to persuade him not to add the insult on the king's authority to the death of the duke of *Orleans*, but to qualify things in the best manner possible, and to demand in general terms a royal pardon. The duke making use of his superior force, rejected all propositions of accommodation, marched triumphantly to *Paris*, demanded and forced an audience from the king, insisted upon justifying himself publicly, which he did by the mouth of his apologist Dr. *John Petit*, who, in the presence of the dauphin and the princes of the blood, defamed the deceased duke of *Orleans* as a tyrant and a traitor, inferring from thence, that, instead of considering the duke of *Burgundy* as a criminal, they ought to respect him as the king's best subject, and the deliverer of the kingdomⁿ. This was heard with silence and secret dislike; and the queen and most of the princes of the blood withdrawing, the duke, who had the king in his power, obtained from him as full a pardon as he could desire or devise. He was not satisfied with this, but obliged him likewise to remove the admiral, and to appoint the *Sieur de Chatillon* to that office, who was in his interest^o. A sedition at *Liege*, where the people had expelled his brother-in-law, who pretended to be their bishop without being a priest, induced the duke of *Burgundy* to march with all his forces to his assistance. On his retiring from *Paris*, the queen and the princes of the blood returned with what forces they could raise, and sent for the duchess dowager of *Orleans*, who entered with a great train all in deep mourning. A week after came the young duke, who had espoused the queen dowager in *England*, with the same marks of distress; the process against the duke of *Burgundy* was formed in the accustomed manner, his pardon declared null and void, and himself a public enemy^p. As this change was very sudden and surprizing, so it lasted not long; for the duke of *Burgundy* having defeated the people in *Liege*, slain twenty thousand of them in the field, and left his brother-in-law, who stiled himself bishop, to murder some thousands more, for having dared to dispute his claim to that title, returned once more into *France*, with a numerous army^q. At first the queen and the princes of the blood thought of fortifying *Paris*, of raising an army and meeting him in the field; but finding the citizens were most of them in his interest, and that it would be difficult to raise the supplies necessary for carrying on a war, they judged it more prudent to retire, with what forces they had, to *Tours*, which they executed with great prudence, and carried the king with them. The duke of *Burgundy* sent the count of *Hainault* to treat with the queen and dauphin, to whom the king had committed the management of public affairs^r. He was well received, and sent back with the lord *Montague*, who had the direction of the finances, and who offered to him, as the final resolution of the court, two pro-

^k GAGUINI Hist. MEZERAY.

Hist. P. ÆMIL.

Hist.

^a Annales de France. Du TIL.

^q P. ÆMIL.

P. HENAU.

^l Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^r JUVENAL DES URSINS.

^m Recueil de Pieces. GAGU.

^o Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^p GAGU.

approached him safely in his madness, fell under a greater load of odium than he, from the vulgar persuasion, that she had enchanted him, as if beauty, wit, and youth, stood in need of magic. The clamour, however, ran sometimes so high, that she was obliged to be absent from court, where she was not much beloved by the queen, and mortally hated by duchess of *Burgundy*. By this princess, when murdered in the flower of his age, the duke of *Orleans* left three sons and one daughter; *Charles*, duke of *Orleans*; the count of *Vertus*, contracted to the daughter of the duke of *Bur-*

gundy, but not married, who left only a natural son, stiled the bastard of *Vertus*; and *John* count of *Angoulême*. The daughter, *Margaret*, became the wife of *Richard*, count of *Eslampes*, son to *John V.* duke of *Bretagne*. This duchess *Valentine* survived the duke little more than a year, and is much celebrated for her affection for his natural son *John*, stiled the bastard of *Orleans*, whom he had by *Mariette de Enghein*, the wife of *Aubert de Cani*, a gentleman of *Picardy*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak very largely in the course of this history.

- a positions; first, that he should make a clear and satisfactory submission to the king in public, and next, that he should abstain from coming into his presence for some years; which offer he rejected with contempt, and so terrified *Montague*, that, to make his peace, he promised to render him all the service that was in his power¹. The duke proceeding to *Paris*, entered it with his forces; and having remained there for some time, received, by the indefatigable endeavours of *Montague*, such terms as he thought fit to accept, and which perhaps had not been obtained, if the duchess dowager of *Orleans* had not died of grief². But, notwithstanding he gave law in this manner to the king and the princes of his family, he lost that credit which hitherto he had maintained through the greatest part of his kingdom, by the licentious behaviour of his troops, and by the miseries which this civil war occasioned,
- b which was now imputed to his ambition, and the desire he had of ruling all³.

- A SUBMISSION in general words to the king, and a desire of being reconciled to the duke of *Orleans* and his brothers, expressed in the same manner, and supported by a short declaration from the duke himself, that the person who spoke them expressed his sense, was all that could be exacted from the duke of *Burgundy*: but in hopes of rendering real a reconciliation, supported by solemn oaths and promises, not only of the parties, but of the princes and great lords on both sides, the duke of *Burgundy* gave his daughter to the duke of *Vertus*, brother to the duke of *Orleans*, with an annuity of four thousand livres, and a portion of 150,000 crowns in ready money⁴. The whole court returned to *Paris*, where the duke of *Burgundy* finding it extremely difficult to maintain himself by mere dint of superior force, began to practise on the princes, and by a great shew of respect drew over the duke of *Berry*, as, by fair promises of doing him justice, he also did *Charles the Noble*, king of *Navarre*, who had been neglected and hardly treated. The queen, seeing the duke's authority so well supported, practised in her turn on the mind of the dauphin, and engaged him to retire with her to *Melun*⁵. The duke took the occasion of her absence, and a relapse of the king, to seize the lord of *Montague*, master of the king's household, who had the supreme direction of the finances. This man was immensely rich, excessively vain, and universally hated; his process was made, the rack forced him to become an evidence against himself, and, being thus convicted, he was publicly beheaded. At the time of his death he declared his confession to be false, and extorted by pain; vindicated the memory of the duke of *Orleans*, and shewed more firmness than could have been expected from his former course of life⁶. He had two brothers, the one archbishop of *Sens*, and chancellor of *France*, the other bishop of *Paris*; and his daughters were married into great families, but were unable to save him: however, the sentence was afterwards reversed, and his memory vindicated by a judicial process, at the expence of a convent which he had founded; who sold their plate to defray the expences of the suit; a circumstance that deserves perpetual memory⁷. When the king recovered, he was amazed at the fate of his minister; but, being told that he suffered by due course of law, he was, or at least seemed to be satisfied. The queen also, which is still more extraordinary, having a part of his forfeiture, and her brother *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria* another part, was reconciled to the duke of *Burgundy*, tho' *Montague*'s greatest crime was his attachment to her service. The privileges of the city of *Paris* were entirely restored, and particularly the power of the militia; but the inhabitants were become so very wise, that they thanked the king for his favour, and declined accepting it: abundance of unnecessary pensions were suppressed, and several extravagant grants were resumed: the truce with *England* was on neither side observed, and yet no war declared. The city of *Genoa* revolted, and the *French* lost their influence in *Italy*⁸; which had been principally useful in their commerce.

- A GREAT council of the princes and peers being summoned in the king's presence, it was decided therein, that, for the future, when the king was indisposed, all acts of government should run in the name of the dauphin. This made it not only proper but necessary that he should be taken out of the hands of the women, and consequently it grew to be a point of the highest importance who should be intrusted with the care of this young prince, because it was, in effect, to trust them with the government⁹. In point of decency, the king demanded first the advice of his uncle the duke of *Berry*, who, with much warmth, and without the least hesitation, recommended the duke of *Burgundy*, to whose daughter the young prince was contracted; but when, in consequence of his nomination, he saw this office on the point of being conferred upon him by common consent, he grew uneasy, and would have substituted himself; but it was too late, the duke of *Burgundy* was appointed;

Dismal fate of the Sieur Montague, after being many years at the head of the finances.

1409.

The duke of Burgundy assumes, as governor of the dauphin, the direction of the kingdom.

¹ P. DAN.

² GAGU. Histor.

³ Annales de France, P. ÆMIL.

⁴ MEZ. P. HENAULT.

⁵ BOULANV.

⁶ CHALONS, L'Abbe de CHOISY.

⁷ Annales de France.

⁸ MONSTRELET,

P. ÆMIL. DU TIL.

⁹ Ancien. Chronique de France.

and the duke of *Berry*, unable to shew his resentment any other way, retired from *Paris*.^a This very probably gave him little disquiet at the time; but it very soon appeared that this prince was no insignificant enemy. The duke of *Orleans*, who had lately lost his consort, the queen dowager of *England*, quickly repaired to him, and declared his resolution to revenge his father's death. The duke of *Bourbon* joined him also, with several other persons of the highest quality; but, while they meditated the means of restoring the government, the duke of *Bourbon* died. He maintained to the last that excellent character he acquired in his youth. He suffered with the state; but was so far from deriving any thing to himself from the distress of the crown, that he declared the duchy of *Bourbon*, which was his proper hereditary estate and appenage, revertable to the crown, in case a failure should happen of heirs male.^d His piety was sincere, but without any mixture of bigotry; his friendship^b warm and disinterested; yet, in a particular instance, it proved highly beneficial to his family. He protected the lord of *Beaujeu* against the count of *Savoy*; and that lord dying without issue, bequeathed to the duke's posterity *Beaujolois* and the sovereignty of *Dombes*.^c The duke of *Berry*, finding his own strength, published a manifesto, and marched towards *Paris*: the duke of *Burgundy* also assembled an army, and had the king on his side; but when things were on the point of coming to extremities, it was proposed, as the only certain and effectual method of preserving peace, that all the princes should quit the court, and that the king should appoint new ministers of his own choice. The duke of *Burgundy* executed this treaty fairly; and, after taking leave of the king, with great testimonies of duty and respect, withdrew into his own dominions; but the duke of *Orleans*, though often summoned, would never dismiss his troops, but, on the contrary, secretly omitted nothing that could be done to extend his party, and to augment his forces.^f

A. D. 1410.

Resentment between the two factions runs higher, and is productive of greater mischief than ever.

AT *Paris* the king and his people were in great hopes they should, at length, enjoy some degree of quiet; the new ministry were frugal and circumspect; they were sensible, that not only their authority but their safety depended on their behaving as they ought; and, from this principle, they were very attentive to their duty. But, while they were thus employed, the court was alarmed by letters from the duke of *Burgundy*, assuring them that the princes were about to raise new troubles, in order to make themselves masters of the persons of the king and dauphin, and of the government; for which reason he advised the king to make a new governor of *Paris*, and to provide for his own security.^e The inhabitants of *Paris* opposed this, because the duke of *Berry* was still their governor. The king laboured to compose these troubles; the queen undertook to mediate; and the duke of *Orleans* seemed to acquiesce, as the duke of *Burgundy* really did. But the former, when he found himself strong enough, challenged the latter; and, throwing off the mask, declared war.^h The queen also espoused the cause of the duke of *Orleans*; which so enraged the *Parisians*, that they now desired the duke of *Berry* might be removed, and the count *de St. Pol* appointed in his stead.ⁱ They had their desire, and had very soon after reason to repent it. The first act of the count's government was raising a kind of guard, consisting of five hundred butchers, who, having once arms put into their hands, made the whole city tremble. All *France* was now divided into two parties; such as favoured the duke of *Orleans*, who, from his father-in-law (for he was again married) were stiled *Armagnacs*, and those who adhered to the duke of *Burgundy*, who, from one *Caboché*, were stiled *Cabochines*; the former, by way of distinction, wore a white scarf, with what we call a *St. George's cross*, the latter a red one, with the cross of *St. Andrew*.^k The dauphin, on the march of the duke of *Orleans* and his forces towards *Paris*, wrote to the duke of *Burgundy* to come to the assistance of himself and his father, and was quickly obeyed. The duke of *Orleans* advanced towards him with a numerous army; but, when they were on the point of engaging, the duke of *Burgundy* decamped; for many of his *Flemish* lords, having served their time, began to retire: the duke of *Orleans*, laying hold of this opportunity, caused his forces to block up *Paris*, which he must have reduced, if, when it was least expected, the duke of *Burgundy* had not suddenly entered it with a small body of choice troops. This succour soon changed the face of affairs, the people of *Paris* recovered their spirits, and, having joined the duke of *Burgundy*, recovered several places, and at length constrained the duke of *Orleans* to decamp and retire.^l

1411.

Charles puts himself at the head of an army against his uncle and his nephew.

THE king, who had been out of his senses the best part of the time his capital was blocked up, shewed very strong resentment when he recovered, and declared his resolution to punish his uncle and his nephew to the utmost. He was so hurried by his passion, that he took no kind of offence at the duke of *Burgundy's* having demanded succours from *England*, though that step had alarmed the people of *Paris* prodigiously; more especially when they saw, that the best part of the succour he brought consisted in these troops; but they behaved

^a Anonymi de Charles VI. GAGUINI Hist.^d P. ÆMIL.^e J. DE SERRES, LE GENDRE.^f GAGUINI Hist. P. DAN.^h Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.ⁱ Ancien. Chronique de France.^k MEZ. P. DAN.^l GAGUINI Hist. P. HENAUT.^l J. DE SERRES. DU TIL.

- a so well in the field, and observed such an exact discipline in the place, that they were quickly reconciled to them^m. The king, to shew how much he was in earnest, removed the constable *Albret*, and bestowed the sword upon the count *de St. Pol*. He made some other changes of the same nature; and, as soon as an army could be assembled, marched directly into the duchy of *Berry*, with an intent to besiege *Bourges*. The dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon* were there in person, with a good garrison; sent to make their compliments to the king; but, notwithstanding that, defended the place with great vigour. They had some persons near the king, who promised, upon a sally made into his quarter, to seize and put him into their hands; but this scheme miscarried, and their confederates, being discovered, were publicly executedⁿ. The siege still went on; the duke of *Orleans* had no army in the field, yet the duke of *Berry* never stooped to propose any terms of accommodation. The mystery was soon revealed, by the landing of the duke of *Clarence* in *Normandy*, with a complete army from *England*. The princes, who, while they blocked up *Paris*, accused the duke of *Burgundy* of treason, for having accepted a body of six thousand *English* auxiliaries, commanded by the earl of *Arundel*, had notwithstanding concluded a treaty with king *Henry* in the month of *May*, by which they promised to obtain the restitution of all the places he claimed in *France*, and many other things, provided he sent an army to their assistance; and upon this relief, which was now come, they depended^o. In the situation things now stood in, both parties were inclined to peace, but neither would propose it. The count of *Savoy*, who was nearly related to the duke of *Berry*, and who had espoused the duke of *Burgundy's* daughter, drew them out of this difficulty; and, the terms being previously settled, the dauphin had the honour of dictating a peace. The old treaties were renewed, and sworn to afresh; the duke of *Berry* gave up the place, and had it restored to him again; the princes renounced their treaty with *England*, and their league against the duke of *Burgundy*: and, on the other hand, the king reinstated those whom he had removed. It was also agreed, that all names of reproach should be abolished, and great rejoicings were made for this new reconciliation; which was sealed with fresh oaths and protestations on both sides^p. There still remained one great difficulty: this was, how to dispose of the *English* A. D. 1412. *Bourges*. The duke of *Orleans* had sent for them, and he was to pay them; but he had no money; he was constrained to give his brother the count of *Angoulesme*, and other nobles, as hostages, till he could raise it; and the duke of *Clarence*, having accepted these, directed his march to *Guienne*. By this time, or at least soon after, *Henry* the fourth had breathed his last, and his son *Henry* the fifth was seated in the throne^q.
- HOWEVER short the struggle may be, the miseries of a civil war are long felt; the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* returned with the king to *Paris*, and seeing clearly, that a war with *England* was likely to ensue, for which they were totally unprovided in all respects, they called, or advised the king to call, an assembly of the states, which had no other effect, than to learn from them the disagreeable news, that the whole nation was so totally exhausted, and at the same time so generally dissatisfied, that in this way they had nothing to expect^r. The assembly being dismissed, *Lewis* dauphin of *France*, a very high-spirited young prince, resolved to take the actual as well as nominal direction of affairs upon himself; and, having some persons about him of good sense, and it is not improbable of good intentions, began to make various regulations, which had an air of public spirit. This, like all the attempts of reformation during the present reign, commenced with the persecution of those who had been employed in the finances, and of whom the states had loudly complained^s. At the head of these was *Pierre*, or *Peter des Effards*, the creature of the duke of *Burgundy*, who had been raised to the supreme direction of the finances by the destruction and death of *Montague*. *Effards*, finding himself pressed for two millions of crowns, produced to the dauphin the duke of *Burgundy's* receipts, and at the same time acquainted him, that the duke had formed a design of assassinating all the princes of the house of *Orleans*, or, as others report, the three dukes of *Berry*, *Orleans*, and *Bourbon*^t. This discovery restored him to the dauphin's good graces, who thereupon made use of him to secure the city of *Paris*; which he was to do by taking possession of the *Bastile* with a body of men that might be depended upon. *Effards* was so cautious, that he would take no step without the order of the duke of *Burgundy* as well as of the dauphin; and the latter applying to the former for such an order, he presently divined the truth, but signed it at the same time, as if he had not had the least suspicion^u.
- f THE affair being conducted with great silence and secrecy, *Effards* became master of the fortress without the least disturbance; but he was scarce master of it, before he found it

^m JUVENAL DES URSINS, GAQUIN. Hist. Charles VI. MEZ.

ⁿ Annales de France, P. ÆMIL.

^o Hist. Anonym. de

DES URSINS. DUPL. DU TILLET.

^p P. ÆMIL. CHALONS.

^q JUVENAL

^r DUP. CHALONS. BOULAN.

^s MEZ. P. DAN.

^t Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^u Who, at length is too hard for them, and

brings back
the duke of
Orleans and
his friends.

invested by an infinite croud of people, with the band of butchers at their head, under the a
command of *Simon de Caboche*, and *John de Troye*, a surgeon. These were quickly after
joined by two knights, who were declared partizans of the duke of *Burgundy*; which made
it evident enough from whence the storm came. The dauphin, therefore, was forced to
have recourse to that prince to allay it; and he, pretending to use his influence on the people
on his behalf, persuaded *Pierre de Effards* to surrender; to whom he gave assurances of
friendship and protection, till he came to the scaffold, where, notwithstanding this usage,
he behaved with great decency and dignity, without uttering any complaints but of himself,
for having, through a principle of ambition, been instrumental in *Montague's* death^w. The
same ruffians surrounded and attacked the palace, in which the dauphin resided, tore several
of his friends and servants from his presence, amongst whom was his uncle *Lewis of Bavaria*, b
and put one of them, *James de la Riviere*, his chamberlain, to death. The same insolent
rabble constrained the king, who was now in his senses, with the dauphin, the dukes of
Berry and *Burgundy*, to go to the parliament, and register edicts of their framing; and so low
were they fallen, that, either to make their court to, or for fear of, the populace, they wore white
hoods^x. On this occasion, *Arnold de Corbie*, chancellor of *France*, was deposed, and several
other persons of rank, who were replaced as these reformers thought fit. *Helion de Jaqueville*,
whom they had made captain of *Paris*, hearing fiddles one evening in the dauphin's apart-
ment, broke in, with a croud of his attendants, and, though the duke of *Burgundy* was
present, treated him, and those about him, with the utmost indignity, and even put them
in danger of their lives, though the duke pretended all the time to pacify them, and often c
whispered the dauphin, that he should not let the people see he was afraid^y. It is no wonder
that prince should think a life like this insupportable, or endeavour at all events to free him-
self. The method he took was to write in his father's name, and with his consent, to the
duke of *Orleans*; who, communicating his letter to the rest of the princes, they speedily
assembled a sufficient force, and advanced towards *Paris*. The king declared his inclination
to peace; conferences were, for this purpose, set on foot; and *John Juvenal des Ursins*, advo-
cate general, having disposed the better sort of people in *Paris* to exert themselves, the
citizens declared for peace. The *Cabochins* endeavoured to revive the old spirit; but it was
too late, and some of them being slain, the rest quitted the city, and withdrew into d
Flanders, whither they were quickly followed by the duke of *Burgundy*; who, having failed
in an attempt he made to seize the king while he was hunting, and the dauphin having
frighted him in his turn, thought it most convenient for him to retire^z.

The duke of
Burgundy sets
on foot fresh
intrigues, in
order to reco-
ver the admi-
nistration.

Upon this revolution, the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Bar*, who were both prisoners, recovered
their liberty; the former was made governor of the *Bastile*, and the latter of the tower
of the *Louvre*. The rest of the princes repaired speedily to *Paris*; where they were well
received, and the duke of *Burgundy* as universally condemned as he had been lately admired.
This the duke of *Anjou*, called by courtesy king of the *Sicilies*, carried so far, as to send
him back his daughter, whom he had contracted to the prince his son; which created an
irreconcilable hatred between the two families^a. In the mean time a treaty of marriage c
was set on foot between *Henry* the fifth of *England*, and the king's daughter the princess
Katherine, which was managed, on one side, by the duke of *York*, and, on the other,
by the princes lately returned to court; but, for the present, this produced nothing more
than a truce. Before the close of the year came ambassadors from the duke of *Burgundy*,
to make his excuses to the king for quitting *Paris* in so abrupt a manner, and to assure him
of his duty and submission^b. The true design of the embassy, however, was to know the
disposition of the courtiers and citizens, and to encourage and keep up the spirit of his friends;
which he did by assuring them, not only there but in several other great towns, that he was
raising forces secretly, in order to come to the deliverance of the king and dauphin; the
latter having written him, as he affirmed, letters, in very strong terms, representing the
confinement and distress in which they were, and importuning him, without delay, and f
without paying any respect to letters of another tenor that he might receive from them, to
assemble an army, and come to their assistance^c. This had its effect; his friends believed all
that he said, while those of the duke of *Orleans* and the princes, and even the princes them-
selves, knew not well what to think with respect to his assertions, or what measures to take to
prevent his bringing about another change, as sudden as that which themselves had effected^d.

Charles puts
himself at the
head of an
army, and

As the king was at this time indisposed, the queen called a great council, in which the
dauphin, the princes of the blood, the great lords, and particularly the count *de Armagnac*,
the chancellor of *France*, the heads of the university, which in those days had great weight,

^w Annales de France. MONSTRELET. ^x JUVENAL DES URSINS. Anonym. de Charles VI. ^y GAGU.
Hist. MEZ. P. HENAUULT. ^z Hist. Anonym de Charles VI. ^a Annales de France. ^b Ancien.
Chronique de France. ^c Annales de France. DU TIL. ^d JUVENAL DES URSINS. GAGU. Hist.

- a and some of the principal citizens of *Paris*, were present. The first step that was taken was to impose an oath of secrecy; and then the chancellor, in a long speech, laid open the misfortunes of the state; insisted on the dauphin's youth, the vivacity of his spirit, his proneness to pleasure, his neglect of business, and the facility with which he was misled by some idle young men who were about him. The dauphin was surprised, and on the point of shewing his anger, when the princes and great lords, in their turns, spoke to the same purpose, and declared, that the safety of the state depended upon some speedy and effectual remedy. This was presently applied, by removing those from about him who were suspected, and especially one who was believed to have prevailed on him to write to the duke of *Burgundy*^c. The dauphin was forced to acquiesce, to write letters, requiring the duke to lay down his arms, and others to the principal towns in the kingdom, denying and disavowing the facts contained in the duke of *Burgundy*'s manifesto. The king, recovering, acted with still greater warmth; the university condemned the apology of Dr. *John Petit* for the murder of the duke of *Orleans*, as full of heretical and detestable doctrine. The duke of *Berry*, as governor of *Paris*, disposed every thing in a proper manner for its defence, by the advice of the count *de Armagnac*, father-in-law to the duke of *Orleans*. It was by his persuasion that the better sort of people took arms and did duty, and by his persuasion the princes of the blood, in their turns, went their rounds every night. The dauphin, to clear himself from all suspicion, was remarkably active and steady. The duke of *Burgundy* proceeded in his own way; advanced with a great army; made himself master of *Compiègne* and *Soissons*; had *St. Denis* betrayed to him, and brought his army within sight of *Paris*. He next sent a herald to acquaint the citizens, that, at the express desire of the king and dauphin, he was come to deliver them out of a shameful confinement, and therefore demanded admittance. The count *de Armagnac* received the message with contempt, and sent the herald back without an answer. The duke approached the gates with his army in order of battle; but finding every thing in perfect order, and not the least tumult or confusion, though he continued there some hours, withdrew, and soon after retired into his own territories^d. The king then published a manifesto; in which, beginning with the murder of his brother, he represented him as the great author of the calamities of *France*, declared him a public enemy, and exhorted all his good subjects to treat him in that light. A potent army being quickly formed, the king, accompanied by the dauphin, put himself at the head of it, reduced *Compiègne* by capitulation, and, having taken *Soissons* by assault, caused two persons of distinction, who defended it, to be beheaded. He proceeded from thence into *Artois*, where he was met by the duke of *Brabant* and the countess of *Hainault*, brother and sister to the duke of *Burgundy*; who interceded for him, and assured the king, that he desired nothing more than to come and justify himself to his majesty. The king answered, with great firmness, if that be all, let him come with a proper train; if he has any thing to demand we are ready to do him justice; if he will confess his errors, and demand pardon, he shall have it^e. The king then wrote to the states of *Flanders*, to know whether they meant to make the quarrel of their count their own; upon which they sent deputies, who declared roundly, that, whatever conduct the duke of *Burgundy*, their count, thought fit to pursue, they would behave themselves as his majesty's good subjects. The duke of *Burgundy*, upon this, sent A. D. 1414. the duke of *Brabant*, and the countess of *Hainault*, with full powers to make peace, which was signed on the sixteenth of *October*, upon the king's terms. The dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, with the archbishop of *Sens*, refused to subscribe; alleging they had never broke the former peace, which was the basis of this; but the dauphin, sensible of his own power, said, "My lords, if you mean to keep the peace, you must subscribe;" which they did, though with a bad grace. The king returned in triumph to *Paris*, and his subjects once more entertained hopes of seeing the public tranquillity settled on a solid basis^f.
- THERE had been, ever since the accession of *Henry* the fifth, a kind of negotiation between *Henry* V. and the two crowns for a general peace; in which, without doubt, the *French* were in earnest. *Henry*'s ambassadors, who were many, and some of them persons of the first quality in the kingdom, expressed the like disposition in very strong terms; but, from the propositions they made, one might be led to suspect their sincerity; for having first demanded the crown of *France*, and afterwards many vast concessions, they at length stuck to three points^g. The first was the entire restitution of all that was stipulated by the treaty of *Bretigny*, which, through this whole negotiation, was stiled the great treaty; next a moiety of the county of *Provence*; and lastly, what was still remaining of king *John*'s ransom; which points once adjusted, the king would treat of a marriage with the princess *Katherine*, then about fourteen, provided he might be assured of having with her a round million. The *French* court was exceedingly

^c J. DE SERRES. LE GENDRE.^f GAG. Hist.

DUPL.

^g MONSTR. Hist. Anonym. de CharlesVI. ^h Annales de France.

JUV. DES URSINS.

GAG. Hist.

ⁱ Ancien. Chronique de France.^k Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

embarrassed, as perceiving plainly, that the *English* were well apprised of the distracted state a of their affairs; and therefore they offered great cessions, together with the princess *Katherine*, and a fortune of six hundred thousand crowns¹. The *English* ministers acknowledged they had no power to conclude a marriage, and desired to return home by way of *Honflur*, which was granted them. They were presently followed by a splendid embassy from *France*, at the head of which was the archbishop of *Bourges*, who gradually advanced the fortune to within fifty thousand crowns of what had been demanded; but, perceiving that the *English* ministers only amused him, as their ambassador had been amused at *Paris*, and that they were on the point of invading *France*, he demanded an audience of leave, and returned with his colleagues^m. This prelate acquainted the king, that the parliament, influenced by the clergy, had embarked the *English* monarch in a war to preserve their own power and possession; that there was no doubt b to be made of his reviving his claim to the kingdom, and very great reason to believe, that the duke of *Burgundy* still held a correspondence in *England*. Before any great use could be made of this intelligence, *Henry*, embarking with a potent army at *Southampton*, landed in *Normandy*, after beating a *French* squadron, and invested *Harfleur*, at the mouth of the river *Seine*ⁿ. It is highly probable the *French* ministers had depended upon a party they had in *England*, at the head of which was *Richard* earl of *Cambridge*, the lord treasurer *Scroop*, and Sir *Thomas Grey*: most of our historians say, that their design was to kill the king; but it is more probable, that they meant to carry off a part of the army, and to proclaim the right heir of *Richard* the second; for the support of which project they had stipulated with the court of *France* an advance of a million of livres; but, the whole business being discovered, the c *French* saved their money, and the persons engaged in this plot lost their heads^o.

He makes a descent in *Normandy*, takes *Harfleur*, and marches toward *Calais*. The constable d'Albret, who commanded in *Normandy*, had a considerable army under his command, in the neighbourhood of *Rouen*, with which he did nothing considerable; yet, the garrison of *Harfleur* defended themselves with great courage and spirit, but were at length compelled to capitulate, and to agree, that, in case they were not relieved, they would render the place on the 18th of *September*; but when the day came, they very imprudently endeavoured to elude the promise they had made, which so provoked *Henry*, that he caused a general attack to be made, carried the place sword in hand, reserved a few persons of distinction prisoners, put the rest to the sword, and gave the town to be pillaged by his army^p. His satisfaction at this success was very much qualified by the miserable condition in d which he found his army, harassed and diminished in a moist climate and marshy soil, the flux prevailing amongst them, the season advanced, and the weather so bad, that the best part of his fleet was retired into *Calais* road. In these circumstances he took a resolution of marching thither by land; the little opposition he had hitherto received persuaded him that he should meet with nothing to impede him^q. He quickly discovered his mistake; for the king, the dauphin, and the rest of the princes of the blood, having taken the field, he saw his forces in a manner surrounded. He passed, however, the river *Sonne*, where he found it fordable; but, when he was on the other side, he discovered the *French* army in the plain near the village of *Agincourt*^r. The king being ill, the dauphin and the duke of *Berry* were forced to remain with him; so that the command devolved upon the constable, who made e but an indifferent choice of the field of battle, which was, in truth, little better than a quagmire; but he took his measures to hinder the enemy's march so effectually, and king *Henry* found the dispute so very unequal, that he had recourse to a negotiation, in which he offered to restore *Harfleur*, and to pay the expences of the war, provided he was allowed a free passage to *Calais*. The constable, the marshal de *Beucicaut*, and most of the old officers, were for accepting this offer; which, they said, was gaining a victory without blood: but the young nobility, particularly the dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon*, were of another opinion, and the herald was sent back without answer^s.

Henry forced by the French to fight, gains a complete victory at *Agincourt*. THE constable, however, would not fight till he had the king's express orders, who was by this time recovered. His army consisted of about sixty thousand men, though some f writers make them double that number. The *English* were about twenty-two thousand, of whom near one half had the flux. On the 25th of *October*, about nine in the morning, the armies were in sight; the *English* had their archers in the center, the gens d'arms on their right, and the infantry on their left, all perfectly well posted, and twelve hundred choice archers in different ambuscades^t. The army of *France* had so many dukes, counts, and great lords, who were above being commanded, that all was in confusion from the very beginning. To shew that their courage was equal to their rank, they were all in the first line; so that the bulk of the army was without any officers of distinction. They marched pre-

¹ JUV. DES URSINS. T. DE ELMHAM. THO. WALSINGHAM. ^m Annales de France. ⁿ GAGU. Hist. BOULAN. ^o T. DE ELMHAM Act. Pub. tom. viii. ^p Ancien. Chron. de France. ^q MONSTR. JUV. DES URSINS. ^r Annales de France. Hist. Anonym. de Charles V. ^s T. DE ELMHAM. LE GEND. ^t DU TILLET. J. DE SERRES.

- a cipitately as to an assured victory; whereas the *English* advanced very slowly, and discharged such flights of arrows as did great execution. When they drew near, the archers, perceiving they were out of breath, charged them with great vigour, broke them in less than half an hour, and then fell upon the main body, which made very little resistance, as having no body of consequence to command them. *Henry*, with his gens d'arms, put an end to the dispute, bearing down such separate corps as here and there endeavoured to remain firm. On the part of the *English*, fell the duke of *York*, uncle to the king, very few persons of distinction besides, and about seventeen hundred private men; on the other side, the constable, the admiral, the duke of *Alençon*, the duke of *Brabant*, the count of *Nevers*, both brothers to the duke of *Burgundy*, three princes of the house of *Bar*, the count de *Vaudemont*, brother to the duke of *Lorraine*, the archbishop of *Sens*, one hundred and twenty lords carrying banners, eight thousand gentlemen of family, and about two thousand private men. There were likewise fourteen thousand prisoners, and amongst these the dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the counts of *Eu*, *Vendosme*, and *Richmond*, the marshal de *Boucicaut*, and about two thousand knights. The news of this defeat being carried to *Rouen*, amazed the king and those who were about him. The surprize was still greater at *Paris*, from an apprehension that the duke of *Burgundy* would return into *France* with an army. The duke de *Bretagne*, with a great body of troops, joined the poor remains of the *French* army within fifteen miles of the field of battle; and if, without loss of time, they had attacked *Henry* again, they might very probably have repaired the mischief; but, no attempt of this sort being made, he arrived safely at *Calais*, where he began instantly to take measures for the next campaign.

- In the mean time the duke of *Burgundy* acted a double, or at least a perplexed part; he sent *Henry* a defiance for the death of his brother the duke of *Brabant*, at the same time he marched, with a great body of cavalry, towards *Paris*; which augmented the public confusion. He sent deputies to desire an audience of the king, who were to see in what situation the court stood, which was now returned to *Paris*; they were haughtily treated by the dauphin, who charged them to command their master, in his name, to disband; but, before their departure, the dauphin was seized with a dysentery, of which he died in a few days, not without suspicion. He was about nineteen, tall, robust, and active in his person; eager and desirous of having a great measure of power, though at the same time he hated business; much given to wine and women, and, if not the victim of his father-in-law, that of his own vices. The queen, to support herself, and to secure the public tranquillity, sent for the count of *Armagnac*, to whom, on his arrival at *Paris*, the king gave the sword and the envied title of constable of *France*, and never was it bestowed on one more able to discharge it.

- In critical conjunctures things seldom fail of taking a great turn, when men of real abilities are called to employments, to which those employments are suited. The count de *Armagnac* had so deep a judgment, so quick a penetration, and was withal so active and so vigilant, that, as it were in an instant, he brought order out of confusion, obliged the duke of *Burgundy* to retire into his own territories, and so harrassed his army in his retreat, as to render him contemptible even in the sight of the people of *Paris*. In the king's lucid intervals, the constable gave him so true an insight into his affairs, made him comprehend so clearly how they might be restored, and so fully convinced him of his own fidelity, that he made him superintendant of the finances; so that, in effect, the whole power civil and military was lodged in his hands. He acted so resolutely, that he broke intirely the faction of *Burgundy* in *Paris*, executed several of the duke's emissaries, purged the university, and dissolved such of the corporations as were devoted to his interest. He also made a tour into *Normandy*, where he gained some advantages over the earl of *Dorset*, caused *Harfleur* to be blocked up by sea; but the *Genoese* vessels, being but half-manned, were beaten by the *English*, and the place relieved. The emperor *Sigismund* made a tour to *Paris*, in order to engage the king to concur in the measures taken in the council of *Constance* to put an end to the schism, by deposing all the three popes, *Gregory* the seventh, *Benedict* the thirteenth, and *John* the twenty-third; he was received with all possible marks of respect, and treated, during his stay, with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem, in hopes that, by his influence, a peace might be concluded with *England*; but taking offence because he was not allowed to act as a sovereign while in the *French* dominions, he made a short turn, and, instead of remaining a mediator, became the ally of *Henry* the fifth, and sent his old friend *Charles* a letter of defiance. But what embarrassed the court

^a MONSTR.

^w Annales de France. T. DE ELMHAM.

^x MONSTR.

^y T. DE ELMHAM.

^z Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^a Annales de France

^b JUV. DES URSINS.

^c Ancien.

Chron. de France.

^d JUV. DES URSINS.

^e MONSTR.

A. D. 1416. most was the behaviour of *John* duke of *Touraine*, who, by the death of his brother, was become dauphin. He was at this time in *Hainault*, where he married *Jaqueline* the daughter and heiress of the count, who afterwards espoused the duke of *Bedford*^f. He was about eighteen, and, being either persuaded or awed by the count of *Hainault*, entered into the interests of the duke of *Burgundy*, and came with his father-in-law, escorted by a body of troops; but refused to go to *Paris*, to pay his duty to his father, unless the duke of *Burgundy* was recalled; or rather the count of *Hainault* made his declaration, in his name, to the queen^g.

By his means
the queen is
banished, who
demands the re-
turn upon the pro-
tection of the
duke of Bur-
gundy.

1417.

A general spi-
rit of falsehood
and deceit pre-
vails through
all courts at
this period,
and destroys all
credit.

AT his return from *Paris*, where he was very near being arrested, to *Compiègne*, the count of *Hainault* found the dauphin dying. This young prince had an imposthume in his ear; which, breaking inwardly, had choked him. The faction of *Burgundy*, being able to make no more use of him living, charged his death upon the constable *de Armagnac*, without either proof or probability. The constable, to pay them in their own coin, asserted, that the emissaries of the duke of *Burgundy* had poisoned the dauphin *Lewis*^h. But the duke, seeing that stories of this kind made no lasting impression, digested all the grievances of the nation into a kind of manifesto. This he sent to most of the great towns in the kingdom, inviting them to join with him in a league for the public good; which had the greater effect, as the dukes of *Berry* and *Anjou* were lately dead, and the rest of the princes of the blood prisoners in *England*ⁱ; but, after all, perhaps his schemes had failed, if, in the midst of these miseries and misfortunes, there had not happened a new division at court^k. The dauphin, entirely governed by the constable, consented to seize great quantities of plate and jewels, which the queen his mother had deposited in various convents and churches, and applied it for the public service. The queen, in high discontent, retired to *Vincennes*; where she kept a very gay splendid court, the expence of which little suited the state of the kingdom, or the diversions which were such as could not be reconciled either to the dignity of her rank or the modesty of her sex^l. The constable, an austere man, could not see his master thus dishonoured in silence; he mentioned it to him therefore, and the king, making a tour to *Vincennes*, received such satisfaction from his enquiries, that he caused one of her gallants to be put to death, and banished her and her daughter *Katherine* to *Tours*^m. *Henry* the fifth, landing with a new army in *Normandy*, conquered a great part of that province, the constable having been obliged to recal the greatest part of the troops from thence, in order to oppose them to the duke of *Burgundy*; whom he baffled in various attempts, and might probably have obliged to retire once more into his own dominions, if the queen had not, forgetting her rank, her duty, and her character, to gratify her revenge, written to him, and demanded his protectionⁿ. In this expedition he was fortunate; he delivered her from her captivity, and, in return, she co-operated with him for the destruction of the king and kingdom. In order to this she republished an old edict, by which, in the minority of her eldest son, the king had declared her regent; of which she now resumed the title and authority. She fixed the seat of her government at *Troye*, where she created a new chancellor, a new parliament, and formed a new great seal. She gave the title of constable of *France* to the duke of *Lorraine*, declaring the count *de Armagnac* unworthy of that dignity; but, though she was bountiful in bestowing titles, yet all the power was reserved to the duke of *Burgundy*, who made a very bold attempt to surprise *Paris*; which, though very well concerted, did not succeed^o.

IT would require a volume of no inconsiderable size to explain all the dark and insidious practices that were at this time carried on, and which plainly demonstrate, that the extreme misery brought on the *French* nation was owing to nothing but the corruption of their manners; which having, on the one hand, introduced a luxury unknown to former times, excited, on the other, a passion for wealth and power, which quickly stifled all principle^p. Hence the very end of negotiating was lost; for instead of seeking to put a stop to prevent disputes, by an amicable and equitable decision, the parties aimed only at deceiving each other, and kept faith no longer than they thought it their interest to keep it. The duke of *Burgundy* had, by letters patent under his hand and seal, acknowledged *Henry* the fifth for the lawful owner of the *French* crown, though certainly he never intended to set it on his head^q. The *French* princes were so uneasy at their imprisonment, and saw so little hopes of being delivered, that they likewise entered into a negotiation with *Henry*, the basis of which was their beginning to have a good opinion of his title, and the object of it procuring leave for the duke of *Bourbon* to go to *France*, there to negotiate a peace upon the king's terms; and, if that could not be brought about, then to acknowledge his title, and do homage to him as their lawful prince^r. The duke went, and failed; but at his return, himself and the rest of the princes refused to perform their engagements, for which they were all closely imprisoned,

^f MEZ. ^g P. ÆMIL. LE GEND. ^h GAG. Hist. J. DE SERRES. ⁱ Annales de France.
^k P. ÆMIL. DU TILLET. ^l DUPLEIX. ^m Annales de France. ⁿ J. DE SERRES. DUPLEIX.
^o P. ÆMIL. MEZ. ^p Ancien. Chronique de France. ^q T. DE ELHAM. ^r DU TILLET.

- a and *Henry*, against his will, was forced to depend upon his sword. This reluctance of his did not at all proceed from his diffidence of beating the *French* army, of which, in the present state of things, he was in a manner sure; but conquest was not to be obtained but by a numerous army, and he was already so effectually undone by the expence, that he had been forced to pawn his crown and all his jewels to furnish the necessary supplies for the next campaign; and this, notwithstanding he had received from his subjects all that it was in their power to give^s. In the mean time a negociation had been set on foot for reconciling the queen and the dauphin's party in *France*; in which such difficulties occurred, that the ministers employed on both sides agreed to leave the terms to be prescribed by the legates of pope *Martin* the fifth; and their decree was, that the king should devolve his authority on the
- b dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy* jointly, to which both parties willingly agreed; yet this did not produce a peace; for the constable *de Armagnac*, though he could not open the eyes of the dauphin, prevailed upon the chancellor to declare that he would not put the seal to such a treaty^t. For this he is highly blamed by most of the *French* historians, as if he had manifestly sacrificed the public to his private interest; but iure, if they had attended to his reason, they could scarce have done him this injustice; for he alleged, that he could not think of delivering the royal person and power into the hands of one who had made a treaty against both; which, being denied by the duke of *Burgundy*, was the cause that the writers of those times censured the constable, as supposing that he invented this as a pretence; but, since we are now sure of the matter of fact, we are certainly better judges of that point than they,
- c and it is but just, that we should speak of things as the light of history directs us^u.

- THE constable, perceiving that not only the dauphin but the people were displeased, judged it necessary, towards keeping up their spirits, to send out part of his forces to recover *Mont-heri* and *Marcouffi*, which they performed; but nevertheless this success proved his destruction. There was one *Perrinet le Clerc*, the son of an ironmonger, who had been ill-treated by the domestics of one of the king's counsellors, of which he had complained, without being able to obtain redress: his father, in right of his post in the militia, had the keys of the gate of *St. Germain*, which, to gratify his revenge, the young man stole from under his head when asleep, opened that gate, and admitted eight hundred of the *Burgundians*, under the command of the lord *Lisle-Adam*, on *Saturday* the twenty-eighth of *May*. The very day after
- d the populace, in spite of the constable and the chancellor, had proclaimed peace^v. The *Burgundians* were quickly joined by several thousands of low people, who surprised the chancellor, several prelates, and at length the constable, who was discovered by a mason, to whose house he fled for shelter; and these, together with two archbishops, they conducted to prison. But a few days after, that they might have an opportunity to plunder, they took arms again, forced the prison doors, and murdered the greatest part of them, by throwing them from the top of the edifice upon their companions pikes, and afterwards dragged the bodies of the constable and the chancellor *de Marie* about the streets^x. The duke of *Burgundy* returned soon after with the queen, and the king, either through weakness or fear, received them very kindly. It was not long before the duke found himself under great difficulties from the very
- e spirit which, in so unlooked-for a manner, put him in possession of the capital, the people assuming a liberty of doing what they pleased, which at first he durst not prevent. This was carried to so great a height, that the common hangman walked about the city in his robes; and, when they had a mind to plunder any rich family, those about him cried they were *Armagnacs*; upon which he dispatched the master of the house, and perhaps his sons, and the people took all that they had. This executioner had the folly to go to the duke of *Burgundy's* palace, and the impudence to shake him by the hand; but the duke, sending the best part of the city troops to recover the towns the constable had taken, laid hold of this opportunity to hang the hangman; and, by bringing in a body of his own troops, kept the people in better order^y. He would have treated with the dauphin, whom his mother earnestly invited back
- f to *Paris*; but that prince was either not inclined, or was persuaded by those about him not to trust her. He fixed himself therefore at *Poitiers*, where he assembled the remains of the parliament of *Paris*, appointed a new chancellor, besieged and took *Tours*, with many other places.

WHILE these strange adventures happened in *France*, king *Henry* reduced the greatest part of *Normandy*, but offered at the same time to treat with the dauphin and with the duke of *Burgundy*, though both these treaties were mere amusements; the king telling the pope's legate, that he might see the finger of God in the chastisement of *France*; and that having himself a good title to the crown, Providence seemed to have opened him a fair path to the

^s P. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE. ^t Ancien. Chronique de France. ^u JUVENAL DES URSINES. ^v Annales de France, P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ^x MONSTRELET, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. J. DE SERRES. ^y Ancien. Chronique de France,

possession of it ^a. In all these treaties, therefore, there was nothing of sincerity on any side; the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy* vainly deluded themselves with the hopes of gaining *Henry* as an ally; whereas the king of *England* meant to close with neither, but, by treating with both at a time, to thrust himself like a wedge between them, and thereby hinder their coalition, which was the single event he had to fear. It may suffice, therefore, to say, that, though on the part of the duke of *Burgundy* the treaty was managed by the queen in person, who carried with her the princess *Katherine*, to whose beauty the king was far from being insensible, yet he was so much a hero and a politician, that in spite of his passion his interest prevailed; so that, notwithstanding many propositions were made, they separated without coming to any conclusion ^a. *Henry*, during the time of this treaty, remained at *Mante*, and the *French* court at *Pontoise*, the conferences being held at a place at a convenient distance ^b between these two towns, and terminated in the beginning of the month of *May*, very little to the satisfaction of the duke of *Burgundy*, who saw plainly, that he began to lose his interest with the *French*, and that at the same time he was less considered by the *English*. A circumstance that led him to repent the contributing as he had done to their invasion and success ^b.

In this confusion the dauphin enters into a treaty with the duke of Burgundy;

THE dauphin, alarmed at his mother's treaty with the king of *England*, and knowing to how great a degree he was hated by her, resolved, if possible, to accommodate matters with the duke of *Burgundy*, as the most effectual means to repel the *English*, or at least to procure somewhat milder terms. He sent *Tannegui du Chastel*, who had been governor of the bastile, and who (taking him out of bed in his shirt) had preserved him the night that *Paris* was surprised, to *Pontoise*, to propose an interview with the duke, which was brought about through the persuasion of madam *Giac*, of whom the duke was passionately fond ^c. This interview was held the eleventh of *July*, at *Souilli-le-Fort*, a league from *Melun*, with great marks of esteem and tenderness on both sides, and with the most profound submission on the part of the duke of *Burgundy*. They swore perpetual friendship and unity on a cross, presented by the bishop of *Laon*; and, at parting, agreed on another conference at *Montereau-Faut-Yonne* ^d. *Henry* was quickly apprised of this, and that both parties had agreed to carry on the war against him with vigour, which seemed to be a most perfidious act in the duke of *Burgundy*, considering the terms on which he stood with that monarch; yet, in reality, the king of *England* had no great reason to complain, since in treating with the dauphin he had offered to join with him in the conquest of *Flanders*, provided he might retain the sovereignty after it was reduced; with which proposition the dauphin acquainted him in their interview ^e. By way of revenge, the king sent a strong detachment of his forces to surprize *Pontoise*, where the marshal *Lisle-Adam* commanded, who made his escape, with some difficulty, in his shirt, together with six thousand men, the greatest part of them in the same condition. The news of this greatly qualified the joy which the people of *Paris* had expressed upon proclaiming the peace, and with good reason, for the *English* took all the treasure, equipage, and baggage, of the court in that place, to the value, as it was computed, of two millions ^f. In *Lower Normandy* the forces of the dauphin recovered several places; and in a brisk action at *Mortain* were victorious, and killed the *English* about four hundred men, the duke of *Burgundy* remaining all this time in a state of confusion and inactivity, as if he knew not which side to take ^e.

The dauphin is murdered by his connivance at least, if not command, at a conference at Montereau

IN this situation the dauphin sent to put him in mind of his appointment, and of the necessity of their conferring together at *Montereau*. The duke went thither unwillingly, and by the persuasion of his mistress ^g. The conference was upon a bridge, with ten persons of confidence on a side. The duke, on the approach of the dauphin, bent his knee, and in that action threw his sword too far behind him; upon this he laid his hand on it to pull it right, on which *Tannegui du Chastel*, who had been a domestic to the duke of *Orleans*, cried with a stern voice, "It is time," and immediately, with his pole ax, cut off the duke's chin as he was kneeling, and, before he was able to rise, or put himself in a posture of defence, he was dispatched by several mortal wounds. *Noailles*, who was the nearest him of any of his own party, drawing his dagger, was killed upon the spot; eight more of his friends secured, and only *Montague*, by leaping the barriers, which was thought impossible, made his escape. This tragedy was acted on the tenth of *September* ^h. Most writers say it was in the dauphin's presence; others, that two of his own people withdrew him before the duke was killed: certain it is, that he disavowed it by a manifesto, and as certain that this was generally believed. At *Paris* they expressed the utmost horror and indignation; and the queen's chancellor, for there were now double officers of every denomination, prevailed to have the first

^a Annales de France, JUVENAL DES URSINS, P. DANIEL.

WALSINGHAM.

^b Ancien. Chronique de France.

Chron. de France, MONSTREL.

P. DANIEL.

^c P. ÉMIL. J. DE SERRES.

^d Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. THOM.

^e Annales de France, P. VIRG.

^f Ancien.

^g Act. Pub. tom. ix. T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti.

^h MEZERAY.

ⁱ Annales de France, JUVENAL DES URSINS.

a president sent to the new duke, to condole; in the name of the king, the queen, and the city of *Paris*, on the loss of his father ¹(G). On the seventeenth of *October* a treaty of union was signed, by deputies from several great cities, at *Arras*, for revenging his death; and on the second of *December* a truce, between the kings of *France* and *England*, under the mediation of the duke of *Burgundy*, that all parties might act with the greater vigour against the common enemy, that is, against the dauphin ^k.

In the spring of the succeeding year, the court being at *Troyes*, the duke of *Burgundy* came thither with a numerous attendance, and was received with the greatest kindness and respect; soon after came the king of *England*, attended by his brothers the dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, a great number of *English* lords, and an escorte of sixteen hundred men; and after a few days spent in visits and ceremony, proceeded to ratify on the twenty-first of *May* a treaty, which had been settled the preceding year at *Arras*, by which the whole constitution of *France* was overturned ^l. This treaty contains thirty-one articles; the chief of which were, that *Henry* should espouse madame *Katherine* of *France*; that after the death of *Charles* he should succeed him as his next heir; that, in the mean time, he should exercise the regal power, but with the stile and title only of regent and heir of *France*; that, in succeeding times, the realms of *France* and *England* should be governed by the same person, but that both nations should live according to their own laws ^m. After the ratification by *Charles*, his queen, the duke of *Burgundy*, and a multitude of great lords, who swore fealty to *Henry* and his heirs, he was contracted to the princess *Katherine*, whom he espoused on the second of *June*; and then the treaty being approved by the parliament, was proclaimed in most of the great towns, and the dauphin declared an enemy to the state, and incapable of the succession ⁿ.

HENRY, king of *England*, and heir of *France*, judging rightly that, as his title was acquired, so it must be supported by force, instead of wasting his time in celebrating his marriage with jousts and tournaments, to which the *French* lords were inclined, marched the very next day to reduce *Sens*, which submitted without any resistance. The king, having made his entry, turned to the archbishop, whom the dauphin, for his attachment to the duke of *Burgundy*, had expelled, and who performed the ceremony of the king's marriage, and made him the following compliment: "We are now even, my friend; yesterday you gave me a wife, and to day I restore yours ^o." He proceeded to *Montereau*, which was reduced with like facility; when the duke of *Burgundy* finding his father's corpse interred in his cloaths, caused it to be put in a lead coffin, embalmed, and sent to *Dijon*: the army next besieged *Melun*, which was defended with great spirit and bravery for four months, and then surrendered by capitulation, which the *French* writers say was not exactly kept ^p. The season being pretty far advanced, the two kings returned to *Paris*; where, notwithstanding they were in a very miserable and starving condition, the inhabitants were forced to exhaust themselves in

¹ DUPLEIX, J. DE SERRES.

^k Ancien. Chron. de France, P. ÆMIL.

^l T. LIVII, vita Henrici

quinti, MONSTREL.

^m Aët. Pub. tom. ix. THOM. DE ELMHAM.

ⁿ T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti,

DU TILLET.

^o Ancien. Chron. de France.

^p P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY.

(G) *John*, surnamed *the Fearless*, duke of *Burgundy*, was the heir as well of *Flanders* as of his father's territories, which rendered him able to support his party in *France*, and to carry his pretensions as high as his father had done, though they were not so well founded (1). He had all the good qualities requisite to render a prince admired and beloved: he was prudent, liberal, eloquent, affable, and brave: his great, indeed his only, foible was ambition. After the murder of the duke of *Orleans* he was never easy. Whenever any strangers approached him, he took them for assassins: he increased the number of his guards: he grew jealous and suspicious: he made treaties with a view solely to his personal interest, without regard to the welfare of the state, or of posterity: he quickly saw the ill consequences of these engagements, declined executing, and even acted contrary to them (2). By these steps his misfortunes were brought on; and, in respect to his death, he was under a kind of infatuation, for he had intelligence of what was designed against him from more than one quarter. He hesitated, and even stopped, at the several barriers; and at last put himself into the hands of the servants of the duke of *Orleans*, whom, with the same treachery, and with the

like false assurances upon oath, he had drawn to the like dismal kind of death (3). Some of his murderers were punished; but *Tannegui du Chastel* disavowed any intention to assassinate him, which his son accepted as a justification; and there were others also who escaped (4). He was not fifty at the time of his decease. He espoused *Margaret* of *Favaria*, daughter to the count of *Hainault*, who, as a certain *Flemish* historian affirms, was forced by the duke of *Orleans*, and who, in resentment of this injury, instigated her husband to the assassination of that prince (5): but the *French* writers, who mention her amour with the duke of *Orleans*, are silent in respect to the violence, and only suggest that jealousy was one of the principal motives to that bloody action (6). He had by this princess *Philip the Good*, his successor; *Margaret*, who espoused *Lewis* the dauphin, and afterwards *Arthur* of *Bretagne*, constable of *France*; *Katherine*, who died unmarried; *Mary*, who espoused *Adolph*, duke of *Cleves*; *Isabella*, who married *Oliver* de *Blois*, son to the count of *Penthièvre*; *Anne*, the consort of the regent duke of *Bedford*, and *Agnes*, who became the wife of *Charles*, duke of *Bourbon* (7). *Margaret*, duchess of *Burgundy*, deceased *January* 23, 1214.

(1) Meyers Annal. Fland. Le Gendre.

(2) Gaguin. Hist. P. Æmil. de rebus Franc. lib. ix.

(3) Annales

de France, Duplex.

(4) C. de Boulazwilliers, Le Gendre.

(5) Chalons, vol. ii. p. 40.

(6) P. Daniel,

(7) P. Æmil. de rebus gestis Francorum, J. de Serres, Duplex, Du Tillet, P. Henault, Mezeray, Abbé de Choisy.

rejoicings upon this occasion. A few days after the duke of *Burgundy* demanded justice of the king, for the murder of his father, which was promised him; and, in an assembly held in the presence of both kings, the dauphin being summoned to appear and justify himself against the charge brought by two proctors, in the name of the duke of *Burgundy*, he was condemned for contumacy, as failing to appear, declared convict of murder, banished *France* for ever (as the historians say, tho' the sentence is conceived in general terms), and adjudged unworthy and incapable of the crown; which sentence was pronounced by *John le Clerc*, who had then the office, or at least the title, of chancellor of *France*^a. In the month of *December* was held an assembly of states, in which a subsidy was demanded of an eighth part of the money every man possessed, to which, it being to little purpose to dispute, the deputies consented, and it was raised by paying heavy money at the exchequer, and receiving light in the proportion before-mentioned^b. We must now pass to the other court. The dauphin, now in the seventeenth year of his age, assumed the same title with *Henry*, stiling himself regent and heir of *France*. All the provinces beyond the *Loire* declared for him without scruple; most of the princes of the blood, and many of the nobility, chose to follow his fortunes. The prince of *Orange*, as a partizan of the house of *Burgundy*, was the only enemy he had in the south of *France*; and by giving the government of *Languedoc* to the count of *Foix*, he made his efforts in that cause ineffectual^c. But the count of *Foix* affecting to render himself independent, and having with this view demanded a patent for the same government from the king, the dauphin found it necessary to deprive him, though of his own naming, which he did, and replaced him by the count *de Clermont*, eldest son of the duke of *Bourbon*^d. He likewise found means to get more money than the two kings, by their edict for debasing the coin; for he raising the nominal value much higher than they, as soon as their new coin appeared, drew the best part of it into the cities under his obedience, which enabled him to pay his troops; while at *Paris*, the winter being remarkably hard, the people perished by hundreds in the streets with cold and hunger^e.

Queen Katherine goes over into England to be crowned, and the king raises forces for the war in France.

THE affairs of his hereditary dominions obliged *Henry* to make a tour to *England*, whither he likewise carried his new queen, leaving the duke of *Exeter* to command in *Paris*, and to take charge of the court of *France*. The earl of *Salisbury* was made governor of *Rouen*; but the command of the army, and the chief direction of affairs, was committed to his brother the duke of *Clarence*. The duke of *Burgundy*, at the same time, returned likewise into his territories; and the truth was they both stood in great need of forces, those they had brought from *England* and *Burgundy* being wore out, either by sickness or service, and they were afraid of trusting to an army composed for the most part of *French* troops^f. *Henry* was likewise desirous of seeing his queen crowned in *England*, obtaining the sanction of parliament to his treaty of *Troye*, which he considered as the constitution of his new monarchy, and a large supply of money, that he might be able to complete the conquest of *France*. He succeeded in most of these points; but had the misfortune to be told by his parliament, that *England*, exclusive of fame, was so far from being a gainer by his conquest, that the acquisition of *France* was like to become her ruin, which chagrin'd him exceedingly; for he sincerely loved his country, and saw he had impoverished it with regret. He loved his family likewise, with a tenderness not altogether governed by prudence: a strong instance of this appeared in permitting his brother, the duke of *Gloucester*, to steal *Jaqueline*, duchess of *Brabant*, from her husband, on account of the great dominions which she possessed in her own right; for this gave a great disgust to the duke of *Burgundy*, as well on the score of the outrage done to his cousin, as because the establishment of this young prince in the *Low Countries* would have been very unacceptable to himself, as the king might easily have foreseen^g.

The Scots forces under the command of the earl of Buchan defeat the duke of Clarence at Bauge.

THINGS in the mean time took a new turn in *France*; for the dauphin having received a supply of six or seven thousand *Scots*, under the command of the regent's son *John Stuart*, earl of *Buchan*, he sent them to defend his frontier on the side of *Anjou*, and appointed the *Sieur de la Fayette*, with a corps of *French* forces, to assist them^h. These *Scots* being quartered at *Bauge* by themselves, the duke of *Clarence* had intelligence of them; and making no doubt that he should be able to surprize them, marched with fifteen hundred men at arms, and the best archers he had, with that view, leaving orders for the earl of *Salisbury* to follow him, as soon as he conveniently could, with the rest of his forces. The earl of *Buchan*, having posted his troops as advantageously as he could, received him gallantly; and the duke,

^a J. DE SERRES, DUPLEIX, DU TILLET, P. DANIEL.

VI. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES, DUPLEIX.

Chron. de France. MONSTRELET, THOM. WALSINGHAM, THOM. ELMHAM, P. DANIEL.

LE GENDRE, L'Abbe de CHOISY.

POLYD. VIRG. L'Abbe de CHOISEY, P. ÆMIL.

Anonym. de Charles VI. P. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE.

VI. CRAWFORD'S Peerage of Scotland, p. 259, GAGUINI Hist.

^g Annales de France, Hist. Anonym. de Charles

^h BOULANVIL. LE GEND. L'Abbe de CHOISY.

ⁱ Ancien.

^j BOULANVIL.

^k Annales de France, THOM. ELMHAM, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti.

^l MONSTRELET, JUVENAL DES URSINS, Histor.

^m Ancien. Chron. de France. Hist. Anonym. de Charles

- a being desirous of obtaining an undivided victory, exposed himself in such a manner, that after performing all that could be expected from his birth and courage, he was slain upon the spot, and his troops defeated: there fell likewise the earl of *Kent*, lord *Grey*, the lord *Ross*, and about three thousand men; the earls of *Somerset* and *Huntingdon*, with some other persons of note, were taken prisoners. This victory, though it cost the lives of fifteen hundred *French*, was, as their writers very justly observe, of great consequence, since it proved that the *English* were not invincible; and it did great honour to the earl of *Buchan*, who killed the duke of *Clarence* with his own hand². The *French* army next besieged *Alençon*; the earl of *Salisbury* marched that way to raise the siege; but finding the enemy too strong he retired; and though he did it with great caution, his rear suffered in his retreat. *Henry* landed at *Calais* with twenty-eight thousand men, of which four thousand were horse; he marched directly to the relief of *Chartres*, which was besieged by the dauphin, who retired at his approach, and he followed him as far as *Orléans*³. On his return, at the request of the people of *Paris*, he besieged *Meaux*, which held out for eight months, and, when it surrendered, the king caused the governor to be beheaded. This, and some other instances of rigour, particularly sending the marshal *de Lisle Adam* to the bastille, for something he took amiss in his looks, chagrined the *French* exceedingly: but, notwithstanding this, they thought it prudent to make great rejoicings on the news of queen *Katherine*'s being delivered of a son at *Windsor*, who was considered as the successor of both kingdoms⁴. As for the unfortunate *Charles*, he would have been more pitied if he had shewn any sense of his misfortunes: but he seemed to be altogether without feeling: and as for the queen, her implacable aversion to the dauphin, her particular kindness for the princess *Katherine*, who very much resembled her, and the respect paid her by her son-in-law, who was the first prince in *Europe*, kept her from seeing the real misery of her condition; so that, upon all occasions, she appeared with a freedom and spirit, which, at the same time that it raised the odium of the *French*, made her contemptible to the *English*⁵. A. D. 1421.

- HENRY* resolved to open the next campaign with driving all the dauphin's garrisons out of *Picardy*, and took the field for this purpose in the month of *June*, having with him the poor infirm king and the two queens. He staid some time at *Senlis*, while the earl of *Warwick* cleared the adjacent country; but was suddenly recalled to *Paris*, by intelligence that the dauphin had friends there, who meant to put him in possession of the place. On his arrival he found a woman, who had been apprehended with letters to such as were privy to this design; and, as she acknowledged her fault, he directed that her accomplices, being secured, they should be thrown together into the river⁶. After this detection and disappointment of his enemies, he returned again to *Senlis*. The dauphin, in the mean time, invested *Coné* upon the *Loire*, with twenty thousand men, and obliged the governor to consent that he would render the place into his hands, if it was not relieved by the duke of *Burgundy* by the middle of *August*. The duke, piqued at this, challenged the dauphin to name a day of battle; which being accepted, *Henry* resolved to be present, and with that view ordered his forces to march from *Paris* and *Picardy* through *Champagne*, to join those of the duke of *Burgundy*; but finding himself very much indisposed at *Melun*, he directed his brother, the duke of *Bedford*, and the earl of *Warwick*, to join the duke of *Burgundy* as soon as possible, and retired himself into *Vincennes*⁷. There his distemper increased to such a degree as left little hopes of recovery: this distemper was a fistula, the nature of which, being then little understood, was so ill managed, that a mortification ensued. In his last moments he recommended to the lords that were about him three things; the first was to preserve, by all means possible, the friendship of the duke of *Burgundy*, and to give him, in case they could engage him to accept it, the regency of *France*, which, if he refused, he confided to the duke of *Bedford*: in the next place, he forbid them to set at liberty the *French* prisoners; till his son should be of full age; and, lastly, he commanded them, in case they should ever be forced to make a peace with *Charles de Valois* (so he called the dauphin), to secure the duchy of *Normandy*, and annex it, as an independent sovereignty, to *England*⁸. He declared *Humphrey*, duke of *Gloucester*, regent of *England*, and appointed the earl of *Warwick* governor of his son's person. This done he prepared for death, with great calmness and constancy, ending his days on the last of

² Annales de France, MONSTRLET, THOM. ELMHAM, PAUL. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE. ³ JUVENAL DES
URSINS, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. PAUL. ÆMIL. P. HÉNAULT. ⁴ Ancien. Chronique de France,
JUVENAL DES URSINS, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti, MÉZERAY, P. DANIEL. ⁵ Hist. Anonym. de
Charles VI. MONSTRELET, THOM. ELMHAM, PAUL. ÆMIL. LE GENDRE. GAGUINI Hist. Jo. de SERRES.
⁶ Annales de France, DUPLEIX, MÉZERAY, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti, PAUL. ÆMIL. GAGUINI Hist.
L'Abbe de CHOISY. ⁷ JUVENAL DES URSINS, THOM. WALSINGHAM, DUPLEIX, THOM. ELMHAM, P.
HÉNAULT. P. DANIEL. DU TILLET. MÉZERAY, Ancien. Chron. de France. ⁸ Ancien. Chron. de
France, DUPLEIX, T. ELMHAM, DU TILLET, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti. GAGUINI Hist. L'Abbe de
CHOISY.

August, in the thirty-sixth year of his age². The duke of *Burgundy* having refused the a
 regency, the duke of *Bedford* assumed it, but governed entirely by his and the queen's advice.
 The unfortunate *Charles* was daily declining in his health; and, being seized with a quartan
 ague, died on the twenty-first of *October* (H), in the fifty-fourth year of his age, the forty-
 third of his reign, and the thirtieth from the loss of his senses: he was little deplored by his
 subjects, still less by the *English*, and there was not so much as a single prince of the blood to
 attend his funeral^b.

The state of
 France under
 her two kings,
 Henry and
 Charles, who
 are both pro-
 claimed.

At this time, the whole *French* nation had the heavy misfortune to be considered as rebels
 and traitors, whatever side they took. At the interment of *Charles* the sixth, *Henry* of *Wind-*
 sor was proclaimed king of *France* and *England*, being then about ten months old; but the
 sword of state was carried before the duke of *Bedford*, who, with the title of regent, had all b
 the power of king². The dauphin *Charles* was in the twentieth year of his age, a mild
 prince, of a very gentle and affable disposition, by which he became very acceptable to all
 who approached him. We meet with very different characters of him in history; but, if we
 advert to facts only, we shall find that he very much resembled his grandfather; and that
 those who say his good fortune, in having able ministers and great captains in his service,
 stood him instead of courage and conduct, do him great wrong; for, if he had not been both
 a wise and a steady prince, he had never raised *France* from the wretched condition in which
 he found her^b. About ten days before his father's death, he was preserved, by what was then
 esteemed a miraculous interposition of Providence, from a sudden and miserable death. The

² JUVENAL DES URSINS, T. LIVII, vita Henrici quinti, T. ELMHAM, THOM. WALSHINGHAM, POLYD.
 VIRG. ^b Vid. Auct. supra citat. ² Annales de France, MONSTRELET, vol. ii. Histoire de JEAN
 CHARTIER, Historiographe de Charles VI. GAGUIN. Hist. P. HENAUT. ^b Ancien. Chron. de France,
 J. CHARTIER, P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES, LE GENDRE.

(H) We have already described the person of this
 monarch, and observed that he was one of the hand-
 somest men of his age. At the age of seventeen his
 strength was so great, that he was able to break a horse-
 shoe: he wrestled, vaulted, ran at the ring, and per-
 formed every sort of manly exercise, with great dex-
 terity. His misfortune was, that, becoming a king
 before he arrived at years of discretion, he could not be
 prevailed upon to bestow a proper degree of application
 upon any thing that was serious, though his uncle, the
 duke of *Bourbon*, who was charged with his education,
 laboured all that was in his power to make him sensible
 of the misfortunes that would attend this neglect; which
 at length obliged him to divert his care to his younger
 brother the duke of *Orleans*. Yet the natural good
 qualities of *Charles* gained him the affection, and, in
 some degree, the esteem, of his subjects. He caused
 the body of the constable *du Guesclin* to be buried with
 great splendor at *St. Denis*: neither was he grateful
 only to the dead, but to the living, insomuch that he
 never forgot any personal services that were rendered
 him, but rewarded them amply, some say profusely.
 He was prodigiously given to shews and spectacles, and
 was never better pleased than when he could find an
 opportunity to exhibit them. His uncles encouraged
 all this, which was at the same time very acceptable to
 the queen *Isabella*, who loved such amusements more
 than he. There has been discovered, of late years, an
 old manuscript of that time, containing the roll of a
 gallant society, entitled, *La court (cour) amoureuse*, that
 is, *The amorous court*, in which all the principal lords
 and gentlemen are ranged, under a great variety of
 titles, taken from the officers of the state and govern-
 ment; so that it appears this was a kind of association
 for promoting pleasure, and, at the same time, bur-
 lesquing business, and every thing solemn and serious.
 A sure and sad symptom of national ruin! for as fami-
 lies sink first into distress, and then to destruction, when
 those who are at the head of them neglect their duty to
 follow amusements, the same thing happens in king-
 doms, and discontents, dissension, and dissipations, fol-
 low a series of gaudy pomp and idle pageantries, often
 in the same reign, but always in the next, as it fell out
 here. The king, after his senses were disturbed, en-
 joyed sometimes three or four months of health, and
 tolerable understanding; during which he assisted at

council, and issued ordinances, which perhaps were con-
 tradicted by the ordinances of the next interval of good
 health; because, in the mean time, a new set of mini-
 sters had got into power, insomuch that it was hard to
 say whether the king's sickness or long life, his own
 weakness, or his wife's gallantries, the want of expe-
 rience in his sons, or the boundless ambition of his
 uncles, were most prejudicial to his realm; but the
 conjunction of them all, and the loss of the battle of
Agincourt, brought it so low, that it is not impossible
Henry V. if he had lived, might have established a new
 line. His death, which was followed by that of *Charles*,
 who lingered but a small time of a quartan ague, in-
 creased the public confusion for the present, but made
 way for a favourable revolution. By his queen *Isabel*
 of *Bavaria*, whom the *French* represent as equally vi-
 cious and cunning, the king had many children; two
 princes of the name of *Charles*, who died young; *Lewis*,
 duke of *Guienne*, and, by their death, dauphin, who
 married *Margaret*, daughter to the duke of *Burgundy*,
 and died at the age of nineteen without issue; *John*,
 duke of *Touraine* and *Dauphine*, who espoused *Jaque-*
line, daughter to the count of *Hainault*, who also died
 without issue, about the same age with his brother;
Charles, who succeeded his father; and *Philip*, who
 died the same day he was born, and was the child of
 whom the queen lay-in when the duke of *Orleans* was
 murdered; the princess *Joan* died at two years old;
Isabel espoused first *Richard II.* king of *England*, and
 then *Charles*, duke of *Orleans*; another *Joan*, the con-
 sort of *John*, duke of *Bretagne*; *Mary*, who became a
 nun; *Michella*, married to *Philip the Good*, duke of
Burgundy; and *Katherine*, their youngest daughter, who
 married *Henry V.* and, after his decease, *Owen Tudor*;
 a gentlemen of *Wales*, by whom, amongst other chil-
 dren, she had *Edmund*, earl of *Richmond*, who was the
 father of *Henry VII.* king of *England*. As for queen
Isabel, we shall have occasion to mention her death,
 and the circumstances that attended it, hereafter. In
 those seasons that the king was delirious, the queen, who
 pretended that she was afraid of being with him, suffered
 a young woman, whose name was *d'Odette de Champdi-*
vers, to supply her place, by whom he had a natural
 daughter, *Margaret de Valois*; stiled the lady of *Belle-*
ville, who was married to *John de Harpedene*, lord of
Belleville and *Poitou* (1).

(1) Vide Auct. supra citat.

a room, in which he was giving audience at *Rochele*, fell all at once, by which very many were wounded, and some, amongst whom was lord *James Bourbon*, killed on the spot^c. The dauphin, sinking in his chair, fell upon a thick wall, and there rested, from whence he was taken down without the least hurt. At the time of his accession he was at a little castle, where the first day he put himself in mourning, and dedicated it to grief; the next he appeared in scarlet, and took the title of king, without any other ceremony than displaying the banner of *France*, and the acclamations of his little court^d. The *English*, and the *French* who adhered to them, stiled him, in contempt, the king of *Bourges*, though, except the duchy of *Guienne*, he had all the provinces on the other side of the *Loire*, the princes of the blood, the best captains, the ablest lawyers; and, which was of much more consequence, the laws themselves on his side^e. A. D. 1422.

ALL the events at the beginning of this reign were unfortunate: the important town of *Melun* was taken by the *English*, through a misunderstanding between the *French* generals and the earl of *Buchan*; and this was followed by a revolt of many *French* lords, who thought the cause of *Charles* was now become desperate. The duke of *Bedford* was not inferior to his brother, the deceased king, in point of courage; and, in respect to prudence, he was his superior^f. He saw the difficulties with which his post, as regent of *France*, was incumbered; and he foresaw those with which they were like to be augmented. To remove the former, and to prevent the latter, he resolved to unite, if possible, the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* inseparably to his interests^g. The former had two sisters, *Mary*, the widow of the late dauphin *Lewis*, and *Anne*, who had never been married. He demanded the latter for himself, and procured the former to be given to *Arthur*, earl of *Richmond*, brother to the duke of *Bretagne*, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of *Agin-court*, and whom, by this step, he thought sufficiently attached to the *English* interest^h. The battle of *Crevant*, in *Burgundy*, was another fortunate event to him, and a terrible blow to *Charles*. The earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk* defeated there the earl of *Buchan*, with the best corps of troops that *Charles* had in his service, made that earl prisoner, and killed a great many brave officers who commanded under himⁱ. He was, however, soon after exchanged, and was received with great marks of favour and affection by *Charles*, who was the better served by his expressing his content with men's services, whether attended with success or not^k. 1423.

He had known great difficulties and distress before; to say the truth, he had known nothing else since he knew any thing; but he was never so closely pressed, or with so little hopes of succour. The countries that owned his authority were already exhausted of men and money; the *English* were not only possessed of the best part of the kingdom, but, by attacking him on the *Loire*, and debarking an army in *Guienne*, which was absolutely in their power, might destroy him in one campaign. He was himself very young, and, which was worse, void of all education; and yet he was so far from despairing, that he invited other men to share in his hopes^l. The earl of *Buchan* had been stiled constable of the *Scots*, most of whom were slain in successive actions; the king, to console him, and to draw greater succours from the same country, gave him the sword, and created him constable of *France*; he bestowed likewise the lordship of *Aubigny* upon Sir *John Stuart* of *Darnley*, on whom he afterwards conferred the county of *Evreux*. This had a good effect; the duke of *Albany* concluded an alliance with him on the terms which he proposed, and sent over the lord *Douglas* with six thousand men, to whom *Charles* gave the duchy of *Touraine*, and declared him lieutenant general^m. The duke of *Milan* sent him six hundred horse, and a thousand cross bows; many of his own subjects raised considerable corps at their own expence; by this means he brought a considerable army into the field, leaving the operations to the discretion of his generals, which he might do with greater propriety, since, strictly speaking, he had not either experience or troops of his own. One of his captains had surprized *Vuri*, which, being a place of great consequence, the *English* had invested; the constable marched to his relief with fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were of his own country; but the place surrendered before their arrival. The constable turned short upon *Verneuil*, which was a place of great consequence; and, pretending he had raised the siege of *Vuri*, engaged the garrison to surrenderⁿ. Charles endeavours to draw assistance from foreign princes to support his title.

THIS so much provoked the regent duke of *Bedford*, that he marched in person, attended by the earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, with a superior army, to recover it. Several of the *French* generals were for leaving a strong garrison in the place, and declining a battle, which they had formerly found the best method of proceeding; and which, perhaps, had been most expedient. But the constable and the other generals of his country were of a contrary opinion; His troops beat at the fatal battle of Verneuil, in which the constable and the

^c MONST. vol. ii. J. CHART. MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

^d Artus III. Duc de Bretagne, P. HENAUT, BOULANVILLE.

GAG. HIST. P. EMIL. MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

J. DE SERRES, P. HENAUT.

^m MEZERAY.

^e MONST. vol. ii. GAG. HIST.

^f Hist. d'Artus III.

^g J. CHART. Hist. d'Artus III.

^h J. CHART.

ⁱ DUPLEIX, DU TILLET, LE GENDRE.

^k Ancien. Chron. de France, MONST. vol. ii. DU TILLET, P. HENAUT, BOULANVILLE.

^l Histoire

^m MONST. vol. ii.

ⁿ Annal. de France.

earl of Douglas are killed.

and, notwithstanding the *French* lords urged that their king had no army but this, which if beaten ^a he had no resource, yet they persisted in their resolution of fighting, asserting, that a battle gained would change the face of affairs, give a reputation to the king's arms, and very probably excite insurrections in his favour in most of the provinces in the kingdom: the duke of *Alençon*, and one or two other great lords, being of the same mind, it was determined to fight ^o. On the sixteenth of *August*, the duke of *Bedford* appeared with his army drawn up in one line, the constable made the like disposition with great skill, intending to have remained firm, and to have received the charge; but the viscount of *Narbonne*, full of impatience, marched directly to attack the *English* with his own cavalry, and was followed by other *French* lords, which obliged the constable to follow them, and to lose the advantage of his post and of his disposition^p. The duke of *Bedford*, on the contrary, halted, as soon as they began to ^b move; so that they were fatigued and out of breath when they began to attack; and, being vigorously repulsed, and their general killed, were quickly broke. But, notwithstanding this, the *Italian* horse broke through the archers, and fell upon the *English* camp, which they were tempted to plunder; this left the main body open on all sides; and, after a dispute of an hour, it was broke, and the *French* totally defeated. There fell in this fatal field, the constable, the earl of *Douglas*, his son, the counts of *Aumale*, *Ventadour*, and *Tonnere*, with upwards of one hundred other lords, besides the viscount of *Narbonne*, whose body the duke of *Bedford* caused to be broke on a wheel, and then exposed on a gibbet, because he was one of the ten present at the death of the duke of *Burgundy*^q. Five thousand private men were killed in the battle and in the flight; the duke of *Alençon*, his bastard brother, and the marshal ^c *de l'Efflat*, were made prisoners. The loss on the other side was so considerable, that the duke of *Bedford* forbid any rejoicings for a victory that had cost him so dear; and granted an honourable capitulation to the garrison of *Verneuil*, as being very well pleased to recover the place without the fatigue of a siege^r.

This reduces the affairs of Charles VII. into a dismal condition, in which he sustains himself by his temper.

THE affairs of *Charles* were now in so low and sad a situation, that they could not well be in a worse; he had but very few strong places, no army, most of his generals killed, and, which was the greatest misfortune of all, was totally without resource. His subjects were exhausted to such a degree, that no violence could have extorted much; instead of attempting this, he seemed to take a satisfaction in sharing their misery, lived as they did, and demanded nothing. He lost none of the few friends he had left; on the contrary, many ^d abandoned their estates, and came to join their shattered fortunes to his^s. He received them with open arms; he caressed and commended them; and declared, upon all occasions, his inclination to reward, as soon as it was in his power: to say all, in a few words, his condition was now so sunk, that his affability was his sole prerogative; and the reputation he had established of gratitude, the only remnant of revenue. The duke of *Bedford* might have marched to the *Loire* the next spring, and have buried the ruins of the *French* monarchy, with its monarch, in the succeeding summer; but, as if he had been ashamed of oppressing so feeble an enemy, he indulged them as long a time to breathe in as they could desire^t. Yet the duke of *Bedford* was as vigilant as he was brave; and this inactivity, which saved the *French*, proceeded from his misfortune, not his fault. The prodigious success of the *English*, and the ^e glory attending it, had corrupted even the greatest minds. *Humphrey* duke of *Gloucester*, regent of *England*, and the duke of *Bedford's* brother, not satisfied with the possession of *Jaqueline*, countess of *Hainault*, whom he had taken from her husband the duke of *Brabant*, would likewise tear from him the countries which he held in her right; and, with this view, had debarked a numerous *English* army, more than sufficient to have completed the conquest of *France*; where they had easily crushed the duke of *Brabant*, if his cousin, the duke of *Burgundy*, had not stepped in to his relief^u. This was that unexpected diversion which saved *Charles* from destruction, by obliging the regent duke of *Bedford* to turn all his views on this side; and to employ those great parts and that persuasive eloquence with which he was blessed, to reconcile his brother and his brother-in-law, and to prevent the empire, which the victorious ^f *Henry* had raised, from mouldering into ruins before it was well established. In this necessary design he met with so many obstacles, that, notwithstanding the apparent danger of his leaving *France*, he was constrained to make a tour to *England*, where the management of several important affairs detained him for some months, to the great prejudice of his nephew's concerns in this his new kingdom^v.

The duke of Bretagne and

CHARLES having this leisure to look round him, might have fortified some principal towns, entered into alliances, or at least have raised a new army; but none of these could be

^o J. CHART. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. ^p GAGUINI Hist. Histoire d'Artus III. ^q Annales de France, MONST. POLYD. VIRG. P. DANIEL. P. HENAUT. ^r Ancien. Chron. de France, J. CHART. Histoire d'Artus III. LE GENDRE. ^s DU TILLET, P. HENAUT. ^t MEZERAY. ^u MONST. Ancien. Chron. de France, DU TILLET. P. HENAUT, BOULAN. ^v Annales de France, P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. P. DANIEL.

one without treasures ; and he was distressed for a subsistence. But there was something to be done within the compass of his power, and this was done. He understood that *Arthur*, earl of *Richmond*, notwithstanding his close alliance with the duke of *Bedford*, had received some offence from being refused the command of the *English* army, which he thought due to his high rank, and very suitable to his being an *English* peer. The ministers of *Charles*, knowing he had been bred up at the *French* court, and had behaved very gallantly at *Agincourt*, thought it not impossible to recover him ; and, by his means, the duke of *Bretagne*, his brother. With this view a negotiation was set on foot, which, though put into the hands of a very able man, miscarried^c. This was the president *Louvet*, the companion of the king's misfortunes, and the director of his finances ; but he had the misfortune to be odious to the house of *Bretagne* ; and, therefore, nothing that came from him was regarded. The king thereupon had recourse to his mother-in-law, the queen dowager of *Naples*, who, taking with her his prime minister *Tannegui du Chastel*, went to the court of *Bretagne*, and by dextrously playing the constable's sword in the eyes of the earl of *Richmond*, who was eager to be at the head of an army, carried her point, though on pretty hard conditions, since the king was forced to give hostages, and even cautionary places, for the security of the earl's person, who farther declared he could not enter into his service, but with the consent of the duke of *Burgundy*^d. This was also admitted, in hopes that it might prove a means of entering into a negotiation with the duke of *Burgundy* ; and it had this effect ; for the duke consented to the earl of *Richmond*'s promotion ; and, having lately married the lady *Bona* of *Artois*, sister to the count of *Eu*, shewed some inclination to reconcile himself to the king ; but, how acceptable soever these transactions might be in one light, they caused no small chagrin, when viewed in another ; for the duke of *Bretagne* insisted on the removal of the president *Louvet*, and two or three other persons, who had been always about the king ; and the duke of *Burgundy* would hear of nothing while the king had for his first minister the man who had the chief hand in murdering his father^e. This was *Tannegui du Chastel*, a person, in all other points irreproachable, and who acted in that affair from his zeal for the memory of the duke of *Orleans*, in whose service he had been brought up from his youth. His behaviour at this critical juncture gained him credit, even with his enemies ; for he went to the king, and, after a modest recapitulation of his services, declared, the only reward he sought was his leave to retire^f. The president *Louvet* and the rest were also forced to give way ; but they did it with a bad grace, and the president insisted upon naming the *Sieur Giac* his successor. These precautions taken, *Arthur*, earl of *Richmond*, received the sword of constable. He soon after took the field, and recovered several places from the *English* upon the frontiers of *Normandy*¹.

THE earl of *Warwick*, who commanded for king *Henry* in *Normandy*, being informed that the duke of *Bretagne* had done homage for his duchy and county of *Montford* to king *Charles*, made himself master of *Ponterson*, and of *St. James de Beuvron*, which being conveniently situated, he made continual inroads from thence to the very gates of *Rennes*. The new constable of *France* marched speedily to the relief of his brother, recovered *Ponterson*, and blocked up *Beuvron* ; but was obliged to raise the siege for want of supplies². In the first transport of his passion he seized the chancellor of *Bretagne*, and carried him to *Chinon*, where the king then was, who pacified him with some difficulty ; and, having got the chancellor out of his hands, sent him with a commission to the court of *Burgundy*. The constable then fell upon *Giac*, and finding him involved in a quarrel with another of the king's favourites, whose name was *Trimouille*, he took him into his councils. With his assistance, he forced the castle in which *Giac* lay, and taking him out of bed, carried him to a place entirely in his own power ; and there, with an odd and irregular form of justice, caused him to be condemned for embezzling the king's money ; and without farther ceremony threw him into the river³. The violence of the constable was less condemned than the wickedness of *Trimouille*, who had an intrigue with *Giac*'s wife (the same person who was the duke of *Burgundy*'s mistress), and married her. Soon after the king replaced his unfortunate minister by a gentleman of *Louvergne*, whose name was *Camus de Beaulieu* ; and he had likewise the misfortune not to please the constable, who ordered him to be stabbed near *Poitiers* ; then going to court, instead of excusing it, he told the king that he was but an ill judge of ministers, and for the future he would chuse for him. *Charles*, who without being either a coward or a fool, could submit to necessity with a better grace than ever prince did, desired to know who was to be his minister ; the constable answered, *Trimouille* ; it shall be so, replied

^c J. CHART. GAGU. Hist. LE GEND.

Du TIL. P. DAN. ² MONST. vol. ii. Ancien. Chron. de France. Histoire du Heraut de Berri.

Mez. P. Henault. ^h Histoire d'Artus III. J. DE SERRES.

^k MONST. GAGU. Hist. J. DE SERRES. Mez. LE GENDRE. ¹ Annales de France. J. CHART.

P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. ¹ Annales de France. J. CHART.

the king; but I knew him better than you, and that he will give you cause to repent it^m. *Montargès* was at this time besieged by the *English*; and, being a place of consequence, the king was very desirous to relieve it: an army was assembled to escorte a great convoy of provisions, and the constable would have charged himself with the enterprize; but, being told it was beneath his dignity, the command was given to the bastard of *Orleans*; who not only performed what was expected from him, but was so fortunate as to oblige the earl of *Warwick* to raise the siegeⁿ. But, while his arms were successful on this side, the regent duke of *Bedford*, who had reconciled himself to the duke of *Burgundy*, invaded *Bretagne* with a great army, compelled the duke to subscribe the treaty of *Troye*, and to give him all possible assurance of remaining an obedient subject to his nephew king *Henry*. *Trimouille*, to make his court to his master, advised him to lay hold of this opportunity to humble the constable; but, as this minister had rendered himself odious to several of the princes of the blood, they took part with the earl of *Richmond*, which produced a kind of civil war; in which, however, the king had the better^o. In this situation the people deplored alike their domestic troubles and apprehensions from the *English*.

The earl of Salisbury besieges Orleans, and is killed before the place.

THE war was carried on with great spirit, and with different success in all corners of the kingdom; and brave men on both sides signalized themselves by their exploits; which, however, decided nothing, but served to breed many experienced officers, and to introduce a more regular discipline, as well as to improve the art of managing artillery and small arms, beyond any thing that had been seen in former wars^p. But the regent duke of *Bedford*, having once more fixed the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, recurred to his former plan, and resolved to make the entire conquest of *France*. He was already in possession of a place upon the *Loire*, which enabled him to pass that river at his pleasure; but it was at too great a distance; and he was apprehensive, that if he had attacked *Charles* with his whole forces in this manner, he might pass the river in another place, and march to *Paris*^q. After mature deliberation, therefore, he appointed *Thomas Montagu*, earl of *Salisbury*, to command a body of ten thousand veteran troops, and gave him instructions to besiege *Orleans* (though some say he undertook it of himself), a place of great extent, and, for those times at least, well fortified. *Salisbury* executed this command with equal vigour and capacity, he spent the summer in reducing all the fortified posts in the neighbourhood of that city, and formed the siege at the entrance of autumn^r. On the other hand, *Charles*, considering the loss of *Orleans* as the prelude to the loss of his dominions, took all the precautions possible for its defence. Very considerable magazines were raised, and a great quantity of military stores lodged in the place. The lord *de Gaucour*, a person of great experience and reputation, was the governor, and he was assisted by the *Sieur la Hire Saintrailles*: in a word, most of the brave men who had raised themselves to rank and fame, threw themselves into this city, in order to defend it as long as it was possible; the siege lasted all the winter, and the earl of *Salisbury* had the misfortune to be killed by a cannon shot; but the earl of *Suffolk*, on whom the command devolved, continued it with equal vigour and vigilance; and, by receiving continual supplies, the army was increased to twenty-three thousand men^s. The method of investing was at this time very rude; for we find that they had six great and fifty-four small forts round the place; but, as there were open spaces between them, the bastard of *Orleans* and other gallant officers found means to introduce succours; and the garrison from twelve hundred, was, by the end of the year, swelled to three thousand men^t; amongst whom were the flower of the *French* nobility.

The famous battle of Herrings in which the French are beat by Sir John Fastolfe.

AT the approach of Lent, the regent duke of *Bedford* sent a convoy of salt-fish to the camp, with an escort of seventeen hundred men, commanded by Sir *John Fastolfe*, or *Falstafte*, of which *Charles* having intelligence, he sent the count *de Clermont*, with a corps of troops, to attack that convoy, upon which depended the continuance of the siege. Sir *John* perceiving the approach of the enemy, drew his men behind his carriages; and not only sustained the shock with great intrepidity, but repulsed the assailants, and put them into disorder; upon which, ordering some of the carriages to be withdrawn, he sallied with his forces, and defeated the *French* entirely^u. This was stiled the battle of *Herrings*, and makes a great figure in the history of those times^v. The bastard of *Orleans*, who with four hundred men had marched from *Orleans* to support this attack, had the good fortune to return, and to get safe into the city, which, notwithstanding, was soon reduced so very low, and there was so little appearance of any relief, that the garrison at length offered to surrender to the duke of *Burgundy*, which the *English* generals rejected;

^m Ancien. Chron. de France. ⁿ Histoire d'Artus III. BOULANV. ^o Annales de France. MONST. GAGUINI Hist. J. DE SERRES. Pr. Henault. ^p Ancien. Chronique de France. P. ÆMIL. J. CHART. P. DAN. ^q MEZ. BOULAN. ^r MONST. ^s Annales de France. J. CHART. GAGUIN. Hist. DU TILLET. CHALONS. ^t MONST. Ancien. Chronique de France. P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. DUPL. ^u P. DAN. ^v MEZ. Pr. Henault.

a this, in all probability, preserved both the city and the crown to *Charles*, who, upon its surrender, must have retired into the mountains of *Dauphine*, as having no force sufficient to keep the field *. But while things were in this state, a miracle, as the *French* would have us believe, a singular and lucky stratagem, as the penetration of later times have taught us to call it, saved *Orleans*, and delivered *Charles* from the necessity of seeking shelter in inaccessible places from the pursuit of his victorious enemies †. An event which has afforded matter for volumes, but of which we shall speak very succinctly ‡.

A LITTLE before the battle of *Herrings*, a young woman, whose name was *Joan d'Arc*, *The maid of* a native of the village of *Domremi*, near *Vauculeurs*, came to the governor of the last *Orleans* first mentioned place, and demanded that he should send her to the king, as having been promised, *relieves, and* by a divine revelation, that, under her command, the king's forces should raise the siege of *Orleans*. But the governor considering she was but between eighteen and twenty, and a *city.* person no way distinguished amongst the country people for understanding, refused, for fear of making himself ridiculous †. She came after the battle, and reproached him with want of zeal for his master's service, and told him, that if he did not now send her, *Orleans* would be lost. Upon this the governor ordered two gentlemen to attend her to *Chinon*, where the king was; and though there could not be a more dangerous journey, yet, as she had confidently promised, they performed it safely ‡. Upon her arrival, the council made some difficulty of admitting her to the royal presence; but at length this was effected. The king was in his apartment, surrounded by many persons of distinction, without any marks of his high rank, to whom she immediately addressed herself, and told him that she had a commission from Heaven to deliver his city of *Orleans*, and to conduct him afterwards to *Rheims*, in order to celebrate his coronation †. The king either was or affected to be in great doubt, demanded some evident incontestible marks of her mission, caused her to be examined by a committee of divines, and sent her afterwards to *Poitiers* to confer with the parliament. Having had the advice of both, he ordered a body of ten or twelve thousand men to assemble, in order to serve as an escorte to a great convoy, which she undertook to conduct safely into the city. This she performed, shut herself up afterwards in the place ‡, with the assistance of the bastard of *Orleans*, harrassed the besiegers so much, that at length they were constrained to retire, after having lain before, and in the neighbourhood of, the city, upwards of a year. From this exploit she was stiled *La Pucelle d'Orleans*, or, *the Maid of Orleans*: she wore the dress of a man, appeared on horseback like a young cavalier, charged at the head of the troops with great courage, affected an extraordinary piety, and was irreproachable in point of morals.

LA PUCELLE remained but two days in *Orleans* after the raising of the siege, and then *She performs* repaired to the king, whom she pressed † exceedingly to take the resolution of going to *Rheims*, there to receive his crown, after the accustomed forms; which, however, was vehemently *many great* opposed by some of the great lords, and most of the experienced officers, as a thing utterly *things, and is* impracticable; but the *Pucelle* had her party likewise, who prevailed; and it was at last *highly esteemed* resolved that it should be attempted †. The difficulties were great, but the *Pucelle* had the *and gratefully* honour of overcoming most of them, by which her reputation was highly raised, the courage *rewarded by* of the *French* troops elevated, from a notion that they were conducted by a person inspired; and this likewise made no small impression on the *English* and *Burgundian* troops, who were no longer invincible in their garrisons, or even in the field, where victory had accompanied them before †. In fine, *Rheims* opened her gates, the king was solemnly crowned on the 17th of *July*, pushed his conquests as far as the *Seine*, and even made an attempt upon *Paris*, where the *Pucelle* exposed herself extremely, but at length was obliged to desist †. In the mean time a new negotiation was set on foot with the duke of *Burgundy*, which, however, was baffled by the industry and address of the duke of *Bedford*, who, notwithstanding, declined fighting the *French* army; and, it is remarkable, that the forces of the kingdom were now so much reduced, that the troops on both sides, at the close of this campaign, did not exceed twenty-five thousand men †. The *Pucelle* demanded the king's leave to retire, as having completed her mission; but her presence was thought so necessary, that the king constrained her to remain; and, as a mark of his favour and gratitude for past

* LE GEND.

† MONST. BOULAN.

‡ Annales de France.

HALL. HOLINSHED.

STOWE.

† Annales de France. Chroniques de MONST. GAGUINI Hist. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. ‡ GUIL. DU BELLAI Traite de la Discipline Militaire, lib. ii. fo. 56. Historia de la Pucelle d'Orleans, imprimée sur un manuscrit anonyme, par M. GODEFROI. LE GEND. MEZ. BOULAN. † Histoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. CHALONS. ‡ Abrege Chronologique. P. ÆMIL. † Du BELLAI Traite de la Discipline Militaire, lib. ii. fo. 56. Histoire de Charles VII. par J. CHART. J. DE SERRES. LE GEND. CHALONS. † Annales de France. Chroniques de MONST. GAGUINI Hist. DU TIL. MEZ. ‡ Abrege Chronologique Historia de la Pucelle d'Orleans. P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. † WILHELMUS WYRCESTER Annales rerum Anglicarum. BOULAN. † Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans. P. DAN.

services, ennobled her family, bestowed on them the name of *Du Lif*, and all their descendents a males and females; the latter part, however, of this grant has been since abolished *.

Is however taken in a sally at the siege of Compeigne, and is delivered to the English.

THE duke of *Bedford*, in order to secure the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, concluded new treaties with each of them, giving to the former *Champagne* and *Brie*, and to the latter the county of *Poitou*, when they should be able to conquer them; he likewise amused the people of *Paris* with the hopes of seeing the young king *Henry*, who was to come and keep a magnificent court amongst them; but, finding that they were privately taking measures to put their city into the hands of king *Charles*, he seized about one hundred and fifty of the wealthiest citizens who were in that interest, beheaded some, broke others upon the wheel, and obliged the rest to deliver themselves by paying a heavy ransom, which furnished him with money, of which he stood in great need¹. *Amadeus* the eighth, duke of *Savoy*, and *Lewis de Chalon*, prince of *Orange*, who had hitherto professed themselves friends to king *Charles*, believed it very practicable to share *Dauphine* between them, by which the duke was to have *Grenoble* and the mountainous country about it; and the prince *Vienne*, and as much of the rest of the province as he could keep^m. However, *Ralph*, lord of *Gaucour*, governor for the king, having very early intelligence of this confederacy, attacked and beat the prince of *Orange*, who narrowly escaped with his life, and afterwards reconciled himself to the king, and entered into his serviceⁿ. But the most important event of this year was the siege of *Compeigne*, which the duke of *Burgundy* invested with a numerous army. The place was gallantly defended by the *Sieur de Blacy*, and the *Pucelle* throwing herself into it with an additional force, made a sally on the 26th of *May*, in which she had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by a gentleman of *Burgundy*, who sold her to the *English*^o. Notwithstanding this misfortune, *Compeigne* was so well defended, that the count *de Vendosme*, having assembled a competent number of troops, forced the besiegers in their camp, and obliged them to retire in such haste, that they left their artillery and baggage, which so raised the spirits of his forces, that he offered the duke of *Burgundy* battle, which that prince thought it prudent to decline^p.

A. D. 1450.

Carried to Rouen and burnt there as a sorceress and a witch, while Henry VI. was in that city.

THE war was carried on with as much vigour on both sides as the shattered state of their finances and the exhausted condition of the provinces would allow; so that every day produced either the surprisal of towns, excursions for plunder, or disputes in the field; which, however, determined nothing^q. The disputed succession of the duchy of *Lorraine* augmented the differences between king *Charles* and the duke of *Burgundy*, the former took part with *Rene d'Anjou*, brother to *Lewis*, king of *Sicily*, who had married *Isabella*, the daughter of the last duke *Charles*; and the duke espoused that of the count *de Vaudemont*, brother to the deceased duke of *Lorraine*. This affair was for the present decided by a battle, in which *Rene* was made prisoner^r. The regent duke of *Bedford*, who had caused the young king his nephew to pass the sea to *Calais*, from whence he came to *Rouen*, made use of his presence there to countenance the prosecution of the *Pucelle*, who was charged with heresy, sorcery, and seducing the people from their duty. She defended herself with great firmness and spirit, during a trial that lasted for several months; but, being condemned, she submitted herself to the censure of the church, abjured her heresy, resumed the habit of her sex, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, without receiving any other sustenance than bread and water. A few days after, her dressing again in man's apparel was adjudged contumacy, and she condemned, by the bishop of *Beauvois* and the inquisitors, who were her judges, to the flames; and, being delivered to the secular power, was accordingly burnt in the market place of *Rouen*^s. She suffered with courage, and asserted she was no impostor. Her memory was justified twenty-four years after, when the crown of *France* was the strongest, by the papal authority; but the dispute is not yet settled amongst the learned, whether she was a saint, a witch, or, what the moderns call, a girl of spirit. On the second of *December*, *Henry* made his entry into *Paris*, by the gate of *St. Denis*, was received with apparent marks of duty and submission, and of joy likewise; he paid his respects to his grandmother, the queen dowager, and on the 17th was crowned in the cathedral of *Notre Dame*, by his uncle, the cardinal bishop of *Winchester*, which disobliged the bishop of *Paris* extremely^t; there were only two spiritual and none of the temporal peers present. On the 21st he held his bed

1451.

* Annales de France. DUP.

SERRES. DU TIL. MEZ.

P. DAN. CHALONS.

Henault.

^o Hist. de la Pucelle d'Orleans. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. DUPLEIX. BOULANV.

^p Abrege Chronologique Chroniques de MONST.

^q Chroniques de MONST. Annales de France. P.

^r Hist. de Charles VII. par J. CHART. Chroniques de MONST.

^s Annales de France. POLYD. VIRG. Hist. Angl. Proces M. S. de la Pucelle.

^t Hist. de Charles VII. par J. CHART. Chroniques de MONST. HALL. HOLINSHED.

STOWE. MEZ. P. DAN.

¹ Histoire de Charles VII. Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans. J. DE

^m Abrege Chronologique Historia de la Pucelle d'Orleans. GAGU. Hist.

ⁿ Annales de France. Chroniques de MONST. P. ÆMIL. LE GEND. Fr.

^o Hist. de la Pucelle d'Orleans. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. DUPLEIX. BOULANV.

^p Abrege Chronologique Chroniques de MONST.

^q Chroniques de MONST. Annales de France. P.

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^t Hist. de Charles VII. par J. CHART. Chroniques de MONST. HALL. HOLINSHED.

STOWE. MEZ. P. DAN.

a of justice in open parliament, and received the homage of all the members. Before the close of the year he returned again to *Rouen*, with an intention of revisiting *Paris* the following^u.

THE reason for which the duke of *Bedford* sent him thither, was, that his person might be secure, the troops of king *Charles* making frequently incursions as far as the *Seine*, and there being still some suspicions as to the fidelity of the people of *Paris*. Yet this step, that was equally prudent and well executed, was very near producing a bad effect, a French gentleman surprizing the castle, with one hundred and twenty men; and the city had been likewise taken, if the troops employed for that purpose had not quarrelled about the division of the booty before the place was taken, which gave the *English* and the townsmen an opportunity of recovering the castle, and of executing the best part of the garrison, who had surrendered at discretion^w. The bastard of *Orleans*, now stiled count of *Dunois*, had been more fortunate in surprizing *Chartres*; and the *English*, in their turn, made themselves masters of *Montargis*^x, which the *French* attempted to recover, but failed, through the negligence of *la Trimouille*, the king's first minister, who becoming thereby very odious, the constable resolved to treat him as he had done his predecessors. Having concerted measures with some of the principal persons about the court, who abhorred him for his pride, they seized him in the castle of *Chinon*, in the very next room to the king; and, after a struggle, in which the minister was wounded, carried him away prisoner, and shut him up in the castle of *Montresor*, where he remained long confined^y. The king at first shewed himself highly exasperated at this outrage on his authority; but finding there was no remedy, and having himself also just cause to be offended with the minister, who was very near as arbitrary as ever the constable had been, he suffered himself to be pacified by the queen, and bestowed his confidence on her brother the count *de Maine*, who had been one of the most active in seizing *Trimouille*^z, and who was excited to this behaviour by the promise of the constable that he should be his successor. A. D. 1432.

CHARLES went yet farther, which, perhaps, was going too far: he called a kind of assembly of the states at *Tours*, where his chancellor declared in his name to the assembly, that the king was not offended with those who had seized *la Trimouille*, but held them still in his good graces. This was the third time that the constable had changed the ministry by violence; and yet, at the persuasion of the count *de Maine*, the king was reconciled to him, and received him again at court as if nothing had happened^a. The modern historians say, that *Charles*, who was young and much addicted to his pleasures, hated business, and was very glad to let any body govern, provided they left him to divert himself in peace. He was certainly young, amorous, and well enough pleased with spectacles; but he was very far from wanting either parts or courage, and he very often shewed both when they were least expected; but hitherto he had been always governed, and those who governed him did his business well. Many of the princes and great lords were both able and inclined to serve him, but they would do it in their own way; and, whatever might be in his will, it was certainly not in his power, to render them more submissive^b. He saw, therefore, that, by pursuing his pleasures, to which he was no enemy, his own affairs and those of the state would not suffer; since the nobility, who affected to be independent, were willing and able enough to carry on the war^c. He knew that the constable, though very impetuous and overbearing, was an excellent officer, and had a great influence over his brother, and had the honour of the crown and the welfare of the public sincerely at heart, which were motives sufficient not to make him very difficult about a reconciliation; but, besides all this, he very well knew, that how much soever he might be obliged to stoop, while his crown was in dispute, he might resume the monarch at any time, when in full possession of his dominions^d. He contented himself, therefore, with being a spectator, and with carrying on some intrigues with the duke of *Orleans* in *England*, which turned highly to his advantage. In the mean time some insurrections in the *Low Countries* embarrassed the duke of *Burgundy*; and his sister, the duchess of *Bedford*, dying, some disputes arose between him and the regent, who, without consulting him, had married a second wife. The cardinal of *Winchester*, in order to reconcile them, proposed an interview at *St. Omers*, to which place they both came, but, notwithstanding, never met; for the duke of *Burgundy* insisting upon the first visit, they withdrew more exasperated than ever, each determined to pursue his own measures^e. 1433.

THE war had occasioned a famine through the greatest part of the kingdom: in *Normandy* more especially the people suffered so much, and thought themselves so ill used by some of

^u Journal de ce qui est arrivé à Paris. WILHELM WYRCSTER Annales rerum Anglicarum. POLYD. VIRG. Hist. Ang. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. ^w Annales de France. DUP. ^x Abrege Chronologique MONST. GAG. Hist. ^y Annales de France. D'ARGEN. Histoire de Bretagne. P. ÆMIL. ^z Annales de France. ^a Chroniques de MONST. Annales de France. P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. ^b Hist. de Charles VII. par J. CHART. Abrege Chronologique J. DE SERRES. MEZ. ^c Journal de ce qui est arrivé à Paris. MONST. GAG. Hist. Pr. Henault. LE GEND. ^d Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. DUP. ^e Annales de France, MONST. P. ÆMIL. DUP. LE GEND.

ans, engages
his competitor
Henry VI. to
consent to a
treaty.

A. D. 1434.

Concludes the
famous treaty
of Arras, with
Philip the
Good, duke of
Burgundy, on
hard conditi-
ons.

1435.

The city of Pa-
ris is delivered
to Charles

the *English* commanders, that they revolted both in the *Upper* and *Lower Normandy*, took several places, and, if they had been joined in time by any of *Charles's* forces, might have recovered their province. As it was, they were in a short time reduced, partly by promises and partly by force; and all that their rising produced, was an increase of those mischiefs which they assigned as the causes of their taking up arms^f. The duke of *Bourbon* being dead, after a long captivity in *England*, his son the count *de Clermont*, who now bore that title, made a potent diversion on the side of *Burgundy*, notwithstanding he had married the duke's sister. At first, in all probability, the war was in earnest, but by degrees they fell to treat, and at length they made a particular treaty, which produced some insinuations of the king's inclination to compromise the disputes that had so long subsisted between them. The constable then renewed his intercourse with the duke of *Burgundy*, who perceiving that he should find equal inconveniencies in case the *English* prevailed, which was not now at all probable, or, if *Charles* carried his point, without coming to a previous agreement, resolved to treat at once, and secure to himself those advantages which could not well be refused him, as things then stood^g. In the mean time the duke of *Orleans*, in concert, as it may be reasonably supposed, with king *Charles*, had amused the government in *England* with the hopes of an advantageous treaty of peace, which was to be negotiated at *Calais*. The design of this seems to have been to procure the consent of the *English* court to treat at any rate; to which, when they had once yielded, they could not avoid sending their plenipotentiaries to *Arras*, where two legates were arrived, one from the pope, and the other from the council at *Basil*, and where the duke of *Burgundy* not only assisted by his ministers, but also in person^h.

THE offers made by the *French* plenipotentiaries were the duchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne* entire, the usual homage only reserved, which the *English* ministers absolutely and scornfully rejected; insisting, that both parties should keep what they had got, excepting only the exchange of such towns and districts on both sides as were situate within each other's general bounds, and might thereby prove the source of new disputes. As they would not depart in the least from these terms, the mediators declared in favour of the propositions made by *Charles*; and upon this the *English* plenipotentiaries withdrewⁱ. This was precisely what king *Charles* and the duke of *Burgundy* wanted, who had already settled, at least in a good measure, all their disputes; and the treaty being quickly reduced into form, was signed and ratified by both parties. It was mortifying enough, in many respects, to the monarch who made it, and as advantageous, in all respects, to the duke of *Burgundy*, as he could desire. Therefore the necessity on one hand, and the advantages expected on the other, secured the king against any reproaches for making a treaty, which, in many respects, derogated from his dignity, and which would have been highly prejudicial to his interest, if he could, with any propriety, be said to have any interest, capable of standing in competition with the peace^k. In the space of a week after the peace was concluded died *Isabella*, queen-dowager of *France*, of a broken heart, occasioned in a great measure, as the *French* historians say, by the reproaches thrown upon her by the *English* soldiers, who told her, to her face, that she knew her son *Charles* to have no relation to the king her husband. She had lived long in a private condition; her death made little impression, and her coffin, being put into a boat, with four of her domestics, was sent by water to *St. Denis*, and there interred, without so much as a bishop to perform the funeral ceremonies^l. In her will she expressed great tenderness for the regent duke of *Bedford*, whom she styled her son. There has been a tomb erected for her since, though it cannot be said, with any propriety, to do honour to her memory, since a wolf is placed at the feet of her effigies, as a symbol of her cruel, rapacious, and unnatural disposition^m. In the month of *December* following died the regent duke of *Bedford*, at *Rouen*, concerning whom the *French* and *English* historians seem to contend which shall speak best. He was, in all respects, one of the ablest and bravest men of his time, equally respected and regretted by both nations. The *French* recovered this year *Dieppe*, and several other places in *Normandy*; and the ill reception the duke of *Burgundy's* notification of his treaty met with in *England* gave them good reason to hope, that this prince, who by this peace was become neuter, would be, in consequence of it, obliged to declare himself their ally; though this was far enough from being his original intentionⁿ.

THE duke of *York* succeeded the late king's brother, the duke of *Bedford*, in the regency of *France*; but, though a prince adorned with many good qualities, yet having a high spirit,

^f Hist. de Charles VII. par J. CHART. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. GAG. Hist. MEZ. P. DAN.
^g Annales de France, MONST. J. DE SERRES. DU TIL. Pr. Henault. ^h Abrege Chronologique,
MONST. GAGUIN. Hist. MEZ. P. DAN. ⁱ Annales de France, Histoire de Charles VII. par JEAN
CHART. P. ÆMIL DU TIL. LE GEND. ^k Histoire de Charles VII. par CHART. Annales de
France. MONST. MEZ. P. DAN. ^l Annales de France, Aët. Pub. MONST. CAALONS. ^m Hist.
de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST. Annales de France. DU TIL. P. DAN. ⁿ Abrege Chronolo-
gique. Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST. P. ÆMIL. Pr. Henault.

and

- a and expecting as deep a submission when things went ill as when they were ever so prosperous, he was much less fit for that employment^o. However, having clear courage and great activity, he might perhaps have done tolerably well, if he had been sent over immediately; but the factions in *England* prevented that, and thereby made way for such misfortunes as were afterwards without remedy. The constable of *France*, though he had not an army sufficient to attempt the siege, laboured to distress the city of *Paris* by a distant blockade, and preventing regular supplies of provisions, in which he succeeded so far as to make the inhabitants very uneasy^p. Sir Robert Willoughby commanded in that capital with a garrison of about fifteen hundred men; and, as long as the duke of *Burgundy* was in the *English* interest, held the people in great order; but, after the treaty of *Arras*, he found himself under great difficulties, which put him under the necessity of treating them more severely; upon which they entered into a secret negotiation with the constable, and offered, provided they might have a general indemnity, and a confirmation of their privileges, to seize one of their gates, and to admit his forces. This the constable readily promised, and undertook that the king should confirm it: and, having surprized a part of the garrison, the citizens fulfilled their promise, and delivered him one of their gates: the *English* governor, Willoughby, assisted by such prelates as yet adhered to king *Henry's* interest, did all that was possible to repel the *French*, and preserve the place; and at length, when this was found impossible, retired into the *Bastile*, where they were presently blocked up^q. Some disputes arose whether any terms should be offered, or whether they should insist upon their surrendering at discretion; but the constable, perceiving that the people of *Paris* inclined to treat the *English* garrison mildly, he offered that they should be sent to *Rouen*, either by land or water: they chose the latter, and the capitulation was punctually executed^r.

THIS glorious action restored the constable entirely to his master's favour, who did not immediately repair to *Paris*, but first solemnized the marriage of his son the dauphin with a princess of *Scotland*, *Margaret* daughter to *James II.* and next took care to regulate every thing in the best manner possible in the provinces on the other side of the *Loire*. The duke of *Burgundy*, finding that the *English* were negotiating an alliance with the emperor *Sigismund*, and suspecting that they encouraged insurrections in the *Low Countries*, resolved to declare openly in favour of *France*, which he did; and, with a numerous army, besieged *Calais*.

- d But the duke of *Gloucester* coming over with a competent strength, compelled him to raise the siege, and afterwards ravaged *Artois* and other provinces adjacent. The duke of *York* likewise landing in *Normandy*, with a body of *English* troops, quickly recovered most part of the *French* conquests, and made the necessary dispositions for taking the field early the next spring with a competent army, while a formidable rebellion in the *Low Countries* put it out of the power of the duke of *Burgundy* to give his new allies any kind of assistance^s.

- THE winter proving very hard, general *Talbot*, one of the ablest and one of the most fortunate of the *English* officers, took advantage of a great fall of snow, and, having dressed his soldiers in white, surprized *Pontois*; and the *French*, who made a like attempt upon *Rouen*, not only failed, but suffered extremely in their retreat^t. The parliament and other sovereign courts being returned to *Paris*, the inhabitants were very desirous the king should also return thither: but *Charles*, who knew the rumours that had been spread to his prejudice, persisted in the resolution he had formed, of not going thither till he had performed some action of importance: he sent orders, therefore, to the constable, to assemble as many troops as he could, in order to besiege *Montereau*, which, by commanding the *Seine*, gave the people at *Paris* much disturbance: as the place was strong, and had a good garrison, it made an obstinate defence; however, when an assault was practicable, the king assisted in person, passed the ditch up to the middle, mounted the ladder that was raised against the breach, and was among the first who entered the place, which was quickly taken, the garrison retiring into the castle, which also capitulated in a few days^u. This had the effect the king proposed, raised his reputation highly, and contributed not a little to the universal joy that was expressed at his making a solemn entry into *Paris*, on the 17th of *November*, after an absence of about nineteen years^v. This joy, however, was of very short duration, since, in six weeks time, he was obliged to abandon it on account of the plague, which was accompanied with famine and another severe winter, in which wolves passing the river in the night, destroyed numbers of people in the streets^x. This scarcity extended itself through

VII. who from this time is considered as monarch of France.

Philip duke of Burgundy besieges Calais, but is constrained to raise it by the duke of Gloucester.

The king makes his entry with great pomp into his capital.

A. D. 1437.

^o Annales de France. HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE. GAG. Hist. P. DAN. LE GEND. P Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. MONST. P. ÆMIL. Pr. Henault.

^q MONST. Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. GAG. Hist. DU TIL. ^r Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. MONST. P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. ^s Annales de France. MONST. Abrege Chron. P. DAN. BOULANV. ^t Hist de Charles VII. par CHART. Abrege

Chion. P. DAN. BOULANV. ^u Annales de France. MONST. Abrege Chron. DU TIL. LE GEND. ^v Abrege Chorologique. Annales de France. Hist. de Charles VII. P. DANIEL. Pr. Henault.

^x Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. Hist. de Charles VII. GAG. Hist.

the greatest part of the kingdom; and the long continuance of the war having, in a manner, a extinguished industry, multitudes had no other way of subsisting than by rapine; at the same time the general poverty was so great, that it was not easy to find any who had much to lose ^y.

Charles, in an assembly of the clergy, lays the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church.

THE king passed the next year on the other side of the *Loire*, where he had an affair of great importance to manage ^z. The council of *Basil* had quarrelled with pope *Eugenius* the fifth. Having taken several resolutions to bridle the papal power, they sent them by five ambassadors to the king, desiring that, by his authority, they might be observed throughout his dominions. *Charles*, upon this, called an assembly of the clergy at *Bourges*, where, in the presence of the princes of the blood, and of the chief nobility of the kingdom, he caused these canons to be examined; and finding them, for the most part, to be very wise and just, b and perfectly calculated to extinguish the capital grievances ^a that had been so long complained of, he caused them to be compiled into a law, for the benefit of the *Gallican* church, to which he gave the title of the *Pragmatic sanction*: by this the power of nominating to ecclesiastical dignities, granting expectatives, pensions, exemptions, and other acts of power, were taken from the see of *Rome*; and those branches of the papal prerogatives, which were not abolished, were so curtailed, as to be less injurious to the people and detrimental to the monarchy ^b. But when the council afterwards deposed the pope, he would not withdraw his obedience ^c; neither would he yield to the intercessions of this or of the succeeding pontiffs, with relation to the *Pragmatic sanction*, which has been justly considered as the great bulwark of the rights of the *Gallican* church, against the tyrannical pretensions of the c *Roman* pontiffs ^d.

A. D. 1433.

A treaty with England, which comes, in the end, to nothing, tho' both parties stand in need of it.

The duchess of *Burgundy*, who, as a daughter of *Portugal*, was nearly related to *Henry* the sixth, being both descended from *John* duke of *Lancaster*, prevailed upon that monarch to send over his uncle the cardinal of *Winchester* to confer with the plenipotentiary of *France*, about the means of procuring a peace, which was alike necessary to both parties; but these conferences, though often renewed, came at last to nothing ^e. In the mean time the constable, with some difficulty, took *Meaux*; but, having besieged *Avranges*, general *Talbot* surprized his forces, and constrained him to raise the siege ^f. The king was so much chagrined at this, that he sent orders to the constable to keep the army assembled, in order to undertake some other enterprize; but, from the licence of those times, that was found d impracticable: upon which the king, by the advice of the constable and chief officers, contrived the best plan of discipline that the then state of his affairs would admit; and, having provided for the constant and regular pay of the forces, declared his intention to see that plan carried into execution for the public benefit, and without respect of persons; which, though perfectly well intended, was, however, very ill taken, by many who found their private account in the public disorders, and pretended that past services were ill requited; because, after having defended the king's subjects, they were not allowed to plunder them ^g. But *Charles*, who saw the reasonableness of the new regulation, and who also foresaw their consequences, though he gave good words to the malecontents, remained firm to his resolution, which was, in effect, the first attempt made to introduce a true scheme of duty, e and to subject military men to military laws ^h.

1439.

The dauphin concurs with the malecontents in the sedition called the Praguerie.

THE dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon* were among the number of the malecontents; and the count *Dunois*, who could not bear the superiority of the constable, was amongst them likewise: but the principal author and mover of this sedition was *la Tremouille*, who, having recovered his liberty, thought he must of course be restored to the post of prime minister ⁱ. By his advice they practised upon the dauphin, and, notwithstanding the honesty and integrity of the count *de la Marche*, his governor, drew that young prince, who was but in his eighteenth year, to join them. They made choice of *Blois* for their rendezvous, to which city the constable came by choice, so that they had every thing in their power; and yet were so imprudent, as, after affronting, to let him go. It was with some difficulty he joined the f king, who could not help saying, at the sight of him, "Now I have my constable, I am "afraid of nobody:" which, however, was not exactly the truth; since he proposed to shut himself up in a fortress: to which the constable answered, "Remember the fate of

^y Abrege Chronologique. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. P. ÆMIL. P. DAN. ^z Hist. de Charles VII. Annales de France. GAGU. Hist. CHALONS. ^a MONST. Abrege Chronologique. Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. J. DE SERRES. P. DAN. ^b Annales de France. MONSTR. Abrege Chronologique. DUP. LE GEND. ^c Hist. de Charles VII. Abrege Chronologique. Annales de France. GAGU. Hist. P. DAN. ^d Annales de France. Hist. de Charles VII. P. ÆMIL. Pr. Henault. ^e Abrege Chronologique. ^f Annales de France. Histoire de Charles VII. par JEAN CHART. MONST. P. ÆMIL. ^g Abrege Chronologique. Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. Annales de France. DUP. P. Henault. ^h Annales de France. MONST. Abrege Chronologique. J. DE SERRES. LE GEND. ⁱ Hist. de Charles VII. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. GAGUINI Hist. Pr. Henault.

a "Richard of England, don't shut up yourself^k." The king then began to arm, sent a herald to demand his son from the duke of *Alençon*, and, with the few troops he had about him, marched directly against the malecontents; who, when they came to raise a rebellion in earnest, found themselves strangely mistaken; for most of the cities shut their gates against them, and sent troops and money to the king. The dauphin then applied himself to the duke of *Burgundy*, who assured him of his friendship, and, as a mark of it, promised to send an envoy to recommend him to the clemency of the king^l.

Thus abandoned, he retired with the duke of *Bourbon* into his domains, where they were quickly saluted with a message, requiring them to come to court, which they resolved to obey; because the count of *Dunois*, who deserted them early to throw himself at the king's feet, had been received into full favour. They set out with *La Tremouille*, *Chaumont*, and *de Prie*; but when they came within half a league of *Cussel*, where the king was, they received a message that those lords had no favour to expect^m. The dauphin would have retired with them, but the duke of *Bourbon* advised and prevailed upon him to go on. Upon their arrival the king bid the dauphin retire to his apartment; the duke kneeling to kiss his hand, he said, "This is not the first time you have offended me, but take my advice, and let it be the last." The dauphin came the next day to his father, told him he had engaged his word to the three lords, and that, if he would not pardon them, he would leave the place. "With all my heart," replied *Charles*, "the gate is open; and, if you don't think it wide enough, I'll order twenty yards of the wall to be broke downⁿ." However,

c the dauphin staid, and his father changed all his domestics, except his confessor and his cook. Thus ended this piece of confusion, which was stiled the *Praguerie*, the etymology of which word is not known; but we learn from *Comines* that it is the same with *Briguerie*. While the dauphin was employed in disturbing his father's government, the earls of *Somerset* and *Dorset*, with the famous general *Talbot*, besieged *Harfleur*, notwithstanding all the efforts the French captains made to preserve it^o. In the mean time the duke of *Orleans* settled his ransom in *England*, at three hundred thousand crowns; two thirds of which sum were paid by the duke of *Burgundy* out of pure generosity, as the French authors affirm; our records, however, much reduce the duke of *Burgundy*'s favour; by which an end was put to the feuds between the two families. The two princes exchanged their orders of the golden fleece and

d the porcupine; and the duke of *Orleans*, as soon as he was released, married the daughter of the duke of *Cleves*, who was the duke of *Burgundy*'s niece, with which close conjunction between the two dukes king *Charles*, however, was so much displeased, that he would not permit the duke of *Orleans* to come to court, with the nobles of *Burgundy* who attended him; at which he was so much offended, that he retired to his own estates^p. A. D. 1440.

The king, perceiving how much his reputation was raised, by the vigour he had shewn in suppressing the malecontents, resolved to command his army in person, and to carry on the war with spirit, which was the more necessary, as the duke of *York* was returned into France, with the title of regent, after the death of the earl of *Warwick*^q. His first enterprize was against *Creil*, upon the *Oise*, which he took after a siege of no long continuance; and this encouraged him to invest *Pontoise*, a place of great consequence to the *Parisians*, who there-

e fore applauded the king highly on this expedition: but the place was not taken with the same facility^r. The duke of *York* and general *Talbot* relieved and shifted the place five several times, and many of the nobility began to quit the army, their time of service being expired^s. The king, upon this, withdrew to *Poffi*; where hearing that the people of *Paris* made very free with his character, he returned suddenly before the place, and ordered a general assault to be given on the 19th of *September*, in which he mounted the breach in person, entered the town at the head of his troops, and carried it by storm^t. This once more established his reputation, and shewed, what his grandfather was too wise a man ever to shew, that it was not for want of courage he sometimes declined action, but because he thought he had about him better officers than himself. The dauphin was there also, and behaved as became him, for he was now all submission; and as his great talent was dissimulation, he performed his part perfectly well, and the king, who was honest and brave, never suspected the deceit^u.

The king marched the next spring into *Poitou*, being absolutely bent upon reducing the governors of cities and fortresses in those parts to an exact discipline, in which the duke of

^k Abrege Chronologique. P. DAN.

^l Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST.

^m Abrege Chronologique. GAGU. Hist. LE GEND.

ⁿ Annales de France. P. EMIL. MEZ. P. DAN. Pr. Henault.

^o MONST. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. GAG. Hist. DU TIL. P. DAN.

^p Abrege Chronologique. CHALONS. BOULAN.

^q Annales de France. Hist. de Charles VII. par J. CHART. J. DE SERRES. MEZ. P. DAN.

^r Abrege Chronologique. GAG. Hist. DUPLEIX.

^s Hist. de Charles VII. MONST.

^t Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. CHALONS. LE GEND.

^u Annales de France.

^v Abrege Chronologique. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris.

^w Annales de France.

^x Hist. de Charles VII. Pr. Henault.

dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, and Bretagne.

Orleans, who had great estates thereabouts, concurred, and the king received this mark of a submission with great civility, though he knew very well the correspondence he held, and the steps he was taking^w. On his arrival at *Limoges*, the whole scheme broke out, and he received their deputies from the princes and great lords who were disposed to think that he managed public affairs very ill, and that it was impossible he should manage them otherwise, till he did it by their advice: the dukes of *Orleans*, *Burgundy*, and *Bretagne*, were at the head of these complaints, and were seconded by the dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon*, with the whole body of antient malecontents. *Charles*, by the mouth of the bishop of *Clermont*, condescended to enter into the whole detail of the grievances which they produced, and proved plainly, that many of them did not subsist, that others flowed either from themselves or their creatures, and that he was very willing to redress the rest, as soon as it was in his power^x. He conducted himself, upon this occasion, with great temper and moderation, but, at the same time, with great dignity and firmness. After he had given his answer, he added, that he was much obliged to the duke of *Orleans* for the great concern he had for the public, and was very sensible of the hardships he must have suffered in twenty-five years captivity; and, therefore, setting all disputes aside, if he would come and share the amusements of the *Witsun* holidays with him at *Limoges*, he would have no cause to repent of his journey.

The king, by taking the duke of Orleans, dissipates the league of the malecontents.

A. D. 1442.

THIS message brought the duke, whom the king received very graciously, gave him one hundred and forty thousand franks towards his ransom, and settled a handsome pension on him, out of respect to his patriotism^y. *Orleans* immediately acquainted the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* that they were quite misinformed as to the king, who was the wisest and best prince in the world: and thus the malecontents were once more left to his mercy. The king, after dissipating this storm, prosecuted his march into *Languedoc*, in order to save the town of *Fortas*, which belonged to the lord of *Albret*, and which had capitulated with the general of the *English* army in *Guienne*, in case the *French* king did not come to its relief by a day assigned. The *Sieur de Albret* had served *Charles* with the utmost fidelity, in his lowest fortunes; the king, who was the most grateful prince of his age, was bent upon this expedition, which the malecontents had made it a point to hinder. He carried it however with a high hand, kept the day, and offered the *English* battle, who, being much inferior in number, declined it; but very honourably released the son of the *Sieur de Albret*, whom his father had given in hostage for the performance of this agreement^z. The king's steadiness did him a great deal of service, and attached to him the lords in that neighbourhood extremely, the fear of which was one great motive that influenced the malecontents.

The dauphin relieves Harfleur, and then reduces the count de Armagnac, who had revolted.

1443.

THE *English* having turned the siege of *Harfleur* into a blockade, pressed it so closely, that it was in great danger of being lost. The king had sent the count of *Dunois* to relieve it, which he had done more than once; but the *English* having built a redoubt before it, the inhabitants found themselves distressed to the last degree. At length the king sent the dauphin with a strong detachment from his own army, who invested the redoubt, attacked, and carried it sword in hand, by which he gained great credit^a. *Charles* was so far from being displeased with the rising character of his son, that he sent him into *Gascony*, where himself had raised a kind of civil war by an act of justice, in setting the old countess of *Cominge* at liberty, whom her husband had confined twenty years; and the old lady dying soon after, left her county to the king. The count of *Armagnac*, the count of *Foix*, and the husband of the deceased countess, who had determined to share it amongst them, took up arms; and the count of *Armagnac* carried his resentment so far as to promise his daughter to *Henry* the sixth of *England*, in order to obtain his assistance. The dauphin, charged with the management of this war, prosecuted it with so much courage and conduct, that he not only recovered the county of *Cominges*, and broke the confederacy, but compelled the count of *Armagnac* to renounce his treaty with *England*, and to demand the king's mercy^b. This restored him intirely to his father's favour, and gained him the esteem of the nation in general.

A truce with England, and the armies in France disbanded according to the king's plan.

THE desire of peace continued still equally strong, because the necessity of it was equally felt by both parties; and, therefore, to satisfy their subjects, the two kings, *Charles* and *Henry*, consented to a kind of congress at *Tours*, where, after many altercations, a truce was concluded, to commence the middle of *May* this year, and to end on the first of *April* in the next^c. At the same time a marriage treaty was adjusted between king *Henry* and the princess *Margaret*, daughter to *Rene* the titular king of *Naples*, duke of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. This truce, as the *French* historians say, was a great stroke in politics on the side of the

^w Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. P. DAN. ^x MONST. Abrege Chronologique. CHALONS. LE GEND. ^y Abrege Chronologique. Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. P. DAN. ^z Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. MONST. POLYD. VIRGIL Hist. Angl. HALL. HOLINSH. LE GENDRE. ^a Hist. de Charles VII. Pr. Henault. ^b Abrege Chronologique. MEZ. Pr. Henault. ^c MATTH. DE CONIC. Hist. de Charles VII. DU TIL.

- a *English* ministers ; but in *England* it was considered in a very different light : and the authors of it were looked upon, and some of them at least suffered in the end, as traitors. Be this as it may, both parties then boasted of their moderation, and both were equally at a loss what to do with the troops they had on foot, that they might not be tempted to make war for themselves when no longer employed by the two crowns. *Charles* thought this a point of such consequence, that he consented his son should lead a numerous army for the service of the house of *Austria*, against the *Switzers* ; and the *English*, who apprehended the same inconvenience, took this opportunity to send a body of six or eight thousand under his command^d. The king, at the head of another army, marched to besiege the city of *Metz*, in the quarrel of *Rene* of *Anjou*, duke of *Lorraine*. The dauphin made himself master of *Montbeliard* by composition, and beat a body of *Swiss* troops near *Basil* ; but, at the request of the council that was still sitting, he entered into a negotiation with the cantons, and concluded the first treaty that was ever made between them and the crown of *France*^e. On the other side, the king, finding a much more obstinate resistance than he expected from the citizens of *Metz*, came at length to a composition, and agreed to accept of a very large sum of money for the expences of the war ; and procured, at the same time, the release of a large debt that was due from his brother-in-law the duke of *Lorraine* to that city. On the return of these armies into *France*, the king, with the assistance of the dauphin, the princes of the blood, and the great lords, carried into execution his great scheme of discipline. Having gratified the principal officers with employments and pensions, he obliged the greatest part of the private men to disband, and betake themselves either to agriculture, to the several trades to which they had been bred, or to some other honest employment. At the same time he made use of the best of troops, now divided into regular corps, and a proper fund settled to their assistance, to scour the roads, and to keep the country clear of thieves and vagabonds ; by which the public tranquillity was sooner and more effectually restored, than, after so long and bloody a war, could have been easily imagined^f : for which, with good reason, a medal was struck, to perpetuate the memory of this transaction. A. D. 1444.

- It is admitted by the *French* historians, that, as the whole of this scheme was contrived, so the most difficult part in the execution was personally performed, by the king. After a general review, he signified to the troops that were to be disbanded, his resolution to treat as rebels such as should continue in arms, should assemble together in bands, or should, in any manner, trouble the peace of the kingdom ; which, considering the mischiefs that had followed the peace of *Bretigny*, and the terrors spread by the companies, seems to be a full proof, that *Charles* was as little wanting in conduct and firmness as in spirit and courage : but because he did things coolly, and was willing to enjoy peace when he had obtained it, men of warm spirits have taken the liberty of representing him as an indolent prince, continually immersed in pleasures. One may suspect that this condescension and moderation in respect to his neighbours, might likewise contribute to this ; for it is certain that the king, in treating with the duchess of *Burgundy*, in behalf of her consort, and with the new duke of *Bretagne*, was very far from assuming or insisting upon more than his right, but rather the contrary. This, though very possibly it might be the effects of his temper, it was very suitable to his circumstances, and to the dictates of sound policy, whatever the lovers of superiority and advocates for his regal rights might suggest^g. He acted with the same temper, and just regard to the state of his own affairs, and those of his neighbours, when he declined entering into a formal war with the state of *Genoa*, which, after having, in express terms, demanded his protection, and received his assistance, excluded his troops, and refused to comply with their engagements ; but he kept *Final*, which they had put into his hands, and referred their chastisement to a more convenient time^h. In the like manner he let slip the claim of the duke of *Orleans* to the duchy of *Milan*, which, by the assistance of the power of *France*, he might possibly have made good. But *Charles*, who had his own quiet and the good of his subjects in view, did not care to plunge himself into a new war on the other side of the *Alps*, before his people had recovered themselves from the miseries and misfortunes to which they were exposed during the weak reign of his unfortunate father. As a conclusive proof that, in all this, he acted prudently, and on right principles, let us observe, that *Henry* the sixth having stipulated to restore the city of *Mons* and its dependencies to his consort's uncle, and the *French* king's brother-in-law, *Charles* count of *Maine*, which, out of fear of his own subjects, he had hitherto delayed ; this monarch made no scruple of causing it to be invested by a competent body of troops, while, with a more potent

^d Abrege Chronologique. Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. DUPLÉIX. POLYD. VIRG. MEZERAY. LE GENDRE. ^e Recueil de Traites, par LEONARD, tom. iv. Abrege Chronologique. MONSTR. P. DAN. ^f MATTH. DE CONIC. Hist. de Charles VII. Abrege Chronologique. LE GEND. DUPL. ^g D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne. Abrege Chronologique. DU TILLET. P. DANIEL. ^h MONSTR. Hist. de Charles VII. par CHART. P. ZEMIL. MEZ. LE GEND.

A. D. 1448. army, commanded by himself in person, he carried on the siege; and, by this stroke of vigour, recovered a place that was of more importance to him than to the prince whose title he seemed to espouseⁱ. The place being taken by capitulation, he ordered his troops to return into their quarters, insisting that, by this, he had not at all infringed the truce. As the situation of *Henry's* affairs made the renewing of the war very inconvenient to him, he chose to receive in good part an apology that would have been looked upon as an insult, while the dukes, either of *Bedford* or of *York*, had been intrusted with the management of his concerns in that kingdom.

The English unaccountably break the truce when their concerns were in great confusion.

THE care that *Charles* had taken to improve these few years of peace, by all the methods possible, had been attended with all the success he could expect, so that the face of the country was quite changed, and all the great cities were suddenly, and, in a manner, imperceptibly, repeopled. On the other hand, he had omitted nothing that might raise his reputation abroad, having, with great prudence and policy, composed that schism which had so long disturbed the church; he had likewise renewed his treaty with *James* the second king of *Scots*, on very honourable terms for that prince, notwithstanding the demise of the dauphiness his sister; and, from the same degree of foresight, had renewed his engagements with the crown of *Castile*; so that his concerns were in as good a condition as he could desire for renewing the war, which, however, it is probable he would have deferred for some time longer, if the unaccountable infatuation of the *English* had not put it out of his power. The duke of *Somerset* had been, by the queen's faction, sent over to replace the duke of *York*, whom she both hated and feared; and he, without any due consideration of the miserable situation that things were in at home by the murder of *Humphrey* duke of *Gloucester*, one of the king's uncles, and the death of the cardinal of *Winchester* another of them, which happened immediately after, suffered Sir *Francis Surienne*, knight of the garter, but an *Arragonese* by birth, to surprize *Fougeres*, a rich town on the frontiers of *Bretagne*, two months before the truce expired^k. The duke of *Bretagne* complained of this to both kings, insisting on restitution from the one, and demanding assistance from the other. *Charles*, according to his accustomed manner, declined proceeding with vigour, and consented to conference after conference, but, in the mean time, provided silently and speedily for the war he meditated. After providing for a diversion on the side of *Scotland*, the assistance of a *Spanish* fleet, and an offensive and defensive alliance with the duke of *Bretagne*, he first began as his auxiliary, and, as soon as every thing was disposed for the execution of his scheme, declared in his own name, and followed that declaration by entering *Normandy* with four armies at once, the strongest of which he commanded in person^l. The duke of *Somerset* and general *Talbot* did all that could be done in putting garrisons into the strongest places, which, however, disabled them from taking the field, and scarce left them troops sufficient for the defence of *Rouen*.

Charles seizes this opportunity and reduces Rouen and great part of Normandy.

THE *French* armies were so numerous and so well supplied, that, in a few weeks, they made many conquests; and, in the month of *October*, the count of *Dunois* appeared with his troops in order of battle before *Rouen*, in hopes of exciting a revolt, but without effect. Upon his retreat, however, some of the townsmen sent to let him know, that, if he would advance again into their neighbourhood, they would give his troops an opportunity to scale the town, which they performed; but, being surprized by general *Talbot*, when a few only had entered, he cut them, and the citizens who had joined them, to pieces, and threw their ladders over the wall^m. This unsuccessful attempt, as it appeared, had an event very different from what both parties expected; for tho' hitherto the inhabitants had been divided into parties, yet the next day, from different motives, they unanimously agreed to compel their governor to surrender the town. Accordingly, having extorted his consent, they sent their deputies to treat with king *Charles*, who consented to all their demands, which were, an act of oblivion, the confirmation of their privileges, and leave for such as desired it to retire to *England*ⁿ. The duke of *Somerset*, however, and general *Talbot*, having seized the bridge, the old palace, and the castle, resolved to defend them to the last extremity. But *Charles* gave them no opportunity of shewing their valour, but kept them blocked up till the appearance of famine obliged them to treat. The duke demanded leave to retire, to which the king consented, provided they rendered *Honfleur*, *Harfleur*, and the rest of the places they possessed at the mouth of the *Seine*, to which, at length, *Harfleur* excepted, *Somerset* agreed; and, with infinite regret, was forced to give general *Talbot* as a hostage for the performance of articles^o. The king made his entry into *Rouen*, with great splendor, on the 10th of *November*; and, though it was so late in the season, and his troops were so much fatigued,

ⁱ Abrege Chronologique. J. DE SERRES. DUPL. DU TIL. P. DAN. MATTH. DE CONIC. Histor. de Charles VII. LE GEND. VIRG. Hist. Angl. HALL. HOLINSH. J. DE SERRES. MEZ.

^k POLYD. VIRG. LE GEND

^l Abrege Chronologique. Hist. de J. CHART. HALL. HOLINSH. DU TIL.

^m Histoire de J. CHART.

ⁿ MATTH. DE CAUCI. DUPL. POLYD.

^o Hist. de J. CHART. DU TIL. P. DAN.

- a he caused *Honfleur* to be invested, which was reduced before the end of the year, which put him in possession of all *Normandy* on that side the *Seine* ^p.

THE fair opportunity the *French* now had of completing the conquest of *Normandy*, ^{Complete the conquest of that duchy in the beginning of the year ensuing;} banished all distinctions of seasons, and the care of the king in providing his forces plentifully with all things necessary for their convenience and support, made this so practicable, that *Honfleur* was invested on the 10th of *January*, and the siege prosecuted with so great vigour, that, on the 18th of *February*, it was surrendered ^q. Some domestic troubles hindered the king from prosecuting the war, as he intended, without interruption, and gave time to the *English* general *Kyreil*, who landed with a body of three thousand men, to reduce *Valogne*; but the young count of *Clermont*, eldest son to the duke of *Bourbon*, marching against him, the two armies engaged near the village of *Fourmigni*, and the *French*, being fortunately joined by the constable with some fresh troops, and some of the officers on the other side misbehaving, Sir *Thomas Kyreil*, after performing all that from a brave man or a great captain could be expected, was defeated and taken prisoner, with the loss in the whole of about five thousand men ^r. ^{after defeating the English forces in the battle of Fourmigni.}

- THIS action, which happened on the 15th of *April*, was decisive as to the fate of *Normandy*; for at least one half of these, being drawn out of the garrisons, left them so much weaker; a circumstance of which the king did not fail to profit: for he immediately caused *Caen* to be invested, into which the duke of *Somerset* had retired with about four thousand men. The place was strong and well fortified, so that when the constable came before it on the 5th of *June*, it was believed it would make a long defence. Upon the king's arrival in the camp, he caused the outworks to be attacked; and, though repulsed with loss, made another attempt the next day, in which he succeeded; he then sprung a mine with such success as obliged the duke to capitulate, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war on the first of *July*; but the king caused him and his garrison to be transported to *England* ^s at his own expence; and presently after ordered *Falaise* and *Domfront* to be invested. This being within land, the king left it to be taken at leisure, but directed *Cherbourg* to be pushed with all the vigour imaginable, so that it surrendered on the 12th of *August*, by which all *Normandy* was recovered in something more than a year ^t, which gave credit in those days to the prophecies of the *Pucelle d'Orleans*. Before the end of the year, some progress was made in the reduction of *Guienne*: but it is now time to speak of those intrigues that embittered all these prosperities, and filled *Charles* with chagrin, while his kingdom resounded with acclamations for his victories. A domestic evil, so much the more intolerable, as it appeared from the beginning irremediable.

- THE dauphin, after his famous expedition into *Guienne*, and reduction of the count of *Armagnac*, demanded the king's leave to retire into *Dauphine*, which, after some deliberation, ^{Lewis dauphin retires into that province, and affects an independency of his father.} was granted. *Charles* was somewhat doubtful of his son's disposition, though from the time of his submission he had behaved with the most exact obedience ^u. The king, that his retreat from court might wear the better appearance, left some disputes that he had with the duke of *Savoy* to the dauphin's determination, who performed therein all that the king could possibly expect; and sent the treaty he had negotiated to him, for his approbation ^v: but this was all artifice; for the dauphin still continued to hate his father, and every body about him, in proportion as they stood in his favour. At the head of these was *Pierre de Brese*, seneschal of *Poitou*, a man of high quality and great merit. Him he charged with crimes of all sorts, against the crown, the public welfare, and the king's person, demanding that he should be divested of power, and left to a fair trial. The king immediately complied, removed him from his seat in council, from all his employments, and from his presence; and then ordered his process to be formed. From having the fairest, he had the foulest character in *France*; all the world abandoned him, and many became his accusers; they had every advantage given them; but, upon a full trial, there could be nothing proved: the king gave him immediately the government of *Rouen*, and restored him, if possible, to more credit than he had before, which of consequence recalled his friends ^x. The dauphin's relentment, however, was more fatal to the king's mistress, *Agnes de Sorel*, by some called *The lovely Agnes*, and the *Demoiselle de Beauté*, from the castle of *Beauté*, which the king had given her. She had followed the king into the neighbourhood of *Rouen*, to acquaint him with a discovery she had made of a design against his person, which the king at first judged to be ridiculous, but

^p MATTH. DE COUCI. DUP. P. DAN. CHALONS. Pr. Henault. ^q POLYD. VIRG. STOWE. J. DE SERRES. ^r Abrege Chronologique. LE GEND. ^s Hist. de J. CHART. POLYD. VIRG. HALL. HOLINSH. DUPL. P. DAN. ^t MATTH. DE COUCI. Abrege Chronologique. DU TIL. LE GEND. Pr. Henault. ^u Hist. de J. CHART. ^v Hist. des Comtes de Valentinois, Traite & Ratification tires des Archives de Turin, Memorial de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris. ^x Hist. de J. CHART. DUPL. DU TIL. MEZ.

found afterwards was not entirely groundless; but she did not survive this journey, being
 A. D. 1450. seized with a distemper which hurried her to her grave in a few days^y (A). Such as are
 for attributing all the successes of this reign to fortune, tell us, that *Charles* was in nothing
 more happy than in the choice of his mistress, who frequently admonished him, that his
 duty as a king was inconsistent with his assiduity as a lover; and affirmed that it was to her
 persuasion *France* owed some of the greatest actions of his reign, which the historians, in
 succeeding times, were not inclined should be attributed to the king, though he performed
 them.

The count de Dunois, now count de Longueville, reduced all that country, which had been so long in the hands of the English, and which in the space of one campaign. THE count *de Dunois*, whom the king for his past services had created count *de Longueville*, rendered him such as were still more important in *Guienne*, where he prosecuted the war with such vigour and success, that, in the short interval between *May* and *August*, he reduced all that country, which had been so long in the hands of the *English*, and which was remarkably well affected to them^z. It is true that *Bordeaux* submitted on a capitulation, under which all the adjacent district was comprehended, by which the king precluded himself from ever imposing on the inhabitants any greater taxes than those to which they were subject at this time, and promised to establish a parliament or sovereign court of judicature at *Bordeaux*, where all things relative to that province were to be finally determined^a. *Bayonne* was the only place that defended itself after the submission of *Bordeaux*; but the place being invested, and something appearing in the heavens which the inhabitants thought a white cross, which was then the cognizance of *France*, in opposition to the red cross of *St. George*, they took occasion from thence to capitulate on the best terms they could obtain. The count of *Longueville*, having reduced all *Guienne*, with the title of the king's lieutenant general, left, by the king's orders, the command to the count *de Clermont*, whom he established his governor in those parts^b.

Charles makes a sudden peace with the duke of Savoy, in THE dauphin, who governed his own country as a sovereign, and who governed it wisely and well, held an intercourse with, and made himself respected by, all the princes in *Europe*, maintaining a proper behaviour towards every one, except his father. He did not,

^y MATTH. DE COUCI. P. DAN. ^z Abrege Chronologique. DUPL. DU TIL. LE GENDRE. POLYD. VIRG. P. DAN. ^a MATTH. DE COUCI. Hist. de J. CHART. MEZ. ^b Abrege Chronologique. Hist. de CHART. MEZ.

(A) It is very certain that one of the great causes of the misunderstanding between the king and his son the dauphin, was the aversion of the latter to *Agnes Sorel*, to whom it is said he once gave a blow on the cheek, which might probably draw upon him great suspicions when that lady came to die, as it was commonly conceived by poison (1). By her will *James Cœur*, the king's goldsmith; that is, in the language of those times, the person intrusted with the management of his finances, was named one of her executors; and yet he was accused of being the instrument of her death, and this proved three years afterwards one of the principal causes of his disgrace, though, upon a strict examination, he was acquitted of that charge, and *Jane de Vendome*, stiled commonly the *Demoiselle de Montagne*, who appeared to be the author of it, was declared guilty of calumny, forbid the court, and sent into exile (2). But notwithstanding this piece of justice, he likewise suffered, notwithstanding all the great services he had performed, which obliges us to say something more particularly of the man. *James Cœur* was the son of a merchant of *Bourges*, came early to court, and being intrusted in money affairs, acquitted himself with great honour and reputation. It is very difficult to know which he did best, the king's business, or his own; for he was the richest subject of that age in *Europe*. The chymists have from thence taken occasion to put him into the list of their adepts (3); but his philosopher's stone was commerce, which he carried on to all parts of the then known world; and is allowed to have had in this respect a more extensive correspondence than all the rest of the merchants in the kingdom taken together. It is true, that, for the support of it, he made use both of the king's money and credit; but, on the other hand, whenever it was ne-

cessary, the king had likewise the use of his; and it was owing to his prudence and integrity that the king really had both money and credit (4). It was this *James Cœur* who put his affairs in order, enabled him to carry into action his project for disciplining the army; he devised the method of maintaining the new militia, and managed the public treasure so carefully, that in the midst of his misfortunes his master neither oppressed either clergy or laity by new or extraordinary imposition. On the contrary, when the service required it, he was always ready to furnish money out of his private fortune, which if he had not done, the conquest of *Normandy* could not have been effected. He was also intrusted with some important negotiations in *Italy*, which were likewise expensive; and yet all these great things could not preserve him; for being accused of a variety of crimes, rather through envy of his power and wealth than from any real cause (5), he was sentenced to pay a fine of four hundred thousand crowns, to forfeit his estate, and suffer perpetual banishment; but, upon a revision not long after, the parliament declared him innocent, and restored him to his honours and estate. At the time his misfortunes fell upon him, his factors in foreign countries lent him sixty thousand crowns, with which he retired into *Cyprus*, married a second wife, by whom he had children, for whom he procured various solid establishments, and became through his industry and integrity, more opulent than ever (6). He was indeed, in all respects, one of the most ablest and most extraordinary men of his time; and his ill usage is, by all historians, represented as the greatest blemish of this reign. The *Sieur Dammartin* was the great author of this violence, and felt the weight of a like persecution in the next reign.

(1) *Matthieu de Coucy, Jean Chartier, Mezeray, Le Gendre, Châlons.* (2) *Matthieu de Coucy, Gaguini Historia, P. Daniel, Mezeray, Le Gendre.* (3) *Borel Antiquites Gauloises, Histoire de Charles VII. Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique. tom. i. p. 428. Du Clos, Histoire de Lewis XI. Mezeray.* (4) *Borel, Antiquites Gauloises, Histoire de Charles VII. Le Gendre.* (5) *Jean Chartier, Matthieu de Coucy, Gaguini Hist. P. Daniel, Le Gendre.* (6) *Matthieu de Coucy, Jean Chartier, Borel, Lonncl, Recueil des plusieurs Harangues, Remonstrances, &c.*

however,

- a however, treat him with any exterior marks of disrespect; those were only bestowed upon his ministers; but he negotiated on every side, and took his measures as if he had not been either the son or the subject of *Charles*, which, though the king disssembled, he could not easily digest. At length *Lewis* carried this so far as to conclude a treaty of marriage between himself and the princess *Charlotte*, daughter to the duke of *Savoy*, not only without the king's consent, but in direct breach of his command; upon which *Charles* came to *Bourges*, and, without mentioning any particular cause, declared war against the duke; but, before any hostilities were committed, the cardinal *d'Estouteville* came to the king from the duke, and so pacified him, that a peace was concluded at *Feurs* in *Forez*, one article of which was, that the duke's son should marry the princess *Joland*, or *Violante*, the king's daughter^c. This sudden turn was not the effect of weakness or mutability in the king, but of an event which he could not either foresee or avoid. His desire to ease his new subjects in *Guienne* induced him to leave as few troops there as possible; this tempted the people, who were still *English* in their hearts, to invite their former masters to return. *Charles*, that he might obtain *Cherbourg* the sooner, had been content to make that place the price of general *Talbot's* liberty, who, from a hostage, became a prisoner of war, on the governor of *Honfleur's* refusing to surrender that place in obedience to the duke of *Somerset's* orders. This general, thus at liberty, landed with five thousand *English* troops, was admitted by the inhabitants into *Bordeaux*, surprized the *French* garrison, and, being supported by a fleet and army from *England*, quickly over-run a great part of the province. It was this reverse of affairs that engaged the king to act as he did, that he might be at liberty to stifle effectually that flame which had been once put out already; and which, if at all neglected, might quickly grow too strong for the forces he had on foot^d.

order to receive
over Bour-
deaux.

A. D. 1452

- THE king began the campaign in *Guienne* early the next year; and, in the first place that was taken, caused about fourscore persons to be beheaded as traitors. On the 17th of *July*, general *Talbot*, contrary to his own sentiments, and purely to gratify the people of *Bordeaux*, attacked the *French* army before *Castillon*, in their intrenchments: though at first he was successful, yet his horse being killed by a canon shot, and himself immediately after by a wound in the throat, his forces were beaten; and, though the loss was not very great in the action, yet, in its consequences, it proved the loss of *Guienne*. *Castillon* immediately surrendered at discretion, and many other places followed this example. The king proceeded very cautiously with respect to *Bordeaux*, in which there was a garrison of four thousand *English*, and as many *Gascons*. He formed the blockade by land and sea, as fast as possible; but he proceeded very slowly to the siege, and kept the same measure during the time it continued. Had he persisted in this method, the place must soon have surrendered at discretion; but diseases beginning to spread in his army, he consented to a capitulation, which was signed on the 17th of *October*, by which the inhabitants obtained an amnesty for themselves, twenty only excepted, who were to be banished, but at the expence of all their privileges; and the *English* were permitted to retire^e. This year the king renewed, with great solemnity, his treaty with the *Swiss* cantons. The next he did the same, with respect to his alliance with the king of *Castile*. The baron *Lesparre*, a nobleman of *Gascony*, who had been pardoned for the last revolt, engaging in new intrigues, lost his head. The count *de Charolois*, eldest son to the duke of *Burgundy*, espoused, with the king's consent, *Isabell*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*. The count *d'Eu* made an attempt upon the small remains of the *English* territory in *France*, and proceeding with that temerity which success commonly inspires, received so severe a check, that he lost all inclination to attempt any thing farther. It was the disorder at home which was the bane of the *English* abroad, and not any misbehaviour in their troops^f.

General Tal-
bot (earl of
Shrewsbury)
slain in the bat-
tle of Castil-
lon, which de-
cides the fate
of Guienne.

1453.

1454.

- ALL this time the dauphin was, in appearance, a quiet spectator of his father's good fortune, who, with all his wisdom, knew not how to act with his son. At certain times, when his orders quadrated with his own views, the dauphin was exactly obedient; but when he received commands of another kind, he understood these to proceed from the ministers, and paid no regard to them at all. He interfered in the wars of *Italy*, to the prejudice of his father-in-law, the duke of *Savoy*; and, upon his presuming to dislike this, he declared war against him, and resolved to make himself master of the marquissate of *Saluces*; but the duke of *Burgundy* and the *Swiss* cantons interposing, he found it expedient to make peace^g. The king, who had an eye upon all his actions, who had now borne with him ten years, and often summoned him to court, at length determined to make him sensible of his duty; and, under colour of a tour into *Auvergne*, disposed every thing for seizing him in *Dauphine*: *Anthony de Chabannes*, lord of *Dammartin*, being charged with the command of the troops that were to be employed in this

The dauphin
having in vain
attempted an
insurrection,
demands the
duke of Bur-
gundy's pro-
tection.

^c GUICHENON Hist. de Savoye.

^d MATTH. DE COUCI Abrege Chronologique. Hist. de J.

CHART. DU TIL.

^e DUP. POLYD. VIRG. HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. MEZ. LE GEND.

P. DAN.

^f Recueil des Traites par LEONARD, tom. iv. Hist. de J. CHART. MARIANA. FERRERAS.

MATTH. DE COUCI. DUP. LE GEND.

^g GUICHENON Hist. de Savoye. DU TIL. P. DAN.

enterprise, no sooner began to move, than the dauphin applied himself to the duke of Savoy, to demand assistance both in money and forces. To prevent this, *Chabannes* received the king's orders to go himself to the duke's court, which he did; and received the strongest assurances from that prince, that the dauphin should receive no support from him^a. This answer was no sooner given, than it was communicated to the dauphin by his spies. *Lewis* upon this, taking with him the *Sieur de Montauban*, and *John de Lescun*, commonly called the bastard of *Armagnac*, traversed the county of *Burgundy*, and retired into *Brabant*¹. As soon as the duke of *Burgundy* received advice of this, he ordered the count *de Charolois* to wait upon the dauphin, and to pay him all possible respect; but he refused to see him himself till he knew how this measure would be relished by the king, to whom he transmitted an account of it directly, desiring to know how he was to act^k. *Charles* returned him for answer, that he should treat the dauphin in the manner he would expect to be treated himself, in case any unforeseen accident obliged him to retire into *France*^l. Upon this, the duke shewed all possible respect to this illustrious exile; and the dauphin thereupon demanded troops only to compel his father, as he phrased it, to change his ministers. Sir, answered the duke, against any other person, my forces and my finances are at your devotion; but it is not either you or I who have a right to prescribe to the king; and indeed I do not see a wiser measure for us both to take in the management of our affairs, than to refer them to the good pleasure of a prince, alike remarkable for his prudence and his moderation^m. The dauphin, finding he could do no better, made choice of *Genep*, on the frontiers of *Hainault*, for the place of his residence, and accepted of a pension of three thousand florins a month for his subsistence, which, as some writers inform us, was afterwards advanced to double that sumⁿ.

A conspiracy by the duke of Alençon to bring the English over again into Normandy.

THE duke of *Burgundy*, who was a very wise prince, easily foresaw, that, sooner or later, this affair must occasion a misunderstanding between him and the crown of *France*, either in the person of *Charles* or of *Lewis*; he sent, therefore, two of his chamberlains, *John de Croi*, and *Simon de Lalain*, to endeavour to reconcile the dauphin to his father; and to propose, that, till this could be effected, the dauphin might be permitted to put himself at the head of an army, and to act against the *Turks*, who were growing every day more and more formidable to the Christian powers. The king testified his satisfaction as to the duke's conduct in the whole affair; but did not at all approve the expedient of putting his son at the head of an army, alleging, it would be more agreeable to his interest, as well as his duty, to return into *France*, and occupy that place in his father's councils, to which nature, both by his birth and his capacity, had given him so fair a title^o. Upon the receipt of this answer, the dauphin sent for his consort, whom he had never yet seen; and the duke of *Burgundy* caused her to be conducted into the *Low Countries*, with all the respect and magnificence due to her own rank, and that of the prince she had espoused; in the mean time the king met with a new mortification, through the discovery of the treason of the duke of *Alençon*. This prince, at a time when he was distressed for money, had sold the town of *Fougeres* to the duke of *Bretagne*, at a low price. His affairs being now in better order, he was desirous of having it again, upon repayment of the same money, which the duke of *Bretagne* having refused to accept, he applied himself for redress to the king, who, on one side, having no reason to be satisfied with the duke's conduct, who had been embarked in every disturbance during his reign, and, on the other, having great reason to manage the duke of *Bretagne*, took little notice of this application^p. The duke of *Alençon*, provoked at this, applied himself to the king of *England*, laid open to him the state of affairs in *France*, made a treaty for the marriage of his daughter with the son of the duke of *York*, and concerted measures for putting the *English* once more in possession of *Normandy*. When this scheme was ripe for execution, he chose a mean person to go over with letters to king *Henry*, which he put up in a hollow staff, who carried them directly to king *Charles*. When this monarch was thus unexpectedly apprized of the duke's treachery, he could not help exclaiming, in whom can I now put any trust, when the very princes of my own blood conspire against me. He immediately dispatched his old faithful servant, the count *de Longueville*, in order to arrest the duke of *Alençon*, whom he resolved to bring, by an open and public trial, to justice^q.

The duke of Alençon convicted but not executed.

AFTER he had been detained a long time in prison, and the king had caused a strict enquiry to be made into the privileges and prerogative of the peers of *France*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, as the first peer, to be summoned, he held a parliament at *Vendosme*, where the duke of *Alençon* had all the advantages allowed him that the formalities of law could give; but the messenger intrusted with his letters, the letters themselves, and the duke's own

^a MEZ. LE GEND. de la Marche, l. i. c. 33. de J. CHART.

¹ Histoire du Herant de Berri. MATTH. DE COUCI.

² Histoire de J. CHART. DUPL. DU TIL.

³ MEYER Annal Flandr.

⁴ Hist. de J. CHART.

⁵ Memoires d'Olivier P. DAN.

⁶ Hist.

⁷ DUPL. DU TIL. MEZ.

⁸ MATTH. DE COUCI. POLYD. VIRG. P. DAN. PR. Henault.

confession,

a confession, leaving no room to doubt of his guilt, he was convicted, and condemned to suffer death'. The duke of *Burgundy*, though he refused to assist at his trial, sent ambassadors to intercede for him, which was the more extraordinary, as it was strongly suspected himself and the dauphin were far from being ignorant of his intrigues; but the king thought proper to declare these suspicions groundless, though he did not give any direct answer to the duke's application for mercy'. He shewed more respect to that of the constable *Arthur*, duke of *Bretagne*, who had just acquired that dignity by the death of his nephew; and, at his request, converted the sentence into perpetual imprisonment in the castle of *Loches*'; from whence, as we shall see, he was delivered in the succeeding reign, and put once more in a condition of plotting, which he could not forbear. In order to find some employment for the *English* at home, and to prevent their disturbing his dominions, the king sent *Peter de Breze*, seneschal of *Normandy*, to insult their coasts, and to make a descent, which he did, and burnt and plundered the town of *Sandwich*, in which, as the *French* historians own, the king acted in concert with queen *Margaret* of *England*', who had but too much power over her husband, and became thereby the source of his misfortunes and those of his subjects. At the same time, the king renewed his treaties with *Denmark* and *Spain*, that, in case of a revolution in *England*, which might be accompanied with a revival of the war, he might not be without allies; and he took the same precaution with respect to the emperor and several princes of *Germany*, that the duke of *Burgundy* might see he would not be found unprepared, if, at the persuasion of his son, he should undertake any thing to his prejudice, of which, though he thought fit to dissemble them, there wanted not some very strong appearances'. Towards the close of this year died *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne*, who, notwithstanding his accession to that sovereignty, still retained the post of constable of *France*, because he would honour in his old age (this was the reason he thought fit to give) that dignity, from which he had received honour in his youth. Some say he had a mind to take advantage of the troubles of *England*, to have made an invasion on his own behalf, and at his own expence, in the prosecution of which he thought this dignity might be of use. However this might be, he retained to the last the king's favour, who gave great testimonies of regret for his loss*.

THE prosperous situation of the king's affairs induced the *Genoese*, or at least one of the factions in *Genoa*, to propose putting the republic again under the protection of that crown, which the king received with a good grace; and sent *John* duke of *Calabria*, the eldest son of *René*, king of *Naples*, to govern that city in his name. This opened a path to very extraordinary events, which belong to the history of that republic; but the king, though attentive to affairs abroad, was still more so of what respected his own territories; and, therefore, he resolved to bring *Dauphine* into the same situation it was in before he had put it into the hands of his son, who still affected to govern it by some of his officers in the same manner as when he resided there, and was actually present. We find his and his father's conduct so differently treated by different historians, that it is difficult to understand, and consequently to reconcile them. Some say, that the dauphin had governed there so wisely, as to make himself esteemed as much as most sovereigns; so that he was highly admired by his subjects: others, that he ruined and oppressed them; so that they complained of him in the strongest terms to his father. The former allege, that the king met with great opposition from the states, who remonstrated the oath they had taken to his son, and seemed unwilling to put themselves again under the rule of the father; in all which, there is a mixture of truth and of falshood. The dauphin certainly did not want abilities for government, nor did he fail to give proofs of them in *Dauphine*, where, during the whole time of his residence, he affected in all things a perfect independence, coined money, made laws, created a parliament, and acted in every other respect as a sovereign prince, which, for a time, flattered the natives exceedingly. But then, to support all this, he levied great sums, was perpetually soliciting free gifts, and took many other methods of filling his coffers, with which they were, and had reason to be, exceedingly displeased, more especially during the latter part of his government, when his pension being stopt, he had no way to support the dignity of a prince, but with the revenues of that county. The king, in resuming the government, suppressed these imposts, which was very pleasing; but he suppressed likewise many of those marks of independency, which his son had established, and this was disliked'. *Charles*, however, did not regard either their clamours, or the complaints of *Lewis*; he reduced things into their old form; and, if he mortified the people's vanity, he made their circumstances easy.

* Memorial de Chambre des Comptes de Paris cote L. fol. 147. Proces du Duc d'Alençon public par M. DUPUY. Lettres du Roi pour le transport du Parlement a Vendôme Registres du Parlemens du 20 Avril, 1458. LE GEND. Pr. Henault.

* Hist. de J. CHART. P. DANIEL.

* Hist. d'Artus III. MEZ.

" Continuation du Héraut de Berri. DU TIL. LE GEND.

" MATTH. DE COUCI. Recueil de Traites

par LEONARD, tom. i.

* Hist. d'Artus III. D'ARGENTRE. Hist. de Bretagne. MEZ. P. DANIEL.

Pr. Henault.

† Hist. de J. CHART. MATTH. DE COUCI. DUPL. DU TIL. MEZ.

From hence we may easily discern how historians might represent the same facts differently, according to their respective systems.

The king exceedingly grieved by the dauphin's conduct, and very desirous to reclaim him.

THE duke of *Burgundy* growing daily more and more apprehensive of *Charles's* resentment, and perceiving how much he was courted by all the neighbouring princes, who were proud of entering into his alliance, sent fresh envoys to the court of *France*, with a long memorial of his griefs; the king answered this memorial, article by article, with great strength of reason, and at the same time with great dignity; and whereas the duke had suggested a secret article in the marriage treaty between *Henry* the sixth and *Margaret* of *Anjou*, to his prejudice, the king affirmed it was a mere fiction, adding, that when such things came into the duke's mind, he had better acquaint him with them, who would always avow the truth, than plead them as excuses. In speaking of the dauphin, the king observed that he could not do too much honour to the son of his sovereign, and that he would always consider the respect paid to his person as paid to himself, while he took no part in the quarrel^a. The dauphiness being delivered of a son, *Lewis* sent one of his household to acquaint the king with it, who immediately caused public rejoicings to be made, and wrote him a letter of felicitation with his own hand^a. Upon another occasion, the dauphin having complained that some who were about his father did not pay a proper regard to his requests, the king acquainted him that he had no need to apply to any, since he was himself always ready to receive, and willing to grant them, with which, notwithstanding the stubbornness of his temper, the dauphin was so much affected, that he wrote him a very humble letter of thanks^b. Some writers suggest, that the king had thoughts of disinheriting him, but without foundation; for the quarrel was entirely on the dauphin's side, who, being upwards of thirty, was impatient to govern, and could not bear living in his father's court as a subject; whereas *Charles* was very desirous to have him at court, pressed him continually to return, and hinted that he had many things to communicate, which could not be committed to paper. These circumstances are directly opposite to the supposed intention of defeating his succession; but the whole of their dispute lay in this, that the father would be a king while he lived, and the son, with all possible professions of duty in words, could not bring himself to confirm those professions by his actions^c.

A.D. 1460.

But finds that impracticable, and dies thro' want of sustenance, for fear of being poisoned.

IN the mean time the disagreement between the king and the duke of *Burgundy* was growing still wider, and had probably ended in a rupture, but that both of them were princes of great prudence, and who had sincerely at heart the good of their subjects; besides, the duke was not more fortunate in a son than the king; the count *de Charolois* was of a most violent and turbulent temper, and the duke did not manage him at all, but made him sensible upon every occasion of the weight of his authority. He was also angry with his father's ministers, and particularly with the house of *Croy*. As therefore the king was unwilling to proceed to extremities, for fear the dauphin should retire into *England*; so the duke's forbearance proceeded from an apprehension that the count *de Charolois* might demand the king's protection^d. Some overtures of this kind were indeed made; for *Charles* having an inclination to support his old competitor, *Henry* the sixth, in the day of his distress, the count *de Charolois* made an offer to command his forces, which at first the king was willing to accept; but, having an intimation that the count *de Charolois* meditated some other design, and was inclined to commit some act of violence on his father's ministers, he wrote to him in his last sickness, a letter, in which was this remarkable sentence: "For two such kingdoms as my own, I would not have the least participation in an unworthy action^e." His last sickness was of a very strange kind; one of his old servants intimated to him, that he would do well to be cautious, since he suspected that there was a design to poison him, which affected the king to such a degree, that he absolutely refused all sustenance for several days; and being at length persuaded to eat, it proved too late, for his bowels being collapsed, nothing would pass: in this condition he died, at *Melun* in *Berry*, on the 22d of *July*, in the sixtieth year of his age, and in the thirty-ninth of his reign^f. He was surnamed the *Victorious*, or, as others say, the *Well-served*, from which last appellation, in all probability, modern historians have derived their opinion, that the great successes of his reign were wholly owing to his ministers and his generals; whereas contemporary writers, and even those who flourished in his son's days, ascribe these great actions to the king himself, and particularly remark, that the high prosperity of his arms commenced at a time when he took the resolution of commanding in person. It has been even matter of doubt, whether his indolence and little regard to business in the beginning of his reign, was not the effects of a refined policy, which induced him to affect a character, that, though seemingly unworthy of a king, was, notwithstanding, very suitable to his circumstances; since, in the middle and latter part of his life, those who

1461.

^a Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche.

^b MATTH. DE COUCI. P. DAN.

^c Hist. de J. CHART.

DUP. DU TIL.

^d Hist. Louis XI. par M. DU CLOS.

^e Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche.

P. DANIEL. MEZ.

^f Hist. Louis XI. par M. DU CLOS.

MONST. Hist. de J. CHART. MATTH.

DE COUCI. DUP. DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN.

lived

a lived in his court, and had a share in the management of affairs, assure us, that he was a prince of assiduous or perpetual application, perfectly acquainted with every branch of the administration, and remarkably tender of the persons and properties of his subjects (B).

THE news of his father's death was immediately sent to the new king by his uncle *Charles* of *Anjou*; and, though dissimulation was his principal character, it is said he concealed his joy but very indifferently^s. His first concern was as to his possession; his next as to his

The accession of Lewis XI. his coronation, and extraordinary

^s Chronologique de MONSTR. MEYER Chronic. Flandr. l. xvi.

(B) There are so many particularities of weight, which respect the person of this prince, that we cannot avoid extending this note somewhat farther than usual, or we intended. *Charles* became dauphin and heir apparent of the crown in the fourteenth year of his age; and, from the misfortunes of those times, had but an indifferent education; he incurred the displeasure of his mother early, and was entirely in the hands of her enemies, and the partizans of the house of *Orleans*, who were most of them men of capacity, and some, particularly the president *Louvet* and *Tanneui du Chastel*, persons of great merit and probity (1). The death of *John*, duke of *Burgundy*, was considered by them as an act of justice, and not as a murder, at which, though *Charles* was present, it may be reasonably doubted whether he was in the secret. It must be allowed that he was conducted absolutely by the great persons about him: and, if his situation be considered, we need not wonder that he was very docile, or that they were very indulgent, because this was the interest of both. He had from nature, and, if we recollect the characters of his parents, it will not seem strange, a bias to pleasure; and it had been impossible to manage his affairs, if he had been either of a restless or obstinate temper (2). His concerns were in so low a situation at his first accession to the throne, that he had not money to pay for a new pair of boots, and he was so little feared, that the tradesman who brought them, being told so, carried them away (3). He had good officers; he had many of the nobility who adhered to him; but most of them had their particular views, in which, if he had crossed them, they had been lost. It is no wonder, therefore, that he bore many things which no other king would have done. At his coronation there was not one lay peer; but, for the sake of preserving state, he nominated six lords, who represented them. Through the whole course of his reign, every incident, every conjuncture, was turned to his advantage; at first by his ministers; in process of time, and by the lessons they taught him, by himself (4). For this reason he drew as much profit from his adversity as from his prosperity. Under the former he laid aside his great courts because they were too expensive; he prohibited the currency of any money in his dominions but his own; in a word, he availed himself of necessity, while his territory was very small, to bring in those alterations which he thought for the advantage of the crown, and he made use of his power, in proportion as it became more extended, to establish these new usages through the whole kingdom (5). The coin was never so much debased as in his time; and yet under him it was no great evil; for, by raising the nominal value beyond any thing that had been attempted, he drew money into the countries that owned his authority, which, but for that expedient, had never been seen; and, when this was no longer necessary, he very wisely laid it aside (6). The length of the war gave him a fair opportunity to interdict private quarrels; that is, deciding them by the sword. When they afterwards attempted to turn this upon him, by alleging, that the war had so reduced them, that they were in no condition to raise troops for his service; he took

them at their words, and not only dispensed with their raising troops, as the constitution required, for the present, but for the future; so that, without his permission, they could never raise troops at all. Instead of these troops he brought in regular forces, for the payment of which he introduced the taille; and, by promising to put his coin on a right foot, and keep it so, he levied this with the good will of his subjects, but without the consent of his states (7). It was the gentle use of his prerogative that established it; he made likewise some necessary alterations in the manner of administering justice; but he did every thing with such an apparent view to the public good, and was so very tender of the lives and properties of his people, that though he altered or acted against all law, he was never considered as a tyrant. The clergy were more attached to him than to the pope; for he took nothing of them himself, and defended them from being stripped by the pontif (8). He was, in general, very grateful; and, though the case of *James Cœur* is said to be an exception to this, yet, upon reading the record of his conviction, as we may call it, the reader may probably hold the king excused; since, whether he was guilty or not, the appearances against him were strong, and the clamour of the people great; one of the charges against him being this, that, to extend his own commerce, he had scarce left another merchant in the kingdom, and had acquired most of his wealth by applying the public cash and credit to his own profit (9). Excellently served by the men, *Charles* was yet more fortunate in the other sex. His consort, *Mary of Anjou*, loved him tenderly; and, as a proof of it, gave him little trouble in his amours, and great assistance in his business; in which the king always consulted her. Yet her mildness and modesty were so conspicuous, that it appeared she rather courted his favour than acted from any motives of ambition (10). By her he had *Lewis* his successor; *Charles* duke of *Berry*; *Violante*, the wife of *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*; *Katherine* who espoused *Charles* the Hardy, duke of *Burgundy*; *Joan*, who married *John* duke of *Bourbon*; and *Magdalen*, who espoused *Gaston* count of *Foix* (11). By *Agnes de Sorel* he had three daughters, *Charlotte*, who married *James de Breze*, count of *Maulevrier*, poisoned by her husband, who taught her in the act of adultery; *Margaret*, espoused to *Oliver de Coëtivi*; and *Jane*, married to *Anthony de Bueil*, count of *Sancerre* (12). The remains of this monarch were deposited in the royal abbey of *St. Denis*; but in a manner which seemed to demonstrate that the same good fortune that attended him through his life, was attached even to his breathless corpse; for the butterflies of the court, crowding all together for *Flanders*, in order to enjoy the sunshine of the royal presence, *Tanneui du Chastel*, the first favourite *Charles* had, took care of the funeral solemnity, which he performed very nobly at his own expence; and then retired to the court of *Bretagne*, being born a subject to that duke (13). On the monument of this king, there is a short inscription to this effect: *Here lies the thrice famous monarch Charles the Seventh, the Victorious and the Well-served* (14).

(1) *Monstrelet, Jean Chartier, Gaguini Hist. de la Housuie, Memoires historiques, &c.* (2) *P. Æmil. Jean Chartier, Monstrelet.* (3) *Amelot de Tillet, P. Daniel, Le Gendre, C. de Boulanwilliers.* (4) *Commines, Gaguini Hist. Du Tillet.* (5) *Jean Chartier, Du Tillet.* (6) *Monstrelet, Gaguini Hist. P. Æmil. de rebus Francor.* (7) *Le Blanc. P. Daniel, C. de Boulanwilliers.* (8) *Jean de Serres, Scrip. Duplex, P. Dan.* (9) *Lannel, Recueil de plusieurs Harangues, Remonstrances, &c. Borel Antiquites Gauloises, Philosophie hermetique.* (10) *Monstrelet, Jean Chartier, Scrip. Duplex.* (11) *P. Daniel, Le Gendre, C. de Boulanwilliers.* (12) *Mezeray, Le Gendre, Pr. Henault.* (13) *Monstrelet, Chartier, Argentre.* (14) *P. Daniel, Histoire de France.*

coronation.

mary proceed-
ing, at the be-
ginning of his
reign, contra-
ry to the duke
of Burgundy's
advice.

coronation. He had surmised, in his own mind, that there might be an opposition to both ;
to prevent which, he desired the company of the duke of *Burgundy*, and the count of *Charo-*
lois, who at his request attended him to *Rheims*, where he was crowned on the 15th of
August ; and, in the midst of the ceremony, he drew his sword, and had the honour of
knighthood conferred upon him by the duke of *Burgundy*, at his request ^a. The duke then
did homage, not only in the amplest, but even in an unusual form, which had in it more
of friendship than policy. Some days after, they made their public entry into *Paris*, escorted
by a great body of horse, though there did not appear the slightest foundation for the suspi-
cions the king had that an opposition would be formed to his succession ⁱ. He received very
graciously the good advice given him by the duke of *Burgundy*, and his interposition in
favour of his father's ministers, but without suffering it to make the least impression ; for he
immediately turned out the chancellor *William Juvenal des Ursins*, the admiral, one of the
marshals of *France*, and a great part of the parliament ^k. He discharged the duke of
Alençon from the castle of *Loches*, and pardoned him, not from clemency, but because he
conspired against his father ^l. As a mark of his gratitude and affection for the count of
Charolois, he declared him his lieutenant general in *Normandy*, with a pension of twelve
thousand crowns a year ; but at the same time, he ratified the treaty which his father had
made with the people of *Liege*, though he knew it was made in resentment of the protection
afforded to himself by the duke of *Burgundy*, and had promised in the most solemn manner,
that he would declare that alliance void, and even join with the duke against them ^m. At
Tours he received the homage of *Francis* the second, duke of *Bretagne* ; but not satisfied
with that, he made a journey into the duchy, under colour of a pilgrimage, that he might
better judge of its strength and condition ; and, as some say, with an intent to steal the
princess of *Bretagne* for the duke of *Savoy*, in which he was disappointed by a sudden frost,
and thought proper thereupon to release her ⁿ. But while he was thus employed, an insur-
rection happened at *Rheims*, where the people would not submit to the taxes, which was
quickly reduced, and near fourscore citizens punished with death, in hopes of strengthening
his authority. He had already framed in his mind the project of restoring his kinsman *John*,
duke of *Calabria*, to the kingdom of *Naples*, and, to gain the assistance of pope *Pius* the
second, which was absolutely necessary, he cancelled the famous pragmatic sanction made by
his father, the rather, because it was made by him. This was vehemently opposed in parlia-
ment by his attorney general, and that assembly absolutely refused their consent ; upon which
he turned out his attorney with disgrace, and sent the original instrument to *Rome*, where it
was dragged through the streets to gratify the populace. But underhand he gave his attorney
a sum of money, which was of greater value than his office, and allowed the parliament to
maintain in execution, as a fundamental law, the very pragmatic sanction he had abolished ^o.
His other project was to humble the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, though the former
had defended him in his distress, and the predecessor of the latter had fixed his father on the
throne. Such were the first exploits of this famous politician ! Such the dictates of that
genius, which has been considered as worthy of dictating to kings !

A. D. 1461.

His ascendancy
over other
powers, not
owing to his
policy but his
good fortune.

THE affairs of *England* were at this time in the most distressed condition for themselves,
and consequently in the most advantageous condition for *France*. *Margaret*, the consort of
Henry the sixth, had obtained from him a small body of troops, under the command of the
famous *Peter de Breze*, not so much with a view to serve her, as to be rid of him for the
present, and to have a fair chance of being rid of him for ever. He was defeated, lost
his forces, and with some difficulty saved himself ; the queen retired again to her father
Rene, duke of *Lorraine*, and the king once more lent her twenty thousand livres, by way
of mortgage upon *Calais*, for which he was to pay forty thousand crowns more when she
should be able to put it into his hands ^p. About the same time he undertook to assist *John*,
king of *Arragon*, against his subjects, who had taken arms to revenge the death of his son,
the prince of *Viana*, poisoned by his mother-in-law, in favour of her son *Ferdinand*, surnamed
afterwards the *Catholic*, as we have shewn at large in its proper place. The *French* succours,
commanded by *James de Armagnac*, duke of *Nemours*, saved both the mother and the son ;
and *Lewis* likewise lent the monarch of *Arragon* three hundred thousand crowns, but took care
to have the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* yielded to him, subject however to a clause of
redemption ^q. The general situation of things was very favourable for him, and it was this that
enabled him to give law to his neighbours, whose countries were in a distracted and distressed

1462.

^a MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI. J. DE SERRES. DUPL. DU TIL. ⁱ Memoires de PHIL. DE COM-
MINES. DU CLOS. Hist. de Louis XI. P. DAN. MEZ. ^k P. ÆMIL. La Chronique Scandaleuse.
DU TIL. CHALONS. ^l Proces manuscrit du Duc d'Alonso, publie par M. DUPUY. DUPLEIX.
^m Chroniques de MONST. Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMEN. GAG. Hist. ⁿ Memoires d'Olivier de la
Marche. Annales de France. ^o Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMENES. Chronique de MONST. J. DE
SERRES. P. DAN. ^p HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE. POLYD. VIRG. DU TIL. ^q Recueil de
Traites par LEONARD.

condition,

a condition, into which, through the arts of his refined policy, *Lewis* in a short time reduced his own; whereas government like his father's had filled it with wealth and people.

THE king of *Castile* having also some disputes with the monarch of *Arragon*, *Lewis* under-^{Rebels the} took to mediate between them, in consequence of which he was first present at the confer-^{ences upon the} ences held at *Baronne*, and afterwards had an interview with the *Castilian* monarch, on the^{river Somme,} banks of the river *Bidassea*, which some have thought gave birth to the implacable hatred^{from the duke} between the two nations; for the *Spanish* king and his courtiers being most magnificently dressed, and, on the contrary, *Lewis* in so mean a garb, that he could not well be worse, in which he was imitated by those who attended him, the former treated the latter with scorn, while the latter looked upon them with contempt. The decree made by *Lewis* offended the

b *Castilians* highly, and yet gave the court of *Arragon* no content; but *Lewis* gave himself little trouble about either, having corrupted the ministers of both. This was his general expedient, from whence we may see the true reason why he acted, generally speaking, according to his own notions; for knowing by experience that many had betrayed their trusts to him, he judged the only way to secure his own secrets was, to trust them to none. He was very desirous of recovering the towns upon the *Somme* out of the hands of the duke of *Burgundy*, to which he had a right, even by the treaty of *Arras*, on the payment of four hundred thousand crowns; and in this he succeeded, by the assistance of *John de Croy*, and other gentlemen of that family; who having the ear of the duke, and being extremely hated by the count de *Charolois*, forebaw they might one day stand in need of the king's

c protection. *Lewis* had an interview with the duke upon this occasion at *Hedin*, in which, according to custom, he deceived him; for finding that he could not have the towns, unless he engaged to continue the governors the duke had appointed, he acquiesced; but turned them out as soon as he came into possession. But, to qualify this, he put in others that were as agreeable to the duke, by which he kept things quiet. All this time he was treating with *Francis* duke of *Bretagne*, whom he hated for his power, and for whose parts he had a great contempt; but that prince, though no profound politician himself, had very able ministers, and the king, when he least suspected it, found, that a weak man, well advised, might be too many for a prince of parts. The duke of *Savoy*, being expelled his domi-^{A. D. 1463.} nions by the intrigues of his younger son *Philip*, had recourse to *Lewis* for protection, who

d received him very graciously, and then sent for his son, that he might reconcile them. Prince *Philip* demanded a safe conduct, which was sent him; notwithstanding which *Lewis* shut him up in the castle of *Loches*, and sent his father home to govern his dominions in quiet. A stroke of justice, upon which he valued himself exceedingly.

THE facility with which he had hitherto executed his designs, and the persuasion he had^{Attempts to} of the superiority of his own talents, induced the king to form new projects of still a bolder^{seize the per-} nature. He had caused the restitution of the three towns granted to *Philip the Hardy*, in^{sons of the} favour of his marriage with *Margaret* of *Flanders*, to be mentioned to the duke of *Burgundy*,^{duke and the} who rejected it with great heat; at which the king pretended much concern, and seemed^{count de Cha-} desirous of discussing this and some others points in a new conference at *Hedin*. But the real^{rolois, but} design of this interview was of a very different nature. He understood that the count de^{miscarries.} *Charolois* was at the *Hague*, from whence he was to make a tour to the sea-coast: upon which he ordered the bastard de *Rubempré*, a debauched determined bravo, to embark on board one of his frigates, and sail with forty or fifty desperate men like himself; to land with as many of these as he thought proper, and to secure his person, of which, as soon as he had received advice, his next design was to post to *Hedin*, with a body of troops, in order to make sure of the duke of *Burgundy's* person. This plan miscarried through the imprudence of *Rubempré*; who, being seen and known in a public house, was arrested on his general character: upon which, the vessel he commanded sailing abruptly, gave a strong suspicion of his errand; with which the count de *Charolois* having acquainted his father, he

f retired precipitately from *Hedin*, which threw great odium upon the king. *Lewis*, exceedingly vexed at this, and still more at his disappointment, sent a solemn embassy to the duke, to demand that *Rubempré* should be set at liberty: that satisfaction should be given him, for the insolent reflections made upon his conduct in the *Low Countries*; and that *Olivier de la Marche*, and a preacher, who had been the chief reporters of these things, should be delivered up. The duke justified his son's conduct, and would comply with none of them.

* Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto de ALONSO de Palencio. Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMINES. J. DE SERRES. DUP. DU TIL. P. DAN. * Chroniques de MONST. MEYER. Fland. * MATTH. Histoire de Louis XI. P. EMIL. * D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne. Memoires de LA MARCHE. P. EMIL. J. DE SERRES. * Chroniques de MONST. Memoires de PHIL DE COMMINES. DUP. DU TIL. * MEYER. Chronic. Fland. MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI. P. DAN. * Chroniques de MONST. * Annales de France. Chroniques de MONST. DU CLOS. Histoire de Louis XI. * Me- moires de PHIL. DE COMMIN. Memoires de LA MARCHE. DUP. P. DAN. * Chroniques de MONST. J. DE SERRES. MEZ.

The count *de Charolois* answered with great warmth the reflections made upon his conduct, and bid the archbishop of *Narbonne*, one of the ambassadors, tell the king, that indeed his chancellor had rattled him soundly, but that he would give him good cause to repent it before the year came about; which was certainly a much stronger mark of his vivacity than of his prudence^c.

A. D. 1464.
The manner in which the confederacy for the public good was conducted.

THE king, having heard the archbishop's report, very easily apprehended that some mischief was brewing, but, with all his spies and all his suspicions, he was not able to find out where^d. The duke of *Bretagne* had entered early into close connections with the count of *Charolois*, and had also negotiated with *Edward* the fourth of *England*, which the king knew; and it was this that so much raised his resentments against them both. But they, knowing well enough that they could not assemble forces sufficient to look the king in the face, began to cabal with the nobility, to aggravate the losses they had sustained, to alarm their fears, and to make them conceive *Bretagne* and *Burgundy* were the bulwarks of the *French* noblesse, which, once subverted, all the lords in the kingdom must lie at the king's mercy, which, by the way, they had good reason to believe they should not experience in any great degree^e. The great men who had been turned out upon his accession, felt the smart of that wound, the faithful servants of his father saw themselves distinguished only by marks of displeasure, and his chief ministers were not only new men, but men of low birth and bad characters. Cardinal *Balue*, his prime minister, resembled his master; he relied upon his own arts, which he practised so much and so often that nobody relied upon him^f. There were malecontents enough of all ranks; the duke of *Bretagne*, or rather the duke's ministers, knew how to unite them; and his emissaries, in the habits of monks of different orders, met, conferred with, and engaged them in a confederacy for the public good^g, which every one of them understood to be the fixing himself where he desired. There were two things in the conduct of this business very remarkable; the first, that upwards of five hundred engaged in it without betraying each other; the other, that they conferred commonly in public places, mostly in the church of *Notre Dame*: so that the king's spies, who were hunting for cabals and private meetings, were absolutely defeated. The king, in the mean time, was pushing the duke of *Bretagne* with violence, not perceiving that he had any support; the duke sent a minister to gain time for him; the king laboured to corrupt that minister; he seemed to give way, advised the king to advance towards the frontiers of *Bretagne*, while he was seducing his brother the duke of *Berry*, who, by accompanying the king in this journey, found means to make his escape^h. So that, with all his intelligence, the first sense of his danger arose from hearing that the duke's minister and his brother were withdrawn together; and thus he discerned the storm, just as it began to break over his headⁱ.

Battle of Montl'heri, in which both parties have the skill to get themselves beaten.

As soon as the duke of *Berry* found himself in safety, he published, or rather he suffered to be published in his name, a manifesto, containing a severe censure on the king's administration, and declaring the confederates had nothing in view but reviving the spirit of the laws, relieving the people, and restoring good government, whence they denominated their cause the *Bien Public*, and stiled their enterprize, *the war of the public good*^k. The duke of *Calabria* his nephew, the duke of *Bourbon* his cousin, the duke of *Bretagne*, and the count of *Charolois*, princes of his blood, the old count *de Longueville*, his father's faithful servant, nay, the count *de Armagnac*, whom he had pardoned, and, in short, all the great nobility, declared for this league against the king, and placed his brother, the presumptive heir of the crown, at their head^l. They armed on both sides: the king had at first the better, and might have had some of them at his mercy, if they had not made use of his own arts, treated with him, and as soon as their friends made a diversion in their favour, declared again for the league^m. While the king was engaged in the provinces, the count *de Charolois* advanced directly to *Paris*, in hopes of surprising it; but the inhabitants stood on their defence. He expected to have been joined by the *Bretons*, but they did not come up in time, and this gave the king an opportunity of marching to the castle of *Montl'heri*, about eight leagues from *Paris*; neither party intended to fight, and yet, on the 16th of *July*, a battle ensued, which was owing to one of the king's pieces of art; for having demanded of *Peter de Breze*, who commanded his vanguard, whether he had not some small intelligence with the confederates, he, to convince him of the contrary, engaged without ordersⁿ. The battle lasted five hours, and may be truly said to have ended in the defeat of both armies; that is, each looked upon themselves as defeated, and, in their first consternation, a great

^c Memoires de COMMUN. P. ÆMIL. DU TIL. ^d DU CLOS. Histoire de Louis XI. ^e Nouvelle Hist. de Bretagne. CHALONS. ^f Memoires de PHIL. DE COMMINES. GAGUIN. Hist. DUP. ^g Memoires de LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMMUN. J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. ^h DU CLOS. Hist. de Louis XI. DUPLEIX. P. DAN. ⁱ MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI. ^k GAGU. Hist. ^l Memoires de OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE. ^m P. DE COMMUN. Hist. Louis XI. P. DAN. ⁿ GAGU. Hist. Memoires de LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMMUN. DU TIL. CHALONS. LE GEND.

a part of both armies fled above one hundred miles^o. After this terror was over, both sides claimed a victory, to which neither had any title. Yet the chiefs on both sides behaved well. The count *de Charolois*, like a gallant soldier, the king like a great captain, who, though his troops were beaten, rallied them in good time, and marched away to *Paris*.

THE count *de Charolois* marched to *Estampes*, where he was joined by all the confederates; *War for the public good* and the duke of *Calabria*, amongst his troops, had five hundred *Swiss*, which were the first that ever were seen in *France*^p. The confederates had now an army of upwards of 100,000 men, so that they were clearly strong enough to have carried all things at their pleasure; but their weakness arose from their strength; for their generals were so numerous, that their army was under no command.

b land or the duchy of *Milan*, had recourse to negotiation; and, finding that go on slowly, demanded a conference with the count of *Charolois*. When they met, he cried out, *Brother, am I safe?* and, upon his bare assurance that he was so, risked his person by putting it in his power^q. He began his discourse with an old compliment; "I find, Sir," said he, "that you are a prince of my blood, and a man of honour; I received your message by the archbishop; you have kept your word, and that some months within your time; so that I shall treat with you without fear of being deceived." By the advice of the duke of *Milan*, who sent his son with a corps to his assistance, the king dispatched the treaty as soon as he could; and, by a stroke of his own policy, instead of one made two; the first at *Conflans*, with the count of *Charolois*, dated the 5th of *October*, and the second at *St. Maur*, with the rest of the confederates, dated the 29th of the same month^r. In these, as is usual, the public good was the form, while the substance of the treaties tended only to private advantage. The king's business was to make an end of the war, and to contrive afterwards how to avoid executing a peace, in which he granted to the confederates all they thought fit to desire, and left himself as much below the rank of a king, as his passion for arbitrary power had set him, while unopposed, above it. This scene was singular enough; and yet *France* is not the only country where this scene has happened.

At the very time of his concluding these treaties, the king protested, before some of the officers of the parliament, whom he could trust, against their validity, as being equally contrary to the interest of the crown and to his intentions^s. He took care to detach the duke of *Bourbon* from the league, by owning frankly, that he had shewn too little regard for him, and promising to repair it. He was the ablest and most moderate of the confederates, and therefore the king studied to gain him^t. He next made a treaty at *Caen* with the duke of *Bretagne*, who had got possession of some places in *Normandy*, which, he foresaw, would embarrass him with his brother^u. As soon as this fell out, the king marched into that province with a considerable army, and, sometimes under one pretence, and sometimes under another, reduced almost all the great towns, some by fair means and some by force, the count *de Charolois* being, in the mean time, engaged in a war against the people of *Dinant*. These, during the late war, had made a diversion in favour of *Lewis*, and being now abandoned by him, and the people of *Liege*, were given up to the resentment of the house of *Burgundy*, who pushed it to so extravagant a length, that they massacred the inhabitants, and destroyed the city^v. But, being thus employed, they abandoned the unfortunate *Charles*, who was forced to fly to the court of the duke of *Bretagne*, where he was obliged to sell his plate for his subsistence; and, being neither duke of *Berry* nor *Normandy*, was stiled simply Monsieur, as the king's brother. *Lewis*, knowing the distress of the duke of *Calabria*, which his family were in no condition to relieve, as if he forgot what was passed, sent him a large sum of money; but, at the same time, he punished the count *du Maine*, who had hitherto maintained a high place in his favour, for having held private intelligence with the confederates^w. He was very assiduous in executing that part of the late treaty which was least thought of, the naming a special commission for the enquiring into and redressing grievances; but he had taken care to make so strict an enquiry into the conduct of some of the great lords of the league, and their dependents; and to procure such clear evidence of whatever he charged them with, that he converted his tribunal into an inquisition against his enemies: thus, long before the end of the next year, the king had freed himself from the most inconvenient clauses of the treaties of *Conflans* and *St. Maur*, and was in a fair way of freeing himself from the rest, relying not a little on the count of *St. Pol*, of the imperial house of *Luxembourg*, on whom, after giving him the constable's staff of *France*, he had also bestowed the sister of his queen in marriage, that he might effectually detach him from the interests of the house of *Burgundy*^x; in which he succeeded but indifferently.

^o GAGUIN. Hist. DUP.

^p COMMUN. J. DE SERRES. P. DAN.

^q Vide auct. supra citat.

^r Memoires de OLIV. DE LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMMUN. DUP. DU CLOS. Histoire de Louis XI.

^s J. DE SERRES. FRED. LEONARD. ^t Memoires de COMMUN. LE GEND, ^u Memoires de LA

MARCHE. P. DAN. ^v La Chronique Scandaleuse. DU TIL. ^w Memoires de COMMUN. DU

CLOS. Hist. de Louis XI. DU TIL. ^x Memoires de LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMM. DUP.

Death of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, is succeeded by Charles the Hardy, or the Terrible.

THE king, pursuing his own measure, took into his favour many of those he had formerly disgraced; amongst the rest the lord *Dammartin*, whom he had even kept some time in prison: what was very wonderful, he affected to treat him and the rest with unusual confidence; employed them in affairs of the greatest importance; and, by rewarding them bountifully, really attached some of them to his service². In like manner he gained the famous earl of *Warwick*, who had acquired the singular surname of the *Make king*: he was at this time upon bad terms with *Edward* the fourth, and, coming over to *Normandy*, *Lewis* went to meet him, entertained him at *Rouen* as if he had been a sovereign prince, and sent him back in such a disposition, that his country never enjoyed peace till he lost the power of disturbing it, together with his life³. The death of *Philip the Good*, duke of *Burgundy*, gave the king no small chagrin⁴. He knew that his successor, *Charles the Hardy*, hated him; and, which affected him more, understood him better than any other man in *Europe*. He stirred up the people of *Liege* to renew the war, and, at the same time, sent the cardinal *Balue* and the constable *St. Pol* to soothe that prince; and, if that would not do, to try whether, if the king abandoned the *Liegeois*, the duke might not be prevailed upon to give up his ally the duke of *Bretagne*. But they miscarried in both; the duke beat the people of *Liege*, and forced them to submit, while the duke of *Bretagne*, in virtue of a treaty with the duke of *Alençon*, invaded and made a progress in *Normandy*. This did not hinder *Lewis* from pursuing his scheme, which was to enter *Picardy* with a large army, at the same time that the admiral, by his orders, invaded *Bretagne* with one as powerful⁵. He caused likewise a review to be made of the citizens of *Paris*, on whom he affected to rely very much, though in reality he had a meaner opinion of them in their military capacity than they deserved; the whole force of their militia amounted at this time to eighty thousand men, and of these about thirty thousand were in a condition to bear arms. His minister made a fresh attempt to engage the parliament of *Paris* to approve the king's edict for abolishing the *Pragmatic sanction*⁶, but with no effect; and the king, to conciliate the minds of his subjects, published a declaration, importing, that, for the future, he would dispose of no place till it became actually vacant by death, resignation, or forfeiture.

The assembly of Tours, in which the king turns the specious phrase of the public good on his enemies.

IN order to pacify the troubles of the state, and to secure the assistance of his subjects, *Lewis* called an assembly of the states at *Tours*, in which he gave very convincing proofs of his great talents for government: he laid before them the consequences that must inevitably attend the alienation of *Normandy*, in favour of his brother, expressed at the same time an earnest desire of executing the late treaties, as far as they tended to the public good; by which he turned that pretence upon his enemies. He pointed out the dangers to which the kingdom was exposed from the ambition of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, pressed the states to appoint commissioners for redressing grievances, and assured them, that the best way of making their court to him was by relieving his people⁷. This behaviour had all the good effects he could desire; the states declared the province of *Normandy* inseparable from the crown; assured the king of their inviolable duty, and their willingness to support him against all his enemies; and appointed such a committee for the redress of grievances as he desired⁸. It is amazing that a prince, who understood his own interests so well, who was so capable of pursuing them in a right way, and whose endeavours, when he took this way, were attended with so much success, should, notwithstanding, act so strange a part as he sometimes did, and thereby bring himself into greater distress and danger, with greater detriment also to his reputation, than even the weakest of his predecessors underwent. The source of this was his want of probity; for right measures can never be taken for wrong ends; and the prince who deceives others sets a precedent for deceiving himself. At this very time he proceeded with great severity against some who had stood highest in his favour, and who were not more in fault than those who retained it: as for instance, *Charles de Melun*, great master of his household, and governor of *Paris* during the late war, to whom he had given the confiscation of *Dammartin's* estates, being now in the king's good graces, set on foot a prosecution against *Charles de Melun*, and being joined in it by cardinal *de Balue*, the unfortunate *Melun* was condemned and executed, and *Dammartin* retrieved his estates; neither was this the only severity of the kind⁹; but we cannot multiply instances here, because they would rise of themselves to a volume.

He reduces the duke of Bretagne to a necessity of making a new treaty on his terms.

THE king having taken these precautions, confiding in the excellent intelligence he had, and the superiority of his forces, caused the duke of *Bretagne* to be attacked with so much vigour, while he in person covered his frontiers against the duke of *Burgundy*, that the first-mentioned duke, perceiving most of the places he had taken in *Normandy* lost, and that the duke of *Calabria*, who commanded the king's forces, was equally capable and inclined to push his conquests, found it necessary to treat: having, with some difficulty, obtained a

² J. DE SERRES. P. DAN. Histoire de Louis XI.
STOWE. SPEED.
Hist. de Louis XI.
de PH. DE COMM.

³ GAG. Hist. P. ÆMIL. MEZERAY.

⁴ La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. DE SERRES. DU TIL. P. DAN.

⁵ DUPLEIX.

⁶ Memoires de COMM. GAG. Hist. P. ÆMIL.

⁷ Memoires de COMM. HALL. HOLINSHED.

⁸ Nouvelle de Bretagne. Du Clos.

⁹ Memoires

- a truce for twelve days, in that space a treaty was concluded at *Anenis* ^b, by which it was stipulated that the king should grant his brother an annuity of thirty-six thousand livres, till a proper appenage should be settled by the constable and the duke of *Calabria*; and the king, to make the full use of his superiority, insisted that his brother and the duke should notify the conclusion of this treaty to the duke of *Burgundy*, with whom he was then treating, in hopes that it would influence him; but it produced quite a contrary effect; he gave so little credit to the news, that he was on the point of hanging the herald ^c that brought it: and, when he was satisfied that it was true, he began to assemble forces with such diligence, that the king, to prevent things from coming to extremities, was content to pay him thirty-six thousand crowns ^d. *Dammartin* remonstrated to the king, that he had a force sufficient to humble him as he had done the other duke; and that the shortest way was to attack him before he had assembled his whole strength. But cardinal *Balue*, who held an intelligence with the duke of *Burgundy* and with the other princes, did not care to see things decided by the sword: he therefore persuaded *Lewis*, that, having so superior a talent in negotiation, he should engage the duke to give him an interview, in which it was impossible he could avoid coming to the king's terms ^e. This proposition so flattered the king's vanity, that, though not without some difficulty, he engaged the duke to name *Peronne* in *Picardy*, then in his power, for the place of their meeting, and thither accordingly he went, unattended by guards, with a few only of his domestic officers, that the duke, being struck by this act of confidence, might be the less able to defend himself in their conferences ^f. As another means of influencing his resolution, he commanded some of his ablest emissaries to enter *Liege*, and to persuade the inhabitants to give the duke an alarm on that side, on which he had ever found him most apprehensive. Thus, full of confidence in his own arts, he rushed almost headlong into destruction ^g, in a manner scarce excusable in the weakest prince that ever lived.

- THE duke received him with all possible marks of regard and respect, caused him to be lodged very conveniently in the town, and shewed himself, as *Lewis* expected, highly pleased with this signal mark of confidence. While the negotiations were going on, prince *Philip* of *Savoy*, and some of the *French* exiles who had followed the fortune of prince *Charles*, came to *Peronne*, to pay their court to the duke; and, being most of them soldiers of fortune, brought abundance of gens d'arms along with them. The king, being alarmed at this, instead of quitting the town as he might have done, demanded of the duke to go and reside in the castle, which was very readily granted ^h. He was scarce well fixed there, before he received intelligence that the people of *Liege*, by the persuasion of the *French* emissaries, had again broke out into an insurrection, surprized the town of *Tongres*, made his brother-in-law their bishop prisoner, cut the garrison to pieces, and murdered six of his canons ⁱ. The duke, in the first transport of his resentment, ordered the castle gates to be shut, double guards to be posted, and, in short, made the king thoroughly sensible that he was a prisoner, and at his mercy ^j. It is impossible to express the disconsolate condition of *Lewis*, whose apartments were at the very foot of the tower, in which the count of *Vermandois* had confined *Charles the Simple*. In this wretched state he continued three days, but had so much presence of mind as to cause a large sum in ready money, which he had brought with him, to be immediately distributed amongst the duke's domestics, with a promise of twice as much more. This answered his purpose very well; all the duke's counsellors strove to pacify him; and at length he went to the king and concluded a treaty, or rather prescribed such terms as he thought proper to a prince whose life and liberty was intirely in his power ^k. *Lewis* bore all with signal patience. The duke stipulated that the king's brother should have *Champagne* and *Brie*, fixed every thing to his own satisfaction, and then obliged the king to march with him against *Liege*, which had revolted at his own request ^l. This was undoubtedly the most mortifying incident of his whole life, and was very near being the last of it. The duke of *Burgundy* was so much afraid of his making his escape, that he posted a guard of three hundred choice men between his own quarters and those of *Lewis* to prevent it, in case he should make any attempt. The inhabitants, guided only by despair, in the middle of a dark night, made a furious sally, in which, if it had not been for that guard, they had made themselves masters both of the king and duke, and were at last repulsed with great difficulty. But the place was afterwards carried, partly by surprize and partly by storm, the king being present in the attack; and having thus fulfilled, in every particular, the purpose of his vassal, had his leave to return; and the duke had so much respect for him, as to suffer him to depart before he set fire to the town and massacred the inhabitants ^m.

Throws him-
self into the
hands of the
duke of Bur-
gundy who
treats him in
the same man-
ner.

A. D. 1468.

^b Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.

^c J. DE SERRES. DUPL. P. DANIEL.

^d Memoires de PH.

DE COMMUN. DU TIL. MEZ.

^e D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne.

MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI. P. DAN.

^f Memoires de COMMUN.

^g J. DE SERRES. DU CLOS. Histoire de Louis XI.

^h Memoires de

COMMUN. P. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. CHALONS. LE GENDRE.

ⁱ GAGU. Hist. Annales de

France. PH. DE COMMUN.

^j Memoires DE LA MARCHE. MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI.

^k DU

CLOS. Hist. de Louis XI.

^l Memoires de COMMUN. J. DE SERRES.

On his return *Lewis* confirmed the treaty in every particular, notified its contents to the proper tribunals, and published an edict, forbidding any persons, under the severest penalties, from speaking evil of the duke of *Burgundy*. At the same time he ordered all the magpyes and jays to be destroyed, and a note to be brought him of their masters names; which odd circumstance was owing to their being taught to cry, *Peronne, Peronne*, which the king thought he was in no danger of forgetting, without the help of these ridiculous remembrancers^u.

The perfidious practices of cardinal Baluc and the bishop of Verdun discovered.

AT the time the king took leave of the duke of *Burgundy*, he asked him what was to be done, if his brother should not be satisfied with the appenage he had fixed for him in the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*? The duke, who did not penetrate the king's meaning, told him, that he should not interfere any more between them; and that all he desired was that Monsieur should be satisfied. The king, building upon this, proposed to his brother the duchy of *Guienne*^w, with some of the adjacent lordships, being extremely unwilling to fix his brother in a kind of independent principality, between *Flanders* and *Burgundy*, by which he would have an opportunity, in case any new disputes arose, of introducing troops into the very heart of his dominions. But, while he had this and other negotiations in his mind, an accident discovered a most dangerous and wicked correspondence, that had been long carried on by his prime-minister the cardinal *Balue*, who had lately merited that title from the court of *Rome*, by betraying the interests of the nation, and holding a secret correspondence with the duke of *Burgundy*. He and the bishop of *Verdun*, a man of as much subtlety and intrigue, and whose morals were as bad as his own, intrusted their letters to the same man, who being seized for a spy, and these letters found about him, the king had at once a convincing proof that this man, whom, from an obscure condition, suitable to the meanness of his birth, he had raised, not without violence and injustice, to the highest dignities in church and state, was laying open his most secret counsels, to the prince in the world he had the most reason to dread, and, at the same time, pointing out how they might be defeated, and all this merely to render himself necessary, to hold the king, as it were, in toils, and to secure himself a retreat if he should lose his favour.

Both of them punished with unprecedented severity.

BOTH these prelates were arrested, and convicted, partly on proofs, and partly by their own confessions; but the court of *Rome* interposing, the king contented himself with confining both of them in iron cages of eight feet square, the bishop in the *Bastile*, and the cardinal in several places, for upwards of eleven years; who was not only the less pitied, as he was guilty, but as he was the inventor of that cruel kind of custody in which he was kept^x. After this he found his brother more tractable; insomuch, that he consented to the proposed exchange, and, in consequence of a kind of reconciliation, they had an interview, where the duke of *Guienne* made profound submissions to the king, who was so much persuaded of his sincerity, that he not only honoured him with the order of *St. Michael*, which he instituted about this time, but proposed also a marriage between him and the princess of *Castile*, which had been a fair step to the regal dignity^y (C). He gave assistance also to his nephew the

^u DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN. DUPL. GEND.

^w La Chronique Scandaleuse. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XI.

^x Memoires de COMMUN. J. DE SERRES.

^y DUP. DU TIL. MEZ. CHALONS. LE

(C) The order of the Star instituted by king *John*, being sunk into contempt, and other orders flourishing with great splendor in different countries, but more especially in *England*, *Castile*, *Portugal*, and *Burgundy*, *Lewis* instituted, on the 1st of *August*, 1469, at *Amboise*, that of *St. Michael* (1), who, it seems, was reputed, in antient times, the protector of the realm of *France*, and, for that reason, his feast kept with great splendor and magnificence (2). The collar of this order was composed of scallop shells of gold, joined one with another, fastened on small chains or males of the same metal. In the midst was annexed an oval of gold, on which was depicted a rising hill, whereon stood *St. Michael*, trampling upon the dragon, all curiously enamelled. To which, saith *Menenius*, was adjoined this epigraph, *Immensi Tremor Oceani* (3). The habit appointed by the founder, was a mantle of white damask, hanging down to the ground, furred with ermine, having its cape embroidered with gold (4),

and the border of the robe interwoven with scallops of gold. The chaperon or hood, with its long tippet, was made of crimson velvet (5). The grand assembly was, by the sovereign and knights, to be held, as a solemn festival, on *Michaelmas-day*, and the place appointed for the celebration of these pompous ceremonies was the church of *Mount St. Michael*, in *Normandy*, built by *St. Authbert*, upon *St. Michael's* appearing to him in a vision, and liberally endowed by *Rollo*, duke of *Normandy*, and his successors (6), but afterwards removed to *Bois de Vincennes*, not far from *Paris* (7). The king proposed that the number of knights should be thirty-six; of whom he named fifteen, his brother the duke of *Guienne*, the duke of *Bourbon*, and the constable, being the three first (8). By their oath of admission, they swore to support the dignity, and to defend the rights of the crown, the authority of the king and of his successors, in spite of and against all persons whatever. In all probability, it was to ob-

(1) *Chartre de Perfection de l'ordre de St. Michael, dans les Memoires de Bethune, vol. cott. 8455.* (2) *St. Marthe de la Maison de France, tom. i. p. 59, 656. Miræus, p. 641.* (3) *In delic. equestr.* (4) *In Statutis, art. xxxii.* (5) *Theatre d'Honneur, liv. iii.* (6) *Ar. Monstier, Neustria Pia, p. 371.* (7) *Theatre d'Honneur, liv. iii.* (8) *Gaguini Hist. Memoires de Philip de Commines. P. Æmil. de rebus Francor. P. Daniel.*

a the duke of *Calabria*, who, at the head of the revolted *Catalans*, gave him king *John* of *Aragon* and *Navarre* so much trouble, that he was in no condition to recover the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagna*, of which, under colour of a mortgage, king *Lewis* had been long in possession, and was by no means desirous they should be redeemed. But this gleam of A. D. 1469. tranquility, with which the king was highly delighted, did not last long; for that spirit of intrigue which he had introduced and encouraged, proved the perpetual source of foreign and domestic troubles, during the whole course of his reign. Such are the blessed effects of that refined system of self-interest, which is falsely called policy^a.

THE duke of *Burgundy* had only one daughter, the greatest heiress in *Europe*, in case the duke died without issue male; and the malecontents in *France* were desirous that she should have espoused Monsieur; it is believed the duke himself was not averse to this, which induced him to fix the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie* for the appenage of that prince, and made him so much displeased at seeing that disposition altered by the last treaty; which, however, the king had, in some measure, justified, by the advice he took from the duke at his departure from *Liege*^a. Monsieur himself also had an inclination to this match, in preference to that of *Spain*, which had been negotiated for him by his brother. The duke of *Bretagne* was likewise in this way of thinking, knowing that the king bore always in mind the desire he had of reducing his power, and he discovered this disposition by refusing the order of *St. Michael*, which *Lewis* had sent him^b. The affairs of *England* took a very extraordinary turn; *Margaret*, queen to *Henry* the sixth, again solicited the king's favour and assistance, having with her the prince of *Wales* her son, the famous earl of *Warwick*, and the duke of *Clarence*, brother to *Edward* the fourth, who had married the earl's eldest daughter. *Lewis*, considering that the duke of *Burgundy* had married the sister of *Edward*, had lately accepted the order of the garter, and was intirely in the interest of that prince, listened more readily to the queen's solicitations than he had formerly done, and furnished the lords of her party with such succours, as enabled them to return to *England*, where they defeated *Edward*, replaced *Henry* upon the throne, and forced the former to retire for shelter to his brother the duke of *Burgundy*^c. The king thought there could not be a more favourable opportunity than this to recover the cities and towns in *Picardy*; but, in all probability, he would not have ventured into an open war with the duke of *Burgundy*, if he had not been solicited to it by some of those who had been formerly in close correspondence with that prince, particularly the constable of *St. Pol*, and the readiness expressed by the dukes of *Guienne* and *Bretagne* to take arms in his quarrel^d. He judged it, however, expedient, to give the better colour to this proceeding, that he should seem solicited to it by his subjects, and therefore he called an assembly of the princes and great lords at *Tours*, where they proceeded with great warmth against the duke of *Burgundy*; and, upon the complaint of the count *d'Eu*, ordered him to be summoned as a peer of *France*, to answer in parliament^e. It was foreseen he would act as he really did upon this occasion; that is, treat the summons with contempt, and send the usher who brought it to prison: therefore care was taken that the army should be ready to act immediately, with which the constable presently made himself master of *St. Quintin's*, before the duke could well bring an army into the field^f: what astonished him more than the loss of the town, was the retreat of his natural brother *Baldwin*, whom *Lewis* had found means to corrupt; and the *Flemish* writers assert, that a plot was likewise laid for poisoning the duke^g, which, from what the reader will hereafter see, cannot appear at all improbable.

AT the time of the loss of *St. Quintin*, the duke of *Burgundy* was at *Dourlens*, with five hundred horse, but, as soon as he heard that the people of *Amiens* had opened their gates to the king, and that *Roie* and *Mondidier* had likewise admitted *French* troops, he retired to *Arras*, and began there to assemble forces with great diligence^h. He was less surprized at the events of the war than at the conduct of those who made it, more especially of the duke of *Guienne* and the constable, to whom, therefore, he sent, to put them in mind of their old connections. They soon explained the secret of their new behaviour, by letting him know,

^a La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. DE SERRES. P. DAN. ^a Annales de France. La Chronique Scandaleuse. ^b Memoires de COMMUN. GAG. Hist. DUPLEIX. DU TIL. MEZ. ^c POLYD. VIRG. Hist. Angl. Memoires de COMMUN. HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE. ^d La Chronique Scandaleuse. Memoires de COMMUN. GAGU. Hist. ^e La Chronique Scandaleuse. J DE SERRES. ^f Annales de France. La Chronique Scandaleuse. ^g GAGU. Hist. La Chronique Scandaleuse. ^h Memoires de COMMUN. GAGU. Hist. DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN.

tain this security of the duke of *Bretagne*, that he made him an offer of his order; and it is not at all improbable, that it was on the score of this oath, though he pretended other matters, that the duke refused it (9). But it is out of question, that, from his refusal, *Lewis* conceived an implacable hatred against him, of which he felt the effects.

(9) La Chronique Scandaleuse. Gaguini Hist. Memoires de Philip de Communes. Argent. Histoire de Bretagne. Le Gend.

that he had nothing to do but to give his daughter to the duke of *Guienne*, and that he should soon see the best part of the king's troops on his side. The duke of *Bretagne* not only held the same language, but added likewise, that the longer he hesitated about taking this step, the worse his affairs were like to go, since the king had great intelligence even in the heart of his dominions¹. As great politicians as these princes were, they did not at all foresee the consequences of this manner of acting; the duke had no conception of submitting to the king, much less to them. He formed therefore, as numerous an army as he could, passed the *Somme*, and encamped before *Amiens*, from whence he wrote a very humble letter to the king, desiring a peace, which ended with these words; "If you had known the inside of things, you would not have declared war against me²." *Lewis*, who had his reasons also to be weary of this state of things, and who began to suspect the loyalty of those who were fondest of the war, concluded a truce for a year, in spite of all they could say to prevent it³. In the mean time things had again changed their face in *England*; the duke of *Burgundy*, rather through interest than affection, had supplied his brother *Edward* of *England* with money and a few ships, and, as slender as these succours were, yet, having had always the affection of the people, they enabled him to succeed; so that, after beating the forces of *Henry* in two successive battles, he was quietly resealed in the throne⁴. The duke of *Burgundy*, in consequence of the truce, altered his language to the *French* malecontents, though not his sentiments, and seemed to resume the marriage of his daughter, as if he had been more in earnest than ever; nay, he carried the refinement of his policy so far, that he sent the bishop of *Montauban* to *Rome*, to solicit, or pretend to solicit, a dispensation. These proceedings were attended with very singular events⁵. *Lewis* was so much alarmed, that he sent the *Sieur de Bouchage* to his brother, to let him know that he was not ignorant of his intrigues, and that he ought to remember what he had sworn to him on the cross of *St. Lo*; in which case, whoever broke their oaths were sure to die miserably, within a year: he likewise proposed to him the inconveniencies of that match, and the advantages that would attend his adhering strictly to his duty. The duke gave the king's minister fair words, and took his own measures; notwithstanding the king heard what his brother had promised, and is said to have taken his measures likewise. *Edward* the fourth was no less alarmed at this match than *Lewis* the eleventh, and ordered his ministers to declare as much to the duke of *Burgundy*, who, perceiving that *Lewis* was disposed to negotiate upon reasonable terms, turned the truce, at the end of the year, into a peace, which was stiled the peace of *Crotoi*⁶. By this, on the restitution of *St. Quintin* and *Amiens*, which was stipulated by the king, the duke abandoned Monsieur and the duke of *Bretagne* to the king's vengeance, and the king left the count *de Nevers* and the count *de St. Pol* to the duke's mercy: such was the usage of these times⁷.

Death of the duke of Guienne, and the rejection of the peace with the duke of Burgundy;

ALL possible appearances were in favour of the peace of *Crotoi*, which the wisest men of those times thought would have been final. But, on the contrary, this presumed-to-be lasting peace proved, in the end, no peace at all; the king, who had shewn himself very sincere through the negotiation, refusing absolutely to ratify it. The duke of *Guienne*, who had given the king his brother such cruel and such constant anxieties, was dead of a lingering disease⁸. It was reported, and believed in those days, that the chaplain of this prince, who was abbot of *St. John d'Angeli*, dividing a large and beautiful peach between madame *de Monsereau*, who was the duke's mistress, and the duke, poisoned them both, of which the unfortunate woman died immediately; but the duke, though he languished for half a year, never recovered his colour or strength⁹. The *Sieur de Lescun*, who was the duke's favourite, seized this wicked monk, and sent him prisoner to the duke of *Bretagne*, where it was intended to proceed against him; but he was found, not long afterwards, in the tower where he was confined, dead of a stroke of thunder, or at least of some stroke or other; which did not at all displease the king¹⁰.

who thereupon publishes a manifesto against the king, and vigorously renews the war.

THE duke of *Burgundy*, who, some say, by the advice of the *French* plenipotentiaries, continued armed, finding the king resolute in rejecting the peace, declared war, under pretence of revenging his friend the duke of *Guienne*'s death, and committed great cruelties. Yet some say the king was not in the wrong. He had insisted, prior to the ratification, that *Charles* should send a gentleman with a letter to the dukes of *Guienne* and *Bretagne*, to signify to them that they were no longer to expect his protection; which he actually did, but at the same time acquainted the duke of *Bretagne*, by a private letter, that he had no intention to abandon them; that he made this treaty purely to get the towns of *St. Quintin* and *Amiens* restored; as the king had taken them without any regard to the treaties of *Conflans* and *Peronne*, he should, when he had those places once in his hands, pay as little

¹ La Chronique Scandaleuse. P. ÆMIL. ² J. DE SERRES. DUPL. ³ GAGU. Hist. ⁴ POLYD. VIRGIL Hist. Angl. HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE. DU TIL. ⁵ Instruções donadas par Louis XI. au Sieur du Bouche. Memoires de BETHUNE. ⁶ Memoires de COMMIN. La Chronique Scandaleuse. P. ÆMIL. ⁷ Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens. ⁸ GAGU. Hist. D'ARGENT Hist. de Bretagne. ⁹ BOUCHET Annales d'Aquitaine. La Chronique Scandaleuse. ¹⁰ D'ARGENT. Hist. de Bretagne. BOUCH. Annales d'Aquitaine. GAGU. Hist.

a regard to the treaty of *Crotol*¹. The moment his brother was dead, the king seized the dutchy of *Guienne*, reconquered the county of *Armagnac*; and, having gained the *Sieur de Lescun*, who had the confidence of the duke of *Bretagne*, engaged the prince to accommodate matters with him²: at the same time, he drew over the famous *Philip de Commines*, one of the completest courtiers of his time, and the principal minister of the duke of *Burgundy*: but what his true motive was for quitting the service of that prince, he, who has acquainted us with so many secrets, has thought fit to conceal; and time, which reveals so many things, has left us in the dark as to this; the traditionary conjectures on that head being so ridiculous as to deserve no credit³.

At the time the king was engaged in *Guienne*, the duke of *Burgundy* having failed in retaking the towns upon the *Somme*, made an irruption into *Normandy*, but with no great success. *Lewis*, upon his return from *Guienne*, according to his usual custom, was inclined to conclude a truce. Upon this several conferences were held, which ended in what the king desired; and, upon this occasion, the duke, who had hitherto concealed it, and probably would have concealed it longer, if he had not been provoked by the constable's burning his country, contrary to the rules of war, laid open all his treachery to the king, and thereby explained the meaning of that dark passage in his letter, which has been before mentioned⁴. *Lewis* was so much moved at this, that, if the constable had been in his power, he had certainly felt the full weight of his resentment; but his county and other estates lying between the dominions of the king and the duke of *Burgundy*, his keeping *St. Quintin's* in his hands, and having, during the war, four hundred gens d'arms, though in the king's pay, yet at his devotion, with a considerable body of troops in his own pay besides, *Lewis* always apprehended he would make his peace with the duke of *Burgundy*, by changing sides; and therefore finding him universally odious, began to treat with the duke to concur with him in his vengeance, and to divide his spoils⁵. *Charles*, who never forgave him the insolence of prescribing to him how he should dispose of his only daughter, received the overture favourably enough, but deferred it for the present, as being engaged in the expedition of *Gueldres*, of which country he was heir by the testament of the last prince. He had also another and a greater design in his head, which was to assume the title of king, and to get his territories released from the homage due to *France* and to the empire, in order to unite them in one independent sovereignty, under the title of the realm of *Burgundy*⁶. He had even a project of extending them by marrying his heiress to the young duke of *Calabria*, whose father lived at *Barcelona*, and who, on the demise of his grandfather, would inherit *Lorrain*.

Bring disappointed in his views, concludes a truce, and discovers the constable's treason to the king.

1473.

The business of the constable was brought almost to a conclusion in the conferences at *Bovines*, where it was agreed he should be delivered up to justice, and that, upon his conviction for high treason, his forfeitures should be shared between the two princes. But the constable having, some way or other, gained intelligence of what was doing, applied himself to the king, and made him believe he received his accounts from the duke of *Burgundy*, who was desirous to attach him intirely to his own service. This *Lewis* believed; and, to disappoint the duke, consented to a conference with the constable, in which all things, for the present, were adjusted; yet, notwithstanding this, a truce was concluded between the king and the duke for a year⁷. A man was detected and executed for attempting to procure one of the king's cooks to poison him: the fact seems to be true, but even tortures did not force the criminal to discover any person of note, and for this reason it was placed to the account of the duke of *Burgundy*, as the prince who, at this juncture, was most likely to be served by it⁸. The duke of *Alençon* also, whom the king had freely pardoned at the beginning of his reign, was again found plotting to retire to the duke of *Burgundy*, and to sell him whatever he possessed in *France*. He had likewise been tampering with *England*, of which being convicted, he had judgment of death, with a saving to the king's mercy, who again changed the sentence into imprisonment for life⁹. The duke of *Burgundy* was, all this time, embarked in some disputes in *Germany*, where he sometimes courted the emperor's favour, and offered his daughter for his son, as he had done to many other princes, and at other times took such steps as engaged them in a war against each other, as happened in this year by his besieging *Nuys*¹⁰. Some of the shrewdest persons in the king's council represented this as the most favourable opportunity he could desire for crushing the duke, by entering into an alliance with the emperor, as to which some overtures were made, but with very little sincerity; for the king, who commonly followed his own notions, had no opinion of this alliance, but judged it more for his interest to let the duke proceed in his own way, and gradually waste his force; to facilitate

1474.

¹ Memoires de COMMEN. P. ÆMIL. DUP. ² La Chronique Scandaleuse. Memoires de COMMEN. GAGU. Hist. ³ P. ÆMIL. GAGU. Hist. ⁴ La Chronique Scandaleuse. Memoires de COMMEN. GAGU. Hist. ⁵ P. ÆMIL. & al. ⁶ La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. DE SERRES. DU CLOS. Histoire de Louis XI. ⁷ GAGU. Hist. & al. ⁸ La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. DE SERRES. DUP. ⁹ Memoires de COMMEN. P. ÆMIL. ¹⁰ GAGU. Hist. La Chronique Scandaleuse. DU CLOS. Hist. de Louis XI.

which, he raised him up two new enemies, the one *Rene* duke of *Lorraine*, grandson to a *Rene* of *Anjou*, king of *Sicily*, and the other the *Swiss* cantons, with whom he entered into a strict and very useful alliance^c. He laid asleep, by the same arts, his disputes with the king of *Arragon*, which we have mentioned in another place, and which, this year, had given him a great deal of trouble, and had involved him in various negotiations.

Edward IV.
in consequence
of several al-
liances with
the duke of
Burgundy, in-
vades France;

THE next year the king changed his plan of proceeding; for finding that the duke of *Burgundy* made difficulties of renewing the truce, he ordered the duke of *Bourbon* to invade *Burgundy*, and, at the same time, caused him to be attacked on the *Somme*. He proposed also to the emperor the division of the duke of *Burgundy's* territories between them; to which that prince answered by the famous apologue of dividing the bear's skin before they had stripped him^f. The obstinacy of the duke of *Burgundy* got the better of the *Germans*, b who, though they held him besieged in his camp while he besieged *Nuys*, were, notwithstanding, content to terminate things by a treaty, which, if not advantageous, was at least honourable; and now, if his impetuosity would have permitted him, the duke had it clearly in his power either to have brought the king to his own terms, or to have distressed him more severely than when he had him in his hands at *Liege*^g. *Edward* the fourth of *England*, under pretence of revenging the assistance which *Lewis* had given to the house of *Lancaster*, but, in reality, that he might obtain a large supply from the house of commons, and a benevolence from his subjects, determined to invade *France*; and, with this view, had made six distinct treaties with the duke of *Burgundy*, who was to assist him in person with all his forces, to acknowledge and do him homage as king of *France*, and to receive from him the c duchy of *Bar*, the counties of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, and *Guise*, with other places^h. As soon as he was ready to embark his forces, *Edward* dispatched a herald to *Lewis* to summon him to deliver up the kingdom. The king, who knew how much his actions would be observed on such an occasion, received the herald with an air of gaiety; but taking him into a place that was out of every body's hearing, told him his master was come upon an idle errand; that his confederates the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, and the constable, would certainly deceive him; and that it would be much better for him to make a peace upon good terms with him, and restore a thorough harmony between the two crowns, which might be equally beneficial to both nationsⁱ. The herald seeming to treat this proposition in a manner as if he did not believe it at all impracticable, the king gave him three hundred pieces d of gold with great secrecy, and then ordered *Commines* to conduct him out of the court; to take care that he conversed with no-body; and, when he dismissed him, to give him publicly a piece of crimson velvet, as a testimony that the king was not displeased with his message^k.

but finding
himself deceiv-
ed by his allies,
concludes a
treaty with
Lewis.

EDWARD debarked, in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, as fine an army as any of his predecessors had brought into *France*, and was, without question, as capable of directing its operations as they were; but he found his affairs in a strange situation^l. The duke of *Burgundy* was making war in *Lorraine* to revenge the insolence, as he styled it, of the duke, who, at the instance of *Lewis*, had declared war against him; the duke of *Bretagne* declined stirring till the armies were in action; and as for the king, he seemed to expect, with great tranquility, what turn the war would take^m. The duke of *Burgundy* came to the *English* e camp, to compliment the king: he assured him that he held a correspondence with the constable, and that, upon directing their march towards *Amiens* and *St. Quintin's*, he would deliver those places into their hands, and declare himself, as others of the *French* nobility would likewise; which, in all probability, the duke believedⁿ. But when *Edward* advanced with his army to make the experiment, the constable fired upon them; and yet continued to assure the duke of *Burgundy*, that, at a proper time, he would fulfil his engagements: the king, who could not by any means relish this conduct, and who apprehended a rebellion at home, if he did not carry on the war with success, or at least procure a good peace, caused some overtures to be made to *Lewis*, who very readily entered into a negotiation. This ended in several treaties, which were concluded at *Amiens*, on the 29th of *August*; but from f their being ratified by the two kings at an interview they had at the bridge of that village, were styled the treaties of *Pequigni*^o. Instead of separate articles there were five distinct instruments. By the first, the two kings consented to leave all their disputes to arbitration, naming the arbitrators. King *Edward* consented to quit the *French* territories upon the receipt of twenty-five thousand crowns, without committing any hostilities, and delivered the lord *Howard* and Sir *John Cheney* for hostages. By the second they concluded a seven years truce for themselves and allies. The third was a fraternal alliance between the two kings, to be cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with the princess *Elizabeth*. The fourth were

^c Memoires de COMMIN. BOULANV. Annales de France.

^d RYMER'S Fœdera, tom. xii. POLYD. VIRG. Hist. Angl.

^e GAGU. Hist. & al.

^f P. ÆMIL. Memoires de COMMIN.

^g GAGU. Hist. J. DE SERRES.

^h Memoires de COMMIN. liv. iv. c. v.

ⁱ HALL.

HOLINSH. STOWE. de France.

^m Memoires de COMMIN. GAGU. Hist.

ⁿ POLYD. VIRG.

^o Annales

a letters patent, by which *Lewis* undertook to pay *Edward* an annuity of fifty thousand crowns, during their lives, which the *English* writers unanimously stile tribute, and the *French* historians, though they do not like that phrase, know not what else to call it. And, lastly, *Edward* agreed to release queen *Margaret* for a ransom of fifty thousand crowns, to be paid within the space of five years, which was punctually executed on both sides ^p.

THE duke of *Burgundy* came to the *English* camp before things were concluded, and endeavoured to make *Edward* break off, but to no purpose: the king telling him that he meant to include him as his ally; the duke answered haughtily, That he desired no such favour; and that he would not conclude either peace or truce till the king had been three months in *England*^q. After their interview, *Lewis* received the *English* lords, knights, gentlemen, and even the soldiers that came to visit the court at *Amiens*, with a frankness that surprized them, ordering tables to be set in the streets with victuals and wine. According to his usual custom, he corrupted the whole *English* council; and, besides immediate presents, granted pensions amongst them to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns a year^r. *Edward* executed his engagements punctually, and delivered the constable's letters, in which himself and king *Lewis* were very insolently treated. After his return the duke of *Burgundy* signed, on the 13th of *September*, a truce for nine years; and upon this occasion the king abandoned *Rene* duke of *Lorraine*, while the duke gave up the constable: he also concluded a treaty with the duke of *Bretagne*; and hearing that the constable had quitted *St. Quintin's*, and had retired to *Mons*, he demanded him; and the duke, though with some reluctance, gave him up^s. He was brought to *Paris*, tried, and condemned to death by the parliament, which he suffered on the 19th of *December*, with great intrepidity and composure of mind^t. The duke of *Burgundy* had his whole confiscation, which did not balance the reproach of having delivered him to the king^u.

THE king now had leisure and opportunity to have concerted measures for the duke of *Burgundy's* destruction, which it is probable he might have done without regard to the truce; but perceiving that the duke himself was sufficiently bent to that purpose, he prudently gave him no disturbance, but left him to push his rash enterprizes in what manner he thought fit; and, without question, he could not have taken a surer method. The duke, having taken *Nancy*, and ruined *Lorraine*, made war, almost without any cause, upon the *Switzers*, though they offered him any satisfaction, and even to renounce their treaty with *France*: he was totally defeated, through his own fault; and, persisting in the same wild measures, set on foot another army, with which he besieged *Morat*^v. The *Swiss* sent for *Rene* duke of *Lorraine*, whom he had driven out of his dominions, and gave him the command of their army, and it was chiefly through his courage and conduct that the duke of *Burgundy* was beat a second time, after which *Rene* recovered his capital: but *Charles*, having set a new army on foot, obliged him to retire, leaving a garrison in the place, which he presently besieged^w. *Lewis*, in the mean time, prosecuted his uncle the old unfortunate king of *Naples*, for holding a correspondence with the duke of *Burgundy* and his enemies, and forced him to an abject submission. He declined giving any assistance to Don *Alonso* of *Portugal*, who came in person to demand it; he constrained the duke of *Bretagne* to renounce all his engagements with the duke of *Burgundy*; and, taking advantage of the declining state of that prince's affairs, punished the infidelity of several of his own subjects, and obliged most of his neighbours to compensate past neglects, by entering into such engagements as he thought fit to dictate; for he was now in the zenith of his power, and gave law at his pleasure both at home and abroad^x. The duke of *Burgundy*, in an unaccountable fit of violence, had seized the duchess of *Savoy*, the king's sister, with whom, though *Lewis* had never lived with her on good terms, he now entered into an amicable correspondence, and, by his interposition, procured her liberty; for, though the duke still hated him as much as ever, insomuch that he broke an interview concerted between them, yet his circumstances did not allow him to give the king so fair an opportunity of breaking the truce, and anticipating that destruction to which his affairs were hastening, by his own precipitate conduct, and contempt even of the king's admonition^y.

AMONGST the soldiers of fortune in the duke of *Burgundy's* army, with which he besieged *Nancy*, was the count *de Campobasso*: he commanded a corps of *Italians*, and in revenge of a blow on the ear given him by that prince, had been long in a design of compassing his destruction. He offered his service on every side, and amongst the rest to *Lewis*, who, from generosity or policy, gave the duke notice of it; but he was so far from making a right use of it, that he confided in him more than ever^z. This man betrayed him in all dy-

^p Aët. Public. tom. xii. ^q GAGU. Hist. J. DE SERRES. DUP. ^r P. ÆMIL. DU TIL. P. DAN. ^s Memoires de COMMEN. & al. ^t La Chronique Scandaleuse, & al. ^u La Chronique Scandaleuse. ^v GAGU. Hist. ^w DUPL. DU TIL. & al. ^x MARIAN. TURQUET. FERRERAS. GAGU. Hist. ^y P. ÆMIL. ^z DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN. ¹ Memoires de COMMEN. La Chronique Scandaleuse.

shapes, protracted the siege of *Nancy*, corresponded with the enemy, and, upon the approach of the duke of *Lorraine* with an army of fourteen thousand men, raised chiefly with the king's money, deserted him, and retired to a post, where, if the army was beat, he might cut off their retreat. He left behind him some officers who were embarked in the conspiracy, who, as soon as the battle began, on *Sunday January* the fifth, gave way, and threw the army into disorder; others, posted about his person, dispatched the duke, in the heat of the engagement, and threw his body into a ditch; after which all was slaughter and confusion^b. *Lewis* no sooner received the news, than he disposed every thing to turn this event as much as possible to his advantage (D). He gave out that he intended to marry the young duchess of *Burgundy*, who was in the twenty-first year of her age, to the dauphin, who was just entered the seventh. He seized *Burgundy* and the county of *Artois*, and raised such disturbances in *Flanders*, that the people put to death their young mistress's most faithful counsellors, on account of letters which the king put into their hands. He made use of the prince of *Orange* for some time, and then threw him off; he found means to hinder the king of *England* from interfering in favour of the house of *Burgundy*^c. At length he suffered the marriage of *Maximilian* of *Austria* with that rich heiress to take place, rather than that of the count *d'Angoulesme*, as being more afraid of a prince of his own blood than of a stranger^d. This year was also fatal to *James d'Armagnac*, duke of *Nemours*, whom the king had caused to be arrested, and convicted of high treason. He was a man so covered with crimes, that he died unpitied; and yet his conviction was brought about in so indecent a manner, and his death was accompanied with such circumstances of severity, as drew great imputations of cruelty upon *Lewis*. He was brought on horseback to a scaffold, where he was beheaded, and his blood, running through, fell upon his children, which was such a strain of barbarity, as never had been heard of before^e. He distributed his confiscations amongst his creatures, many of whom were low people, particular *Oliver le Dain*, who had been his barber; and published an edict, requiring all persons who had the most distant knowledge of treasons to reveal them, on pain of being treated as accomplices: a law that, after remaining long dormant, was awakened, to gratify the resentment of cardinal *Richelieu*, in the reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth.

A. D. 1477.

He manages
his negotiati-
ons with all
his neighbours
with equal
dexterity and
success.

HOSTILITIES having again commenced between the king and the archduke *Maximilian*, who could not bear to see a great part of his wife's dominions torn from her by a prince, whom he thought of all princes the most unjust, laboured all he could to recover them out of the king's hands; and the prince of *Orange* having quitted his service, became a powerful instrument in the hands of the archduke, till such time as the king sent the *Sieur de Chaumont* to command in *Burgundy*, who very speedily reduced the far greatest part of it, and even the city of *Besançon*, which was then esteemed an imperial town^f. Upon this the arch-

^b GAGU. Hist. P. ÆMIL. La Chronique Scandaleuse.^c P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. DUPLÉIX.^d GAGU. Hist. MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI.^e La Chronique Scandaleuse. DU TIL.^f Memoires

de COMMUN. Memoires DE LA MARCHE. GAGU. Hist.

(D) The king was excessively uneasy about the issue of this campaign. He had a custom of giving magnificent presents to such as brought him good news; *Commynes* and *Bouchage* had received each of them two hundred marks for bringing him an account of the duke's former defeats (6). *Du Lude* sat up all night, in order to watch for the courier, who came about break of day with the news of this fatal defeat of *Nancy*, but he could say nothing particular as to the duke's death. The king, however, was so overjoyed, that he told the news to all the great men at court, and invited them to dine with him. Upon which, *Commynes* observes, that the company were so affected, either with concern or joy, that not one of them made a full meal, which could not happen, says he, through any awe of the king's presence, since there were none who had not had the honour to dine with him many times before (7). The truth of the matter was, they were apprehensive the king would become more absolute than ever by the death of his rival, and they should be more exposed to his caprices and cruelties, as having now neither shelter nor support. In the life of *Angelo Cotta*, archbishop of *Vienne*, at whose request *Philip de Commynes* wrote his memoirs,

and who was a famous astrologer, we have a very singular story (8). It is said that *Lewis* was hearing mass in the cathedral of *St. Martin* at *Tours*, at the very instant the battle of *Nancy* was fought; and that, when this prelate, according to custom, presented the pix for the king to kiss, he said, "Sire, God gives you peace and repose, you may enjoy them if you please, *quia consummatus est*: your enemy, the duke of *Burgundy*, is at this instant slain, and his army intirely overthrown." But, if we consider that this is told us by an anonymous writer, and that there is not the least mention of it in *Commynes*, or any other historian of credit, we can scarce yield our assent. However the same author adds another surprising circumstance in support of it: he says the king made a vow, that, if the prediction was accomplished, instead of the iron grating about the shrine of *St. Martin*, he would place one of silver, which he afterwards did, at the expence of one hundred thousand franks. This last fact is undoubtedly true, for, in 1479, the king erected that silver grating, which weighs fifty-four thousand two hundred and ten ounces (9). But, though the king did this expensive work, and might do this in consequence of a vow, it might not be this.

(6) *Memoires de Philip de Commynes*, liv. v. c. 10. (7) *Id. ibid. Histoire de Louis XI.* p. iii. *Du Clos*. (8) *Vie Anonyme de Angelo Cotto, ou Cotto, Archeveque de Vienne*, p. 395. *du Commynes*, imprime a Louvre. (9) *Gerwaise, Vie de St. Martin*, p. 328. *P. Daniel Hist. de France*, tom. vi. p. 501. *Le Gendre, Nouvelle Histoire de France*, tom. iv. p. 100.

- a duke altered his measures, and was disposed to conclude a truce, that he might have some degree of leisure to settle himself in his new dominions, and to acquire a thorough knowledge of their force. *Lewis* had precisely the very same reasons, with regard to his conquests, both in *Artois* and *Burgundy*, so that a truce was concluded for a year at *Arras*^g. The king then made a journey into *Touraine*, under colour of a religious pilgrimage, which was frequent enough with him, when he had a mind to visit this or that part of his dominions, for political purposes. He had then a multitude of negotiations upon his hands, and he managed them all with great dexterity, which was, in reality, what suited best with his capacity. His sister, the duchess of *Savoy*, was dead; he provided for the safety of her family, and the security of their dominions. He took the family of *Medicis* under his protection, and sent *Commines* into *Italy*, to treat with pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who was the capital enemy of that house^h. He dismissed *Don Alonso* of *Portugal*, who had been long soliciting succours, and told him plainly that his interest made it requisite for him to acknowledge *Don Ferdinand* and *Donna Isabella*, with whom it was in vain any longer to disputeⁱ. He made an alliance with them accordingly, which was very convenient for his affairs, as it hindered them from entering into alliance with the emperor and his son the archduke: and he continued to feed the king of *England* and his ministers with sums of money, which, while they consumed in the pleasures of a luxurious court, he was left to pursue his projects at leisure, notwithstanding the indefatigable endeavours of the duchess-dowager of *Burgundy*, and of the duke of *Britagne*, to excite the ambition or the jealousy of *Edward*, and thereby engage him to revive the old pretensions of his family to the crown of *France*, or at least to the duchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne*^k.

THE new treaty, which had been so long negotiating in *England*, was at length concluded A. D. 1478. and signed in the month of *February*, and seems to have consisted of two parts. By the first *Lewis* stipulates for himself and successors, that they shall continue to pay the pension of 50,000 livres to the king during his life, and to his heirs and successors for one hundred years to come. The second, of the same date, was for prolonging the truce, friendship, and good understanding, between the two kings during their lives, and between their successors for the space of one hundred years, with promise of mutual assistance against their rebellious subjects. The other articles were, That, if one of the two princes were driven out of his kingdom, the other should be obliged to receive him, and assist him with all his forces; that they should make no alliance without a mutual consent; that the king of *France* should ratify this treaty, and cause it to be confirmed and ratified by the states; and that *Edward* should likewise procure the parliament's approbation. Lastly, That the dauphin's marriage with the princess *Elizabeth* should be accomplished according to the agreement at *Amiens*; and this new treaty not be derogatory to the former^l.

THE archduke, before the end of the truce, had begun hostilities again in *Burgundy*, and in the *Low Countries*. In the month of *August* he laid siege, with a numerous army, to *Terouane*; the *Sieur d'Esquerdes*, who commanded in *Picardy*, marched to the relief of the place, with an army stronger in horse, but weaker in infantry, than that of the *Flemings*: the archduke raised the siege, in order to give him battle^m. The *French* cavalry charged with great impetuosity, and soon beat the archduke's horse, upon which the *French* infantry fell to pillaging; but the archduke dismounting, with some lords that were about him, and putting himself at the head of the *Flemish* foot, attacked the *French*, already in disorder, and defeated them. On the whole, however, neither party had any great reason to boast of their success in the battle of *Guinegate*ⁿ. The archduke seems to have lost most from his not returning to the siege: it is true he took a small castle afterwards, but he had been better without the conquest, since, in the heat of passion, he put the remains of the garrison to the sword, and, three days after, hanged the officer who commanded in it. *Lewis* was so much incensed at this, that he ordered fifty of the principal prisoners, taken in the beginning of the battle, to be hanged in different places; amongst these was a son of the king of *Poland*, who served as a volunteer in the *Flemish* army, and for whom a reprieve came, just as he was going to die^o. The king gained a greater advantage at sea; for one *Coulon*, a privateer of *Normandy*, with some of his associates, took fourscore sail of *Flemish* ships in the northern seas; which blow affected the inhabitants of the *Low Countries* so much, that they carried on the war but very languidly the next summer, and towards the end of it, concluded a truce^p. Pope *Sixtus*, being very desirous of putting an end to this war, sent the cardinal *de la Rovene*, to persuade both the king and the archduke to leave their differences to his mediation; in which, though he did not altogether succeed, yet he had no reason to repent his coming into *France*; for, besides renewing the truce for another year, he prevailed

^g P. ÆMIL. La Chronique Scandaleuse. DU TILLET. ^h La Chronique Scandaleuse & al. ⁱ MAR. TURQ. FER. J. DE SERRES. DUP. ^k POLYDOR. VIRGIL. Hist. Angl. HALL. HOLINSH. STOWE. ^l GAGUINI Hist. La Chronique Scandaleuse. DU TIL. ^m P. ÆMIL. Memoires de COMMUN. DUP. ⁿ La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. DE SERRES. ^o Memoires de LA MARCHE. Memoires de COMMUN. ^p FREDERIC LEONARD, tom. i. p. 217.

upon him to set cardinal *Balue* at liberty, and suffer him to retire to *Rome*^a. The king was so little satisfied with the behaviour of the militia called *Franc-archers* at the last battle, that he resolved to employ them no more. These men were raised and paid by the villages; and, in their stead, the king brought in *Swiss* troops, whom he hired, and added to them ten thousand *French* foot, to whom he gave regular pay. *Charles du Maine*, count of *Provence*, the last of the house of *Anjou*, dying without issue, left his estates to the king^r.

Death of the
duchess of Bur-
gundy, the
dauphin con-
tracted to her
daughter, and
the death of
Edward IV.

A. D. 1481.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, *Lewis* had an attack of an apoplexy, which is, with great probability, ascribed to his indefatigable application to business. As soon as he was a little recovered, he went into *Normandy*, and caused a strong camp to be formed there of the new troops, for his diversion, and that he might examine at leisure many things that regarded military affairs with his own eyes, and be, for the future, less liable to impositions^s. b
He removed from thence to *Tours*, where he had another stroke of an apoplexy, but less violent. He shewed that his parts were still sound, by his prudent management of the affairs of *Savoy*, where he did many things for the interest of the young prince *Philebert*, his nephew, by playing the great men in the country one against another, by which he limited the power of all. In the spring of the succeeding year, the duke, who was about seventeen, came to meet him at *Grenoble*, and went with him from thence to *Lyons*, where, being seized with a fever, he died. His brethren *Charles* and *John*, being educated in *France*, the king declared himself tutor to the former, and sent him to take possession of his dominions^t. It was there he received an account of the death of the duchess of *Burgundy*, by a fall from her horse, which is said to have given him new spirits^u. He had been for some time c
carrying on an underhand negotiation which the people of *Ghent*, which he managed with so much address, that by their assistance he compelled the archduke to consent to the marriage of his daughter *Margaret* with the dauphin, which treaty was signed on the 23d of *December*^w; the news of which had such an effect on *Edward* the fourth of *England*, that he determined to break with *Lewis* as a false and perfidious prince^x; but, before he was able to express his resentment otherwise than by words, an apoplexy^y, or some other sudden disease (for authors speak very suspiciously), removed him out of the world, and delivered *Lewis* from the last enemy that he had to fear^z. A circumstance highly favourable to him, as it left the house of *Burgundy* totally without resource.

Lewis retires
to his palace
of Plessis near
Tours, in a
low and lan-
guishing con-
dition.

It may be truly said, that *Lewis* only wanted health to taste the pleasure of seeing his d
affairs in a much better situation than they had ever been during his reign. At home he had gradually increased his power at the expence of the nobility, and he could not well make a worse use of it than some of them did^a. Abroad he had nothing to fear. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* were very desirous of cultivating that friendship which he professed for them; and though he still held *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*, he had nothing to fear from them as possessors of *Arragon*, the crown of *Navarre* being under his protection. The king of *Portugal* was his ally, and had an interest in being so. If he was not esteemed, he was at least respected in *Italy*, where they were as little in a condition to deceive as to disturb him. In *England* fresh disturbances were broke out on the death of king *Edward*. The power of the archduke was much circumscribed, and his force not a little broken by the king's conquests. e
He had many allies in the empire; and the *Swiss* were as much bound to his interests, and served him much more cordially than if they had been his subjects^b. As a monarch, he might be truly said to have gained his ends, and to have been successful in his politicks: let us see what resulted from it with regard to himself. He retired to his country palace at *Plessis*, near *Tours*, which was walled and guarded, not as a fortress but as a prison, to which his jealous humour had confined him, and where he tormented himself as much as he had tormented others^c. Few of the princes of the blood and great lords had access to him; and, when they had, they came singly, and with scarce any attendance. His strength decayed daily, death stared him in the face, and he never appeared more dreadful to the meanest malefactor. As he had dissembled other fears, he took every method to conceal f
this; he dressed better, he had concerts of music, and diversions that were some of them wild and ridiculous, such as the hunting of rats, and other whims of the same kind^d. He ordered relicks to be brought him from all parts, and sent for *Francis de Pauli*, a reputed saint, out of *Calabria*, to pray for him. He had ambassadors in every court of *Europe*, who were continually entering upon new negotiations; spies to manage private intrigues; and merchants to buy horses, dogs, rich furniture, curiosities, purely to discredit the rumours of his weak and dying condition^e.

^a P. ÆMIL. GAGUIN. Hist. MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI. ^r J. DE SERRES. DU TIL. BOULANV.
^s GAGU. Hist. P. ÆMIL. DU CLOS. Hist. Louis XI. ^t Mémoires de COMMUN. GAGU. Hist.
MATTH. Hist. de Louis XI. ^u P. ÆMIL. J. DE SERRES. DU TILLET. P. DAN. BOULANV.
^w GAGU. Hist. ^x HALL. HOLINSHED. STOWE. POLYD. VIRG. ^y POLYD. VIRG. Hist.
Angl. ^z Mémoires de COMMUN. ^a La Chronique Scandaleuse. DU CLOS. Histoire de Louis XI.
^b DUPL. ^c GAGU. Hist. La Chronique Scandaleuse. DU TIL. ^d P. ÆMIL. ^e Mémoires de
COMMUN. P. DAN.

His son, the dauphin, was bred up at *Amboise*, under the care of *Peter de Bourbon*, count of *Beaujeau*, with equal severity and privacy. He was at this time turned of thirteen, and the king had scarce seen him for several years. He sent for him, however, when very weak, and repeated to him the advices which he had formerly given, and caused them to be registered by the parliament of *Burgundy*, and the chamber of accounts at *Paris*. His counsels (whatever his life was) were those of a wise and worthy prince, and consisted chiefly in dissuading him from following his example, more especially in the beginning of his reign, when he frankly acknowledged his errors had brought him within a hair's breadth of destruction. He conjured him to make use of those whose capacity and fidelity he recommended from experience; to love peace, and to live upon good terms with his neighbours; and lastly, to treat his subjects with justice and lenity. He suffered a third stroke of an apoplexy which he survived just a week. As soon as he recovered his senses a little, he ordered the chancellor to carry the seal to his son, whom from this time he called the king; he grew more composed and resigned, and gave some marks of compunction for those actions which dishonoured his reign, and will render his memory odious. He expired on the 30th of *August*, in the sixty-first year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign; he united to the crown, *Burgundy* by force of arms, though he would have it thought by right; *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Bar*, and *Provence*, as heir to *Charles* count du *Maine*; the best part of the county of *Artois*, and some great towns in *Picardy*, were the spoils of the house of *Burgundy*; the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* under pretence of a mortgage; and the county of *Boulogne* by purchase (E). He first used the title of Most Christian King constantly, which has since passed to his successors; and he seems likewise to have been the first *French* monarch treated with the title of Majesty, in addresses to him from foreigners, as well as his own subjects.

THE new king *Charles* the eighth was in law of age, as having entered his fourteenth year, but in reality a minor, having been bred up amongst the low and interior people about the court, not only without the advantages of learning, but of instructions of any kind, even those of conversation. This may seem to reflect on *Peter de Bourbon*, and the dame *de Beaujeau*, so the *French* historians call her, and so shall we for the future, more especially

^f BOULAN. ^g J. DE SERRES. DUP. ^h MEZ. P. DAN. CHALONS. ⁱ GAGUIN. Hist. LE GEND.

(E) This prince was born in the archiepiscopal palace at *Bourges*, Saturday July the 3d, 1423 (1). The bishop of *Laon* baptized, and the duke of *Alençon* answered for him at the font. He was contracted at five years old to the princess *Margaret* of *Scotland*, whom he espoused at *Tours* on the 25th of *June*, 1436 (2). About three years after, he first openly departed from his duty to his father; but he had been an ill husband almost from the time he was married. The *French* historians acknowledge, and I use their words, that wit, judgment, heroic sentiment, and great good-nature, joined to a very lovely person, rendered this princess amiable (3). She was a great lover of learning, and gave this very whimsical proof of it; seeing one day *Alain Chartier* asleep, she gave him a kiss, and observing the people about her to stand in amaze, she said it was not the man she kissed, but the mouth that had uttered such fine discourses. It must be observed that he had the most wit and the least beauty of any man in *France* (4). Her high quality and her virtue did not exempt her from calumny; and, which was more strange, her innocence did not enable her to bear it; so that grief brought her to her end *August* the 26th, 1445 (5). She was buried in the cathedral church of *Chalons*; and, thirty-four years after, her husband caused her body to be carried to *Tours*, and buried there, in a chapel of her own founding (6). He married next *Charlotte*, daughter to *Lewis* duke of *Savoy*, for the sake of money, and when she was a child: he had never seen her, when he retired into *Burgundy* (7). He sent for her thither, and had a son *Joachim* born at *Genep* near *Brussels*; some say he declared him duke of *Normandy*, as soon as he was born; and that this irritated his father more than any thing he

had done before; but this story seems to be ill founded. This prince died young, at which his father was so much afflicted, that he made a vow to have no commerce with any other woman than his wife, which he is said to have kept (8). He had by his queen, *Charles*, who succeeded him; *Francis* duke of *Berry*, who died under a year old; *Louisa*, who died young; *Anne*, who married *Peter*, lord of *Beaujeu*, who became afterwards duke of *Bourbon*. She was a princess of a high spirit and fine parts, governed *France* with great success and prudence, during the minority of her brother; but is said to have had an inclination for *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*, which turned afterwards to a mortal hatred, that proved highly detrimental to the kingdom (9). The youngest of his children was *Joan*, who married the duke of *Orleans*, and was divorced from him after he became king. As for the queen *Charlotte* of *Savoy*, after enduring the contempt, the humours, outrages, and infidelities of her husband all his life, and being condemned by him to exile on his death-bed, she did not live long enough to discern how her daughter would distinguish between the unjust command of a dying king, and the duty she owed to a good and pious mother, dying at *Amboise*, the place of her banishment, *December* the 1st, 1483, when but thirty-eight years of age (10). Besides these *Lewis* had several natural children by different mothers. He directed, in the most explicit manner, that his corpse should be interred at *Our Lady of Cleri*, for whom, as we have heard from *Brantome*, he had a very high veneration (11). A stately tomb was erected there to his memory, which was destroyed by the *Hugonots*, in 1562, who caused the remains of his body to be burnt, and the ashes to be scattered in the air (12).

(1) *Annales de France*, Gaguini Historia, Matthieu Histoire de Louis XI. (2) *Annales de France*, P. Æmil. de rebus gestis Francor. Histor. Du Clos Histoire de Louis XI. (3) Gilles Corrozet, Discours memorable des personnes de qualite, Gaguini Historia, P. Æmil. de rebus gestis Francor. Histor. (4) Corrozet, J. de Serres, Matthieu. (5) Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. x. (6) Scrip. Dupleix. (7) J. de Serres, Du Tillet. (8) Memoires de Phelippe de Commines. (9) Brantome, P. Daniel. (10) Scrip. Dupleix, Matthieu. (11) Du Tillet. (12) Mat-

since she was his sister. But, in reality, his father only was in fault; for it was in obedience ^a to his orders that he was thus educated, or rather, had no education^k. The young king was, besides, deformed in his body, very infirm in his health; and, except in the vivacity of his eyes, had nothing princely or majestic about him. It was absolutely necessary that somebody should assist him in holding the reins of government, though the law would not permit that person to bear the stile of regent^l. The great difficulty was to settle who this person should be. The deceased monarch, who was certainly the best judge, had named his daughter *Anne of France*, dame de *Beaujeau*, and not her husband, though he intended he should have an equal share of the government, because he foresaw that the princes of the blood, nearer the throne, might endeavour to dispossess him; whereas the dame de *Beaujeau*, being the king's sister, exempted her from any disputes of that kind, at least in his opinion^m. ^b But the last honours were hardly paid to *Lewis*, before two princes of the blood formed pretensions to the administration; these were *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, active, affable, and amiable in all respects, but not above twenty-three years of age; and the duke of *Bourbon*, elder brother to the lord of *Beaujeau*, a prudent, grave, and much esteemed prince, of threescore years of ageⁿ. The dame de *Beaujeau* foresaw the disorders this might occasion, and therefore proposed an expedient that could not be rejected, that of leaving this point to be settled by an assembly of the states^o. In the mean time all parties agreed to deliver up, if not the most criminal, at least the most odious, of the late king's ministers to the public resentment. These were *Oliver le Daim*, count of *Meulan*, once the king's barber, and at the time of his death his great confidant; and *John Doiac*, who had been also an ^c instrument of vengeance and oppression; the former was hanged for adultery and murder; the latter was whipped through the streets of *Paris*, and then had his right ear cut off, afterwards transferred into *Auvergne*, of which province he had been governor, and, at the village of *Monferrand*, the place of his nativity, he was whipped again, and lost his left ear^p: but he kept his wealth, because it could not be discovered. *James Cottier*, or *Cottier*, *Lewis's* insolent physician, paid a large fine, as a small atonement for his manifold offences, and was suffered to possess his immense fortune (to enjoy it was impossible) in obscurity^q.

The states assembled at Tours settle the administration, and give the king a large subsidy.

THE duke of *Bretagne*, who was entirely governed by his minister *Peter Landais*, was now much declined through age, which inspired the prince of *Orange* and marshal *Rieux* ^d with the design of seizing, and perhaps of putting to death, *Landais*, that they might govern in his room. But they missed their blow; for, though the minister was hated, the duke was beloved, and they were constrained to retire out of *Bretagne*^r. *Peter Landais* found it necessary to have recourse to *France* for support. He sought it first from the dame de *Beaujeau* without effect; he then turned his eyes upon the duke of *Orleans*, who, upon his invitation, made a tour into *Bretagne*, accompanied by *John* count of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, the son of that great captain who had so effectually served the king's grandfather, and who was himself a person of great merit and abilities. He it was who inspired the duke with the thoughts of marrying *Anne*, the sole daughter and heiress of the duke of *Bretagne*, who, when he came to see her, inclination supplanted interest, insomuch that he became her passionate admirer^s. The court, as it was natural, took umbrage at the duke's retreat, and ^e summoned him to attend the assembly of the states at *Tours*; to which, not without difficulty, the count of *Dunois* engaged him to repair. When he came thither he found that the dame de *Beaujeau* had been much too hard for him. She saw, that if any two parties joined against the third, they must prevail. She had already made some overtures to the duke, to no purpose; she then turned her eyes to the duke of *Bourbon*, knowing that the constable's sword was the great object of his ambition; and, therefore, she insinuated to him, that if he prevailed in obtaining the direction of affairs, he could not, with any decency, give it himself; but, in joining his party to her's, he might obtain it with honour^t. This compromise disappointed the duke of *Orleans*; her authority was ^f confirmed by the states, in conjunction with a council, which they named; and every thing having passed with the utmost regularity, the states broke up, after giving the king two millions and a half, with an additional present of three hundred thousand livres for the expences of his coronation. So that the face of public affairs was entirely changed for the better, through the sagacity of this wise princess^u.

An insurrection raised by the duke of Orleans, quelled by the

THE coronation was solemnized with all proper magnificence, about nine months after the king's accession. The duke of *Orleans*, finding nothing was to be done by intrigues, betook himself to arms, and many of the nobility and princes of the blood, particularly *Renè*, duke of *Alençon*, who with his father's title inherited too much of his temper, and the duke of

^k P. ÆMIL. DUPLEIX. BRANTOME.

SERRES. P. DAN.

^l Annales de France. MEZ.

de COMMUN. P. DAN.

ⁿ GAGU. Hist.

^o DU TIL.

¹ Memoires de COMMINES. GAGU. Hist.

² DU TIL.

^p GAGU. Hist.

^q MEZ.

^m J. DE

CHALONS.

^r Memoires

Bourbon,

a *Bourbon*, adhered to him. His chief dependence, however, was upon the duke of *Bretagne*, and he, or rather his minister, was as well disposed in his behalf as he could desire^w. The dame *de Beaujeau* suspected this, and, which was more, found that the king himself was inclined to him. She managed things, however, with so much dexterity, as secured her success. She sent a person of a bold enterprising disposition to the duke of *Bretagne*, in the name of the duke of *Orleans*, to desire he would not march his troops into *France* till he demanded them, which disconcerted the duke of *Orleans*, who could not act for want of them; and removing at once from the king's person all who were in the interest of the duke, she put an escape out of his power, to which he otherwise inclined^x.

The duke of *Orleans* went to *Paris*, and endeavoured to gain the parliament, but failed; A. D. 1484. b neither had he any greater success in his endeavour to seize *Orleans*, upon which he was obliged to make the best terms he could with the court; the hardest of which was, the banishment of the count of *Dunois*, who generously advised him to consent to it, as a thing necessary to his interest^y. *Peter Landais* having first supported, intended afterwards to have sold, the earl of *Richmond* to king *Richard* the third of *England*; but, having had timely notice, he escaped, took refuge in *France*, and was enabled by the court to make that expedition which seated him on the *English* throne, by the title of *Henry* the seventh^z.

THE most able and diligent of the *French* historians have found it extremely difficult, and indeed scarce practicable, to settle, in exact order of time, the progress of the intrigues which disturbed the beginning of this reign, and which must have infallibly thrown the nation into the utmost confusion, if the dame *de Beaujeau* had not, by her superior address, retained those restless spirits within bounds, which, in order to gratify their private resentments, or abuse a particular advantage, would have sacrificed the safety and the welfare of the public^a. In the midst of seeming tranquillity the seeds are sown of a general defection. The consequence of those maxims which had prevailed in the late reign, were the sources of that fraud, violence, and disloyalty, which distressed the present. Except her husband, the governors had nobody to depend upon, farther than as she gratified them. *René*, duke of *Lorraine*, was amongst the first and the loudest of the malecontents. His pretensions ran very high, for he claimed no less than the whole succession of the house of *Anjou*. He was restored to the duchy of *Bar*, had a good pension given him, and a promise that his claim to the duchy of *Provence* should be examined and decided in four years^b. This brought d him so thoroughly into the interests of the court, that before the war broke out, when the duke of *Orleans* gave the dame *de Beaujeau* the lye at the council table, the duke of *Lorraine* struck him on the face^c. By his advice chiefly the war had been managed, and to this, in a great measure, was owing its success. Yet it was hardly over, before he grew out of humour again, and the constable *de Bourbon* was exactly in the same disposition; that is to say, after he had what he asked he thought it too little, and began to look for something more. This conduct in the great, had an influence also upon persons of less consideration, who valued their services very high, and, if not paid to their wish, forgot former favours and even their duty^d. The dame *de Beaujeau* knew all this, but seemed to know nothing. The duke of *Orleans* was about the court, and, in appearance, easy and quiet. The truce e with *Henry* the seventh of *England* was ratified, and the intrigues of the *Low Countries*, of which the late king had made so good use, were still kept on foot, and answered the purposes of his daughter in the like manner^e. In a word, there was a general appearance of tranquillity, but nothing like it at bottom; all parties were contriving to revive the disturbances so lately suppressed, and it was not long before the smothered fire broke out.

IN *Bretagne* the enemies of the minister brought their designs to bear, and put *Peter Landais* to an infamous death, in spite of the duke, who at length suffered himself to be governed by the *Sieur de Lescun* and the prince of *Orange*, who were in a close correspondence with the court of *France*, not only till they thought it their interest to enter into the measure of the malecontents, but even afterwards pretending to discover those contrivances, in which they had as deep a concern as any; but the true value of their discoveries was well understood at court, and they only amused themselves, while they thought they were amusing others^f. The duke of *Orleans*, when he had formed a new league, and had recalled the count of *Dunois* into *France*, retired into *Bretagne*, not doubting that he should now accomplish with ease those schemes in which he had been baffled before. There wanted not indeed great probability of this; the archduke, *Maximilian*, was actually in arms; the duke of *Lorraine* had entered into the league; the duke of *Bourbon*, the count *d'Angoulême*, and several other great lords, were actually engaged; and they had, in appearance, the whole force of *Bretagne* at their command^g. It quickly appeared, however, that these signals of

^w MEZ. CHALONS. LE GEND.

DU TIL. ^z STOWE. RAPIN.

VIII. ^b Memoires de COMMIN. P. ÆMIL.

Hist. Memoires de COMMIN. ^c Annales de France.

les de France. JALIGNI Hist. de Charles VIII.

^x ARGENTRE Hist. de Bretagne. P. DAN.

^a Annales de France. GAGU. Hist. BRANTOME Eloge de Charles

^y J. DE SERRES. DU TIL. Pr. Henault. ^d GAGU.

^f BRANTOME Eloge de Charles VIII. ^g Anna-

A. D. 1486. success were but fallacious. The king fell with an army into *Guienne*, and stripped many of the malecontents of their employments and their estates. The count of *Angoulême* went to pay his respects to the king at *Bourges*, and submitted. The court taking some steps as if they had intended the restitution of *Provence*, the duke of *Lorraine* from being violent became neuter. The duke of *Bourbon* being convinced by his brother that he was not only acting against his duty, but the interest of his house, in adhering to the malecontents, quitted them^b. The king marching his forces into *Anjou*, the nobility of *Bretagne* were alarmed, and a great part of them entered into a secret treaty with the court of *France*, to prevent their country from becoming the seat of war. *Maximilian*, become king of the *Romans*, made an irruption into the *French* territories with no great advantage, the king marching against him with a powerful army, while the troubles in *Bretagne* hindered the malecontents from taking any advantage of his absenceⁱ. The court was now so secure of the duke of *Bourbon*, that with his consent they arrested two of his friends, the lord *Culant*, and the famous *Philip de Commines*, who being convicted by his own letters of having held a correspondence with the duke of *Orleans*, was obliged to pass eight months in one of those iron cages which were of the late king's erection^k.

The king invades Bretagne and brings the duke into great danger and distress.

THE lord of *Albret* was of the number of those who had signed the league, and he had a considerable force at his command; but he was in his own domains, which lay at so great a distance, and had so many provinces to traverse, that it seemed unreasonable, even to the malecontents, to press him^l. Their own necessities, however, silenced all scruples; and, that he might raise none, they made him believe that he should marry the duke's eldest daughter upon his arrival; for the duke of *Bretagne* was now in the same circumstances that the duke of *Burgundy* had been in; that is, he placed all his dependence in an army of sons-in-law. But the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Orange*, who made these overtures to *Albret*, were most culpable; for the former, though married to the late king *Lewis's* daughter, aimed at this match for himself; and the prince was secretly negotiating for the king of the *Romans*^m. The lord of *Albret* was so much struck with this proposal, that he not only undertook to march in spite of all the obstacles that lay in his way, but also to bring over the corps which he had in the king's army, and actually in his pay. While he was labouring this point, *Charles* the eighth advanced in the month of *May* into *Bretagne*, and supposing that the necessity of his affairs released him from the letter of the treaty he had made with the lords of *Bretagne*, instead of an army of four hundred lances and four thousand infantry, as had been stipulated, he entered with three, or, some say, four bodies of troops, each of them of greater strengthⁿ. The first took *Ploermell*, the second *Vannes*, out of which the old duke, *Francis II.* luckily made his escape; for, though he had at first an army of eighteen thousand good troops, yet the best part of them were taken from him by an artifice. For *Maurice du Menez*, a *Breton* by birth, but who had been formerly in the service of *France*, gave out that the quarrel between the princes and the king was a farce concerted between them; and that the *French* in the duke's army meant to deliver him up to their master. Upon hearing this tale, three fourths of the army deserted. The third army reduced *Dinant*; and the fourth, which was indeed composed by the conjunction of the other three, besieged *Nantes*^o. The duke, in this distress, sent the count of *Dunois* to solicit relief from king *Henry* of *England*; but, being three or four times put back by contrary winds, he was so alarmed at the danger of the duke and of the princes with him, that he raised the militia of *Lower Bretagne*, to the number of sixty thousand men, and conducted his affairs so ably, that he first relieved the city, and afterwards obliged the *French* to raise the siege^p. The king, notwithstanding, put his troops into winter quarters in *Bretagne*. He had the like success in *Guienne*, where the lord of *Albret* was forced to disarm and submit; and in *Picardy*, where the troops of the king of the *Romans* were beaten, and the town of *St. Omers* taken^q. The lords of *Bretagne*, who had closed with *France*, seeing the danger that himself and his dominions were in, reconciled themselves to their duke, and at the same time began a pretended negotiation with the dame *de Beaujeau*, who saw through it, and cheated them who intended to cheat her; for, being aware of their real intentions, she gave them such answers as misled them extremely^r.

1487.

The French gain the victory of St. Aubin, in which the duke of Orleans and prince of Orange are made prisoners.

THE necessary preparations were made for opening the campaign very early, when the plenipotentiaries imagined the court, upon their fallacious propositions, would have opened conferences: finding their mistake, the count *de Commines*, who was at the head of the embassy, took his leave, and marshal *Rieux*, who had attended the king on behalf of the lords of his party in *Bretagne*, withdrew privately, put himself at the head of the troops of his old master, and recovered several places that had been taken by the *French*^s. The lord

^b BRANTOME Eloge de Charles VIII.

ⁱ LE GEND.

^k GAGU. Hist. P. DAN.

^l Memoires

de COMM. J. DE SERRES.

^m DUP. DU TIL. MEZ.

ⁿ ARGENTRE Hist. de Bretagne. GAGU.

Hist. JALIGNI Histoire de Charles VIII.

^o Annales de France.

^p J. DE SERRES.

^q LE

GEND.

^r ARGENTRE Hist. de Bretagne. P. DAN.

^s GAGU. Hist.

- a of *Albret* also, whom the king had pardoned, arrived in *Bretagne* by sea, and brought with him four thousand men. His company of *Gens d'Arms*, also in the king's army, revolted, and joined them. But these little successes were much qualified by the king's troops under *la Trimouille* being in the field before they expected them, and by another event which they did not expect at all, which was, the citing the duke of *Orleans*, the counts of *Dunois* and *Comminges*, *Philip de Commines*, and several others, to appear before the parliament; by which it was evident the king intended to treat them as rebels¹. The *French* army began with the siege of *Fougeres*, a very strong place, well provided, with a good garrison, which it was imagined would make a long defence; but the *French* artillery, excellent for those days, reduced it in a week. This loss was followed by that of the fortrefs of *St. Aubin du Cormier*, upon which the *Bretons* and the malecontents took a resolution to fight². This decisive engagement happened on *Monday*, the 28th of *July*. The first line was commanded by the marshal *de Rieux* and the lord of *Albret*; in the second there was a small corps under the command of lord *Scales*, with twelve hundred *Bretons* under the red cross of *St. George*, that they might be taken for *English*. There was also a body of *German* auxiliaries sent to the king of the *Romans*³. As the whole army had entertained great jealousy of them, the prince of *Orange* put himself at the head of the *Breton* infantry, as the duke of *Orleans* did at the head of the *Germans*, both on foot. The armies were very near equal, each about twelve thousand strong⁴. The *French* were superior in horse; and the *Breton* cavalry behaved ill; their foot fought gallantly, till, being attacked in flank and rear, they were broke; five thousand five hundred men were killed on the spot, the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Orange* taken, and the victory as complete in all respects as could be desired⁵. The two princes were carried to *St. Aubin*, where the general *la Trimouille* invited them to supper, which passed very well, but had an untoward desert; since, just as it was over, came in two *Cordeliers*, who told the general, that, according to his orders, they were come to confess the prisoners. The duke and the prince looked upon each other, supposing they had not long to live. The general relieved them, by saying, that he should expect the orders of the court in regard to them; but that he had, by his own authority, ordered some gentlemen, who were taken in arms against the king, to be beheaded⁶. The duke of *Bretagne* was so humbled by this defeat, that he was forced to have recourse to submission, and to make such a treaty as the king was pleased to admit, which was concluded on the 28th of *August* at *Sable*; and, on the 9th of *September*, this unfortunate prince died of a fall from his horse, leaving his two daughters, *Anne* and *Isabell*, to the care of the marshal *de Rieux* and the count *de Comminges*, by his will, charging them to be guided by the advice of the count of *Dunois*⁷. A civil war had broke out in the *Low Countries*, in which the people of *Ghent*, by the assistance of the *French*, had taken the king of the *Romans* prisoner, and did not release him, but upon hard terms, and in consideration of a high ransom⁸. The duke of *Bourbon* being dead, his brother, the lord of *Beaujeau*, succeeded to that title; and, therefore, for the future, we are to stile his consort duchess of *Bourbon*⁹.

- THE affairs of *Bretagne* were now in such confusion, that there was no way left to preserve Henry VII. the whole country from being conquered, but to apply to *Henry* the seventh of *England*. He was indeed deeply interest in the preservation of that important sovereignty; but his politics were so refined, that he did not see the full extent of its danger. The people of *England* did, and how much it imported them to save it; and, therefore, they forced the king to conclude a treaty with the young duchess, and to send over six thousand men to her assistance¹⁰. But the main point of all was the marriage. Her father had made very strong promises to the lord of *Albret*, who commanded in *Nantes* with a great corps of troops, and the marshal *Rieux*, who took upon him to act as her guardian, was, in earnest, desirous that it should take place. The chancellor of *Bretagne*, who was against it, had her confidence; and, besides, the princess, who was but in her thirteenth year, had the utmost repugnance to a marriage with a man of forty-five, of a very indifferent person, hasty in his temper, whose estates were not very considerable, and who had three sons and four daughters by a former wife¹¹. This was not all, the father had likewise, from a principle before-mentioned, concluded with the prince of *Orange* a marriage for his daughter with *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, in whose interest the chancellor was. There was a great disproportion in their age, but the king had a good person, and was reported to be of an easy temper; withal he was very indolent, and his finances were in great disorder: king *Charles* was looked upon as his son-in-law, the princess *Margaret* being bred up in *France*, agreeable to the treaty concluded with the king his father; and it was upon this that *Henry* of *England* chiefly depended¹².

¹ Annales de France. MEZ. ² BRANT. Eloge de Charles VIII. Memoires de COMMUN. ³ JA-LIGNI Histoire de Charles VIII. CHALONS. ⁴ Memoires de COMMUN. BRANT. Eloge de Charles VIII. ⁵ Annales de France. LE GEND. ⁶ DU TIL. ⁷ HAROEUS Annal. Brabant. DUP. ⁸ MEZ. CHALONS. ⁹ Memoires de COMMUN. HALL. ¹⁰ NOUVELLE Hist. de Bretagne. Annales de France. ¹¹ P. DAN.

Charles encouraged these notions, when, after treating with *Maximilian* at *Frankfort*, he offered to submit to him the disputes in *Bretagne*, provided the duchess would do the like; and, by this means, a kind of a treaty of pacification was concluded, by which the *English* were obliged to return, and the king to restore the greatest part of his conquests. All parties seemed pleased with this treaty, which none of them intended to keep, because it kept things quiet for the present, and gained time, which they all of them wanted⁵. Each conceived that his view was a secret to the other party, and took his measures, while the calm lasted, for the storm which was to ensue.

The king releases the prince of Orange, and sends him into Bretagne, where he does great service.

CHARLES, by the advice of the duke and duchess of *Bourbon*, released *John de Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, and sent him back into *Bretagne*, where he had a great interest, and where, out of gratitude, he did the king much service. The young duchess, in her perplexed circumstances, trusting to the advice of her chancellor, and being dazzled with the founding titles of *Maximilian*, consented to espouse him; and sent over the prince of *Orange*, with other ambassadors, to press king *Henry* to act with vigour in support of a princess, whose father had protected him when yet in deeper distress^b. The lord of *Albret*, perceiving that he had no hopes left, by an unaccountable mixture of resentment and loyalty, reconciled himself to the king, and contributed to put the rich city of *Nantes* into his hands^c. In the mean time *Henry* acted in a very ambiguous manner; for the *Flemings* being again broke out in rebellion against *Maximilian*, and being supported by the *French*, he sent assistance to the king of the *Romans*, and entered into an alliance with him, with the emperor his father, and with *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile* and *Arragon*, against *France*; but at the same time he treated with *Charles*, demanding first the kingdom of *France*, next the duchies of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, and lastly, the arrear of the pension due by the treaty of *Pequigny*, which amounted to a very considerable sum, and which was his real object^k. The passion this monarch had for money, was but too visible in all his actions and negotiations.

A. D. 1490.

Goes in person to Bourges to release the duke of Orleans, who in gratitude negotiates the king's marriage with the heiress of Bretagne.

THE king, perceiving now in what manner *Henry* might be pacified, having little fear of the king of the *Romans*, and believing the acquisition of *Bretagne* was worth running some hazard, resolved to push things to the utmost; and, with this view, directed the count *de Dunois* and the prince of *Orange* to negotiate his marriage with the duchess of *Bretagne*, at the same time that his troops besieged her in the city of *Rennes*¹. The king's agents in vain represented to the duchess, that the king was young, a great prince, and who had plausible pretensions to her whole dominions, grounded on the cessions made to his father by the last heirs of the count of *Pentbievre*, to whom, in case of the failure of heirs male, the duchy was to descend; his claim of forfeiture, upon the charge of felony, depending in parliament against her father, and the right he might pretend to *Bretagne*, as a fief reverting to the crown on the extinction of the male line. To this the duchess opposed her marriage to *Maximilian*, which had been notified to her allies, had been publicly proclaimed, and his name joined with her's in acts of government; to which she added, that *Charles* himself was contracted to the princess *Margaret*, daughter to her husband *Maximilian*, which had been as publicly acknowledged; so that these seemed insuperable bars to a marriage, which must, in other respects, be very contrary to her inclinations, since she had been always bred up in an aversion to *France*, and had no reasons whatever to combat that aversion in favour of this monarch^m. To this it was replied, that *Maximilian* had himself deserted her, at a time when he ought to have hazarded all things for her service; and that, probably, if she neglected it, he might make his peace at her expence. That the king's contract was no marriage; and that being made purely upon reasons of state, it might, from the like reasons, be dissolved, and a dispensation for that purpose be procured from *Rome*ⁿ. The duchess not yielding to these arguments, the king was advised to set the duke of *Orleans* at liberty, and to make use of his interest; but to this, though the match was of her own proposing, the duchess of *Bourbon* would by no means consent. The *Sieur de Miolans*, the king's favourite, told him, that he was now of an age to govern himself; that his own ease and the peace of his dominions depended upon his thorough reconciliation with the duke of *Orleans*; and that he might secure this, by making that prince's grace depend solely on himself^o. *Charles*, wrought upon by these solicitations, went to the tower of *Bourges*, where the duke of *Orleans* was confined, and, after a short conference with him, set him at liberty, and sent him into *Bretagne*, where he very quickly performed all that was expected from him; and, though he had been the best received of all the pretenders to the duchess, prevailed upon her to lay aside all her scruples, and to consent to the marriage, which was entirely regulated by the middle of the month of *December*, at *Langeais* in *Touraine*, and celebrated the same day the contract was signed^p.

1491.

⁵ DUP. MEZ.

^b JALIGNI. P. DANIEL.

¹ Annales de France.

^k BACON'S Hist. of

Henry VII. MARIAN. FER. P. DAN.

¹ Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.

^m DUPL. MEZ.

ⁿ Nouv. Hist. de Bretagne. JALIGNI. Memoires de COMMUN.

^o ARGENT. BRANT. P. DAN.

^p CHAL. PR. HENRULT. LE GEND.

- a THIS marriage astonished all *Europe*, and seemed to excite such a jealousy in its principal potentates against *Charles*, as was like to prove fatal to *France*. *Maximilian* exclaimed against the ambition and falshood of a prince, who had quitted his own wife to seize the wife of his father-in-law. *Henry*, who saw himself outwitted, was really angry, and shewed it so plainly, that he obtained a great supply from his parliament, and great sums from his people, for the invasion of *France*^a. *Ferdinand* the Catholic repeated his claim to *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*; and at the same time assembled troops on the frontiers of *Arragon*. *Charles* continued at *Tours* with a considerable army about him, but without discovering any great emotion, or making any extraordinary preparations for repelling the confederates. The archduke *Philip* had demanded his sister, but the king refused to part with her. *Maximilian* found means to surprize *St. Omers* and *Arras*, and his troops found a passage into *Amiens*; but, by the spirit and fidelity of the inhabitants, were driven out again. In the operations of this campaign, the king of the *Romans* was assisted by an *English* fleet^b. In the autumn, *Henry* debarked in *France* one of the finest and best appointed armies that was ever transported from *England*; and, on the 15th of *October*, invested *Boulogne*: he knew very well that *Maximilian* could not, and that *Ferdinand* would not, execute the treaties they had made with him for invading *France*; and he foresaw this at the time he made them. He conducted this siege in such a manner, as to make it very fatiguing to his troops; and all the time was treating with *Charles*, with whom he concluded the famous treaty of *Estaples*, which may be esteemed a master-piece of policy in both kings^c. Having finished the war upon the very plan he proposed by it, *Henry* returned well satisfied into *England*, and left *Charles* very well pleased. *Maximilian*, unable to continue the war, and unwilling to conclude a peace, suffered his son, the archduke *Philip*, to make a truce for a year^d. It is generally reported by the *French* writers, that *Ferdinand* over-reached *Charles* in the settling their dispute. His agent at the court of *France* was a *Cordelier*, who is said to have influenced *Oliver Maillard*, the king's confessor, and *John Mauleon*, who acted in the same capacity to the dukes of *Bourbon*, both monks of his own order, by presents of *Spanish* wine of a very rich favour; that is, considerable sums of ready gold put up in casks^e. These reverend fathers, thus intrusted, persuaded the king and the dukes, that nothing troubled their father *Lewis* so much on his death-bed, as the great injustice he had committed in retaining the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*; and that, dying in a disposition to restore them, his soul suffered incredible pains till this was accomplished: in consequence of which, the king consented to the restitution of those two counties, on the repayment of three hundred thousand crowns; and afterwards freely remitted that sum on the faith of *Ferdinand's* promise not to make war on *France*, or to support any of his allies with whom *France* should be at war: in all probability, this promise was the great object the king had in view, in a generosity for which he is universally condemned by all political historians^f.

- AFTER so many treaties concluded, on purpose to leave *France* without enemies from old quarrels when she was about to embark in new, it is no wonder that *Charles* inclined to adjust his disputes with the house of *Austria*, and he accordingly did this by the treaty of *Senlis*, concluded with the archduke *Philip*; by which it was agreed, that the princess *Margaret* should be restored to her family, with all her fortune and jewels; and that the counties of *Burgundy*, *Artois*, and *Auxerre*, a few places only excepted, should be likewise restored, as they were yielded to *France* in consideration of her marriage. *Henry* the seventh of *England* desired to be, and was accordingly, included, as the ally of both parties^g. The view of all these negotiations, censured by some writers, and justified by others, was to put it in the young king's power to vindicate his title to the crown of *Naples*, supposed to descend to him from the second house of *Anjou*, which ended in *Charles* count of *Maine*, and in virtue of whose will the county of *Provence* had been annexed to the crown^h. This had been long in the king's mind, though he sometimes disguised it, under a pretence of making war against the *Turks*. It is very certain that this project was disliked by the wisest and ablest heads in the *French* council, who urged, that the king had not money, troops, officers, or statesmen, in any degree adequate to such a design: but he had those about him who represented it as very easy, and to these he listened. They were chiefly *Stephen de Vers*, his valet de chambre, the son of a taylor of *Dauphine*; and *William Brissonnet*, the son of an under officer in the revenue, who, by his own favour, had been raised to the management of the finances; men of very limited capacities, and whose abilities were only known to, and confided in, by the kingⁱ. The true secret was, that *Lewis Sforza*, surnamed the

^a GAGU. Hist. BACON's Hist. of Henry VII.

Henry VII. MEZ. ^b Memoires de COMMEN. P. EMIL. HALL. HOLINSH. SPEED. ^c DUP.

DU TIL. ^d Annales de France. LE GEND.

^e Memoires de COMMEN. FER.

^f LEONARD.

JALIGNI. P. DAN. MARIANA.

^g Annales de France. GAGU. Hist. MEZ.

^h DUPLEIX.

LE GEND.

Moor, aimed at the entire possession of the duchy of *Milan*, which he governed already in the name of his nephew *John Galeas*, son to his elder brother, whom he kept a kind of prisoner; but, being married to the daughter of *Alonso*, duke of *Calabria*, a princess of great wisdom and spirit, he durst not depose and murder him, as he intended, 'till the affairs of *Italy* should be so embarrassed as to leave nothing to fear from the king of *Naples*; and this it was that induced him to call in *Charles*. But it is not possible to say what it was that induced this prince to engage in such an enterprize, on a right not the most clear, with few troops, less treasure, and no allies^a, unless *Lodovic Sforza*, the administrator of *Milan*, might be considered in that light, and he was such an ally as no other prince would trust. *Alexander* the sixth then occupied the see of *Rome*, of whom the *Italians*, who speak respectfully of popes, say, that he was without faith, without mercy, and without religion^b. *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, had a bad character; his son *Alonso*, duke of *Calabria*, an indifferent one; and his grandson, *Ferdinand*, the best of all. The republic of *Florence* was governed by *Peter de Medicis*, whom the people hated; and that of *Genoa* subject to the administration of *Milan*, who had done homage for it to *Charles* himself.

Almost as soon as he joins his forces, he falls ill of the small-pox, and is constrained to stay at Aix.

THE king having, by the advice of his favourites, rejected the proposition made by *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, who offered to do him homage for that kingdom, and to pay him a tribute of fifty thousand crowns a year, and who died soon after, either of an apoplexy or of grief^c, prepared for a war; all the honour and profit that could be hoped from which, he might have enjoyed without stirring from home. He appointed *Peter*, duke of *Bourbon*, regent, in his absence; and setting out from *Paris*, proceeded in the month of *July* to *Lyons*; after some stay there, he went to *Grenoble*; he repaired from thence to *Aix*, the capital of a small country, where he staid a month, while, with incredible labour and difficulty, his artillery passed the mountains: there he fell ill of the small-pox, which alarmed his subjects, and gave leisure and hopes to his enemies^d. The most bitter of these was the pope, who, having already applied himself without effect to most of the princes in *Europe*, at length depended on the *Turkish* sultan *Bajazet*, with whom he entered into a close alliance, receiving an annual subsidy for keeping his brother *Zizime* in prison, and having a promise of three hundred thousand ducats, whenever he should think proper to earn it, by putting him to death^e; and from him he expected, in virtue, as is said, of a treaty, a numerous body of troops. But, in the mean time, *Andrew Palæologus*, despot of *Romania*, the sole heir of the emperor his uncle, made a resignation at *Rome* of all his rights to the empire of *Constantinople*, but without the pope's knowledge, to *Charles* the eighth.

He proceeds to Pavia, enters the city of Florence, and afterwards Rome in triumph.

As soon as he recovered, his forces began to defile into *Italy*, consisting in the whole of about six thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, one half of whom were *Swiss*. His naval force was commanded by the duke of *Orleans*, who defeated *Frederic*, brother to *Don Alonso*, king of *Naples*, at *Rapalo*; and *Robert Stuart*, lord of *D'Aubigny*, who commanded the van-guard of his forces, hindered *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, from entering *Romagna*^f. By that time the king arrived at *Turin* he had no money, which obliged him to borrow the jewels of the duchess of *Savoy*; and at *Cassel*, the marchioness of *Montferrat* did him the like favour; upon these he raised twenty-four thousand ducats, which enabled him to proceed to *Pavia*, where he found the young duke of *Milan* dying of poison; and there *Lodovic Sforza* left *Charles* to go and take possession of the duchy, though the young duke had left a son^g. The few wise heads in *Charles's* councils, advised him to punish that unnatural uncle, and to take winter quarters in the *Milanese*, without pretending to traverse *Italy* with a handful of troops, and destitute of money^h. *Stephen de Vers* prevailed upon him to reject this advice, and to march into the territory of *Florence*, all places opening their gates, and his good fortune procuring him a loan from *Peter de Medicis* of 200,000 crowns. On the 17th of *November* he entered *Florence* in triumphⁱ. To *Sienna* and *Pisa* he restored liberty. Having prescribed such terms to the *Florentines* as his circumstances required, and under which their situation obliged them to acquiesce, he proceeded to *Rome*, and the pope having shut himself up in the castle of *St. Angelo*, the king, armed at all points, entered *Rome* as a conqueror, at the head of his army, by torch-light, on the last night of the year^k, and did several acts of sovereignty there.

He marches on to Naples, and makes his public entry in imperial robes.

THE cardinals, who had any regard for justice and religion, pressed the king to force the castle, and to depose the pope; but he was diverted from this by *William de Brissonnet*, now become an ecclesiastic, and bishop of *St. Malo*, who, for this, received a cardinal's hat^l. The pope, however, was compelled to make a treaty, by which he put several strong places into the king's hand, gave him the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, yielded his son

^a GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico Histor. DU TIL. P. DAN. MEZ.

^c JALIGNI. GAGU. ARNOLDI FERRONI.

^e Memoires de COMM. N.

COMMUN. P. DAN.

^h P. DAN.

ⁱ GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico Hist.

^b ANDRE DE LA VIGNE. DUP.

^d Annales de France. BRANTOME. LE GEND.

^f JALIGNI. Annales de France. MEZ.

^g GAGU. Hist. Memoires de

^j JALIGNI. BRANT. J. DE SERRES.

^k GUICCIARDINI. LUP. DU TIL.

- a *Cæsar Borgia* as an hostage, and delivered up the *Turkish* prince *Zizime*, who is said to have been poisoned, and who certainly died soon after^m. Towards the close of *January*, the king began his march for *Naples*. King *Alonso* had resigned the crown to his son *Ferdinand*, who was unable to make any opposition; so that on the 22d of *February*, the king entered *Naples*, as he had done *Rome*, in triumph, and some time after in the manner, but in imperial robes, and was there saluted emperorⁿ. He might have been so in effect, if the pope had not betrayed the intelligence he had in *Greece* to *Bajazet*; for which many thousand Christians lost their lives. Thus, in six weeks, he traversed *Italy*, and in a fortnight became master (we cannot say conqueror) of the kingdom of *Naples*^o, *Brindisi* excepted. His fortune had been hitherto without impeachment, and without example; inasmuch that many looked on him as an instrument of God, raised up to dethrone and destroy the execrable tyrants in *Italy*, which, if he had assumed that character, he might certainly have done, and carried his glory as high as that of any hero of antiquity. His behaviour, however, was of a very different nature; for he amused himself with feasts and shews; and leaving his power in the hands of his favourites, they abandoned it to whoever would purchase titles, place, or authority, at the rates which they imposed^p. *Gilbret*, count of *Montpensier*, was declared viceroy; the lord of *D'Aubigny*, constable of the kingdom; *Stephen Vers* had the duchy of *Nola* for his share; and the whole force he proposed to leave in his new acquired kingdom consisted but of four thousand men^q.

- But while the king was losing his time, his enemies were far from losing theirs. A league was concluded at *Venice* against him, into which entered the pope, the emperor, *Maximilian*, the archduke *Philip*, *Ferdinand* the Catholic, *Lodowic Sforza*, and the *Venetians*^r. He had intelligence of this from *Philip de Commines*, his minister at *Venice*; but he could scarce believe it. The confederates assembled an army of forty thousand men, commanded by *Francis*, marquis of *Mantua*, and they waited for the king in the valley of *Fornova*, into which he descended with nine thousand men. On the sixth of *July* he attacked that mighty army, and defeated them, with the loss only of fourscore men, after which he marched with great diligence to *Asti*^s. From thence, after some stay, he marched to disengage the duke of *Orleans*, who was besieged in *Novara*, by *Lodowic Sforza*, and the army of the allies; but, before he arrived, the duke had capitulated, and had leave to join the king with his half-starved garrison^t. Under these circumstances he was joined by sixteen thousand *Swiss*, which enabled him once more to give law. But, having made a treaty with *Lodowic Sforza*, by which he obtained *Novara* and the port of *Spezzia*, together with a large sum of money for himself, and another for the duke of *Orleans*, and a promise to send succours to *Naples*, he set out immediately for *Lyons*^u. *Ferdinand*, being assisted with *Spanish* troops under the command of *Gonsalez de Cordova*, surnamed the *Great Captain*, recovered his kingdom almost as soon as he had lost it, notwithstanding a victory gained by the constable *D'Aubigny*^w; and thus those mighty conquests, so rapidly gained, served only to amaze the world for a few months, and to exercise the talents of some great writers, who have described all the passages of these wonderful turns of fortune with great exactness, as the reader will see in other parts of this work, to which they properly belong; our design, at present, being no more than to represent them briefly, as inseparable from the history of this monarch; who, at his return into his own dominions, abandoned himself to those pastimes and pleasures which had been the bane of that expedition, that had otherwise placed him in a point of light, equal at least, if not superior, to any of his predecessors, since the days of *Charlemagne*.

- His favourite *Stephen de Vers*, to whom he had given the duchy of *Nola*, found means to return into *France*, and earnestly persuaded the king to resume the conquest of *Naples*; he shewed him that he had many friends in *Italy*, by whom he might be assisted with whatever he wanted, without putting his own dominions to any great expence; that the *Florentines* would furnish money, the *Swiss* troops; that doing justice upon tyrants, and setting the great cities at liberty, would secure his passage and facilitate his conquests. The king listened to this advice, in which there was a great deal of truth, raised forces, and made dispositions, as if he intended to repass the mountains. But the cardinal of *St. Malo*, who had been the prime author of the first war, was against these measures, being now, as most authors say, entirely in the interest of the pope^x. The duke of *Orleans* refused the command of the army, perceiving that the king's health declined, and that consequently his interest lay in being near the court, which defeated the expedition^y. The *French*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, who had shut themselves up in such fortresses as were still in their power, were gradually compelled to capitulate. The count of *Montpensier* was shut up in *Astella*, where he

^m ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallorum. JALIGNI. GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico. P. DAN. ⁿ Journal de la Conquête de Naples, par ANDRÉ DE LA VIGNE. Mémoires de COMMIN. DUP. ^o DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN. ^p DUP. ^q MARIANA. FER. ^r JALIGNI. BRANT. P. DANIEL. ^s GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico Hist. ^t DUP. DU TIL. ^u MEZ. GUICCIARDINI. ^v JA-LIGNI. GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico Hist. J. DE SERRES. DU TIL. P. DAN. ^w Mémoires de COMMIN. DUP. MEZ. LE GEND. ^x was

was at last forced to submit to a composition upon very hard terms, and died afterwards of the plague at *Puzzoli*². The constable *D'Aubigny* threw himself into *Gropoli*, where he made a glorious defence, and surrendered at last upon honourable terms, by which he was permitted to march out with all his forces, drums beating, and colours flying; but this was the last effort; and the new king of *Naples*, *Frederic*; who had succeeded his nephew, A. D. 1496. swept the rest of the garrisons with ease³. The *Pisans*, whom the king had restored to liberty, and who had erected his statue on the ruins of the monument, framed by the *Florentines*, to express their dominion, on the arrival of the emperor *Maximilian*, overthrew the king's statue to set up his. A circumstance slight in itself, but which may be regarded, as expressing the temper of the *Italians* in those days, who, being exceedingly enriched by trade, became proud, luxurious, and false; incapable of preserving liberty, or of submitting even to the mildest government^b. Some have believed the miseries they were exposed to judgments from heaven (F).

THE

² GUICCIARDINI. ARNOLDI. DU TIL.³ JALIGNI.^b GEORGII FLORI de Bello Italico.

(F) It was a prevailing opinion in his time, that there was something supernatural in his expedition into and return out of *Italy*. The principal cause of this was the positive assertion of friar *Ferom Savonarella*, who assumed the character of a prophet. *Philip de Commines*, who knew him well, and was himself no superstitious person, seems to have believed it; the passage is curious, has a strict relation to our history, and may therefore be acceptable to the reader. Our author, speaking of a visit he made to him, proceeds thus (1): "The reason of my going to see him was, that he had always preached zealously in favour of the king, and his speeches had restrained the *Florentines* from turning against us; for no preacher had ever so great credit in any city. He had constantly affirmed that the king would come, whatever was said or written to the contrary, declaring that he was sent by God to chastise the tyrants of *Italy*; and nothing could oppose or defend itself against him. He had also said, that he would come to *Pisa*, and enter that city, and the same day the state of *Florence* would be extinguished: and so it happened; for *Peter de Medicis* was driven out the same day: and he foretold many other things in his sermons before they happened; as the death of *Laurence de Medicis*; and he declared publicly that he had this by revelation, and preached that the state of the church would be reformed by the sword. This is not yet come to pass; but it was very near it, and he still maintains it. Several blamed him for saying God revealed things to him; others gave credit to him. For my part, I think him an honest man; and I asked him whether the king might pass without danger of his person, considering the great body of men raised by the *Venetians*, of which he could give a better account than I, since he was just come from *Venice*. He answered, that his majesty would meet with some obstacles in the way; but that he would come off with honour, though he had not above an hundred men attending him; and that God, who had conducted him thither, would conduct him back again; but, because he had not acquitted himself well in the reformation of the church, as he ought to have done, and had suffered his soldiers to pillage and plunder the people, as well those of his own party, who had voluntarily opened their gates to him, as his enemies, God had given sentence against him; and, in short, he should be scourged; but, that I should tell him, that if he would shew pity to the people, and take measures to prevent his soldiers from doing mischief, and punish them when they did so, as his office required, God would recall his sentence, or abate of the severity of it; and that he should not think to excuse himself, by saying, I do no harm. He told me, that he would go himself to meet the king, and speak to him; and so he

did, and talked to him of the restitution of the places belonging to the *Florentines*. I thought of the death of the dauphin, when he mentioned to me that sentence of God; for I saw nothing else that the king could take to heart; and I remark this again, in order to shew more clearly that this whole journey was a real mystery of God." In another place, speaking of the death of this dominican, he adds (2), "Friar *Ferom*, who foretold many things before they came to pass, had constantly affirmed the king would pass the *Alps*, and preached this publicly, declaring that it was revealed to him by God, as well as other things, which he mentioned; and he said that the king was chosen by God to reform the church by force, and chastise tyrants: and because he asserted that he knew these things by revelation, many people murmured against him; and he exposed himself to the hatred of the pope, and a great number of persons in the city of *Florence*. His life was extremely remarkable for its innocency and purity, as was evident; and his sermons were directed against vice; and he brought many people in that city to reform their manners, as I have observed. He always preached publicly that the king would return again to *Italy*, to execute the commission given him by God, which was to reform the church by the sword, and to drive the tyrants out of *Italy*; and that in case he did not perform this, God would severely punish him. All his first sermons, and those preached then, were printed by him and sold. With regard to the severe punishment which he declared that God would inflict on the king if he did not return, he wrote concerning it several times to the king a little before his death, and so *Ferom* told me with his own mouth, when I spoke to him (upon our return to *Italy*), and assured me that the sentence was given out in heaven against the king, in case he did not execute what God had appointed, and prevent his soldiers from plundering." It is true, that thro' the hatred of the pope *Alexander* the sixth, the rage of some of his countrymen, and the fickleness of the rest, Friar *Ferom Savonarella*, with two of his disciples, suffered a violent and an infamous death, as heretics and impostors; and it is farther true, that the ministers of the inquisition, by whose judgment they suffered, published, in the name of Friar *Ferom*, confessions, importing, that, from principles of pride and ambition, he had deluded the people with false prophecies, and that he never had any revelations (3). But then we are to consider first, that those who published these confessions were very deeply interested in proving him an heretic and impostor; and next, that they themselves acknowledged that these confessions were extorted by the violence of torture. To all this we may oppose the clearest testimony, that he died with heroic constancy; that he affirmed the truth of the doctrines he had

(1) *Memoires de Commines*, liv. viii. c. ii.(2) *Memoires de Philippe de Commines*, liv. viii. c. xix.

(3) See his Article in Bayle's Dictionary.

preached,

a THE king, under colour of attending the affairs of *Italy*, resided chiefly in the southern parts of his dominions, amusing himself with tournaments, and such kind of shews as carried with them a kind of military magnificence, and gave him, at the same time, an opportunity of paying court to the fair sex^c. His greatest weakness was his attachment to women, into which he was drawn by the bad example of some of his courtiers, and by the artifice of others, that they might govern him the more easily. This turn to pleasure was alike fatal to his affairs and to his health. When he had formed a design of passing a second time into *Italy*, and had advanced with that view to the very frontiers of his dominions, he made a short turn, and came back to *Tours*, on the score of an amour he had commenced with one of the queen's maids of honour^d. This mutability of his temper, and continual fluctuation of measures, must have been fatal to his government, if any of his neighbours had been potent enough to have turned it to their advantage. *Ferdinand the Catholic*, indeed, made an irruption on the side of *Arragon*; but his troops were repulsed with some loss, and he thought fit thereupon to enter into a negotiation, by which all disputes between the two crowns were compromised^e. This monarch, *Charles VIII.* had once an intention to have united the parliament of *Dijon*, which was the supreme court of justice in *Burgundy*, to that of *Paris*; but the parliament prudently deputed Sir *Philip Pot* to lay before him the numerous inconveniences with which this step would be attended; upon which the king revoked the edict, and left things as he found them. His whole administration was of this nature, being easily drawn into wrong measures, but more easily set right; and, his intentions being always just, he commonly corrected his faults as soon as he discovered them^f.

The failings of Charles VIII. and their influence on the administration of the affairs of the kingdom.

A. D. 1497.

As the king found his health decay, he changed his sentiments and his manner of acting entirely, he quitted his pleasures, and spent but a small part of his time in the most innocent amusements. He had a great affection for the castle of *Amboise*, in which he had been brought up, and endeavoured, by various alterations, and the addition of many ornaments, to render a stately palace, a place that had rather the air of a prison^g. He meditated an entire reformation of the state, and resolved to begin with his domestic affairs. He made some excellent regulations in regard to the administration of justice, and erected the great council which has subsisted ever since^h. He recalled several old servants that had been placed about him by the duke and duchess of *Bourbon*, being convinced of their integrity, and that all things had been extremely well managed while they were at the head of affairs. But he could never conquer the dislike he had conceived against the duke of *Orleans*, for ruining the first expedition into *Italy*, by endeavouring to make himself master of the duchy of *Milan* (to which he had a just claim), instead of marching to his assistanceⁱ; his rendering the second expedition abortive, by refusing the command; and his appearing with a remarkable air of gaiety at court upon the death of the dauphin. The duke being sensible of this, and knowing that the people of *Normandy*, of which province he was governor, had made complaints of him to the king, he retired to *Blois*, where he lived in a kind of voluntary exile^k. *Charles* was also inclined to relieve his subjects from that multiplicity of taxes, under which they laboured; to reduce the expences of his government within the revenue arising from his domain; to lessen the taille to twelve hundred thousand livres, and to levy no extraordinary impositions upon his subjects, but by consent of the states. His people lost the fruit of these admirable resolutions by his sudden death^l. On the sixth of *April* he led the queen into a gallery of the castle, to look upon some of his lords, who were exercising themselves at ball below, and struck his head with some violence against the door of the gallery, which did not hinder his going in and staying some time, 'till being seized at once with a stroke of an apoplexy^m, he fell down, and being laid on a miserable couch that happened to be there, breathed his last about eleven at night (G). Some suspicion there were of poison

1498.

^c JALIGNI. MEZ. P. DAN. ^d DUP. CHALONS. LE GEND. ^e MARIANA. ^f DU
TIL. ^g JALIGNI. P. DAN. ^h J. DE SERRES. MEZ. CHALONS. BRANT. ⁱ DU TIL.
LE GEND. ^k DUPL. P. DAN. Pr. Henault. ^l DU TIL. ^m BRANT.

preached, and the revelations he had published, with his last breath (4); that his heresies consisted only in such tenets as have been since held by protestants; that many wise and good men amongst the *Romanists* own he was unjustly put to death, being a pious, prudent, and good man (5); and that the protestants have always reproached the papists with his murder (6); and that the most judicious of the *French* historians, ancient

and modern (7), particularly *Mexzeray*, who styles him the generous victim of truth and liberty (8), have considered him as a true prophet (9).

(G) This prince was born in the castle of *Amboise*, June 30, 1470. *Charles* of *Bourbon*, archbishop of *Lyons*, and *Jane* of *France*, duchess of *Bourbon*, answered for him at the font (1). Yet some historians have mentioned a popular report, that he was not the

(4) *Vita F. Hieronymi Savonarolæ, auctore serenissimo Principe, D. J. Francis, Pico Mirandulæ.* (5) *Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanctæ. lib. iv.* (6) *Illyric. in Catal. Test. Veritat.* (7) *Francis Belcar. rerum Gallic Comment. Scip. Dupleix.* (8) *Abregé de l'Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 397.* (9) *P. Daniel, Le Gendre, Chalons.* (1) *Memoires de Corneille.*

poison supposed to have been given him in *Italy*, while others have attributed his long malady and sudden death to his harrassing a weak constitution in pursuits of pleasure, till it was wholly exhausted. He died, exceedingly lamented, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and in the fifteenth year of his reign; and in him ended the direct line of *Philip de Valois*ⁿ.

ⁿ Pr. Henault. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSE.

issue of the body of *Lewis* the eleventh; but that, from a principle of policy, and that he might reign with greater security, he imposed this child (2) upon the people, which, however, is highly improbable. He had nothing pleasing about his person except his eyes, and discovered no great abilities, which might, however, be very well ascribed to his total want of education; for, that he did not want parts is very apparent. He was kept pretty strict by his sister, the dame de *Beaujeau*, who had much of her father's parts and temper, and who governed with great capacity in his name, though at his accession she was but twenty-two years of age. He was quickly weary of the strictness of her tutelage; and, by the advice of *George D'Amboise*, bishop of *Montauban*, cardinal and prime minister in the next reign, would have made his escape, in order to have gone to the duke of *Orleans*; but the person intrusted with the letter, to make his own fortune, betrayed them all (3). The situation of public affairs obliged the dame de *Beaujeau* to make much use of the king's person, as well as of his name; and this made it necessary to bring him into the council, and to accustom him to feats of arms. He was naturally inclined to reading, especially the history of his own country, and this inclined him to business, and to gain a thorough knowledge of his own affairs; but the young people who were about him took great pains to draw him from his studies, and to render him, like themselves, attentive only to pleasure, in which they succeeded but too well (4). He is allowed, though the worst educated, to be the best bred king that ever sat upon the throne; insomuch that those who knew him best, affirm he never spoke a disobliging word in his whole reign. He was from hence surnamed the *Affable* and the *Courteous* (5). He married the heiress of *Bretagne*, in his twenty-second year, and by her had three sons and a daughter. The dauphin *Charles* died when he was three years and a half old, soon after the king's return out of *Italy*, which affected the queen extremely; but the king is said to have bore it with the more patience,

as the sprightly parts of the young prince had already awakened in his breast some sparks of jealousy, which is surely a strong token of his being the true son of *Lewis* the eleventh (6). The other children died all in their infancy, which makes his zeal for reforming the government in the last year of his life more remarkable and more laudable. It is true that his good intentions came late: but then it is also true, that he was but a young man; and that, though he did not many, yet he did some, very good things for the state. He re-united the important country of *Provence* to the crown (7); he instituted the grand council as a sovereign court for the regulating affairs of war and the finances (8); he also instituted public audiences twice a week, in which he heard persons of all ranks; and though, as *Commines* remarks, there were no great matters done in these audiences, yet they were of very great use, as they kept ministers in awe; for they knew that a prince, who made it a point to hear every body, was very like to hear the truth from somebody (9). The character given of him by the same writer is, at once, very simple and very expressive. "*Charles* the eighth, says he, was, in truth, but a little man, and of no great reach; but he was so good, that it was not possible to find a better creature (10)." His queen passed two days upon the ground without food or sleep, weeping incessantly, and mourned for him in black, whereas the mourning of queens had till then been white (11). He was buried with prodigious magnificence by the care and the command of his successor, that his subjects might take notice of his great respect for his predecessor (12). But there happened somewhat at his funeral, which did much more honour to his memory. One of the grooms of his chamber, and one of the archers of his guard, when they saw the body of their master deposited in *St. Denis*, dropped down dead with grief (13). In him ended the direct line of *Valois*, of which he was the seventh monarch, and after they had governed the realm of *France* 170 years (14).

(2) *Du Haillan, Mez.* (3) *St. Gelais, p. 57.* (4) *Jean de Serres.* (5) *Dupleix.* (6) *Vie du Cardinal D'Amboise.* (7) *Histoire de Charles VIII. p. 537.* (8) *État de France.* (9) *Memoires de Commines.* (10) *Memoires, liv. viii. c. xviii.* (11) *Jean de Serres, Le Gendre.* (12) *Vie du Cardinal D'Amboise.* (13) *Gaguini Historia.* (14) *J. Du Tillet, Mezeray, P. Daniel.*

S E C T. VIII.

The reign of Louis XII. surnamed the Father of his People, who, from duke of Orleans, became king, and was the first and last of his house.

THE right of succession was so well established, and the duke of Orleans had been so long considered as the presumptive heir of the crown, that he succeeded without any opposition, by the title of *Lewis* the twelfth, to which he added, by his actions, the most glorious of all surnames, that of, *The father of his people*^a. He was thirty-six years of age complete at the time of his succession, equally esteemed by the nobility, and beloved by the people. He was crowned at *Rheims* on the 27th of *May*, and immediately remitted a tenth part of all imposts. He continued all the ministers, magistrates, and officers, employed by his predecessor, to the amazement of the whole nation and themselves^b. When some put him in mind, that *Lewis de la Tremouille* had made him prisoner at the battle of *St. Aubin*, and was now at his mercy, he made that ever memorable answer, *That it did not become a king of France to revenge the quarrels of a duke of Orleans*^c. It is one thing to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's conduct; but *Lewis* did both. The duke and duchess of *Bourbon* looked upon themselves as disgraced, and could scarce believe him in earnest, when the king not only assured them of his pardon, but of his affection. He very soon put it out of doubt. It was provided, by their contract of marriage, that, in case they died without heirs male, the vast estates of the family should be united to the crown; they had an only daughter, whom they meant to marry to *Charles* count of *Montpensier*, son to *Gilbert*, who died in *Italy*; the king frankly renounced his interest, and thereby rendered her the heiress of the first line of *Bourbon*^d. He treated the queen-dowager with all possible marks of respect, settled her jointure to her satisfaction, allowed her to return into *Bretagne*, and to assume the sovereignty of her own dominions^e. But at the same time that he piqued himself on his clemency and good nature, he shewed likewise his great spirit and resolution; he restored the military discipline of the army, which had been much relaxed; he obliged the magistrates, and officers of the crown, to do their duty; and the university and preachers at *Paris* having taken the liberty to censure his actions, he chastised their insolence, and made them sensible that he would be obeyed (A).

HE

^a Histoire de Louis XII. par St. GELAIS. Vita Ludovici XII. DUPLEIX, LE GEND. ^b Memoires de COMMUN. Annales de France, P. DAN. ^c DU TILL. ^d SEISSEL. ^e ARGENTRE.

(A) In this note we propose to shew the descent of this prince, his right to the crown, and to say somewhat of his private life, and of his public conduct, before he came to it. *Charles* the fifth, surnamed the *Wise*, left two sons, *Charles* who succeeded him, and *Lewis* who became duke of *Orleans*, and who was killed by the command of the duke of *Burgundy* (1). This prince, by *Valentina*, daughter and heiress of *John* duke of *Milan*, left three sons, *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, *Philip* count of *Verus*, who left no issue, and *John* count of *Angouleme* (2). *Charles* duke of *Orleans* being taken prisoner at the battle of *Agincourt*, remained many years in *England*, and, after his return to *France*, he made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the duchy of *Milan*, which belonged to him in right of his mother, and was never able to acquire more than the town and county of *Ast*, which he added to his domain, and which he kept as an evidence of his right to the rest of that succession (3). He was thrice married; first to *Isabel* of *France*, the widow of *Richard* the second, king of *England*, who died in childbed. By her he had only one daughter, *Joan* or *Jane* of *Orleans*, who espoused *John* the second, duke of *Alexson*, by whom she had no issue (4). His second wife was *Bonna*, daughter of *Bernard* the eighth, count of *Armagnac*, and constable of *France*, by whom he had no children (5). His third consort was *Mary*, the daughter of *Adolph*, duke of *Cleves*, by *Mary* the daughter of *John* the Fearless, and the sister of *Philip* the Good, duke of *Burgundy*, by whom

he had *Lewis*, of whom we are to speak, and *Mary* who was thrice married (6); first to *Jean*, viscount of *Narbonne*, the second son of *Gaston* count of *Foix*, by whom she had the famous *Gaston* duke of *Nimours*, killed in the battle of *Ravenna*, and *Germain*, who became the consort of *Ferdinand* the Catholic (7). The second husband of *Mary* was *John* marquis of *Brandenburg*; the third, *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, duke of *Calabria* (8). *Charles*, duke of *Orleans*, died at the castle of *Ambuse*, on the 4th of *January* 1465, in the 74th year of his age, through grief, from the ill usage he received from *Lewis* the eleventh, in the grand council held at *Tours*, where, out of pure pity, he spoke in favour of the duke of *Guienne*, representing him as a young prince of an excellent disposition, misled by those about him (9). Abundance of conjectures have been raised, and some political reasons given, why *Lewis* the eleventh married his younger daughter, and not his eldest, to the duke of *Orleans*. But these fall at once to the ground, when we know that his father demanded her in marriage for him, as soon as she was born, the contract being signed *May* the 10th, 1464 (10). This was ratified when she was ten years of age, and the king gave her one hundred thousand crowns of gold. It was impossible to foresee, when the first contract was made, that she would be crooked and ugly. It is certain that the duke would have declined marrying her if he durst; but his friends advised him not to provoke a king, whose anger was usually attended with

(1) Monstrelet, Annales de France.

(2) Jean de Serres.

(3) Du Tillet, Scip. Dupleix.

(4) Bernier,

(5) St. Marthe, Le Genere.

(6) Annales de France.

(7) Mariana, Turquet.

(8) Bernier,

(9) Communes, Matricien, Du Clos.

(10) St. Marthe, Du Clos.

death.

His marriage
with Joan of
France dis-
solved, upon
which he es-
poused Anne of
Bretagne, his
predecessor's
widow.

HE was desirous of posterity, and he had other motives which induced him to wish the dissolution of his marriage with *Joan* the daughter of *Lewis* the eleventh. In an affair of this nature he stood in need of the assistance of the pope. There never was one more fit for this purpose than *Alexander* the sixth. He was desirous of providing for his bastard *Cæsar Borgia*, who had resigned the cardinal's hat, that he might act in another sphere. He sent him into *France* with a bull, by which he appointed *Lewis* bishop of *Alby*, and *Ferdinand* bishop of *Ceuta*, commissioners, to whom he afterwards added cardinal *Philip* of *Luxemburgh*. It is generally said by the *French* historians, that queen *Joan*, who was a very pious and good princess, gave the king no opposition; but it appears from records that this is not true; she defended her marriage with all the vigour imaginable; but when she found it to no purpose, she submitted patiently, and the king granted her the revenues of the duchy of *Berry*, with some additional ones, which she spent in works of charity, and led, during the remainder of her days, a quiet and exemplary life^f. *Cæsar Borgia* reaped the fruits of his father's condescensions; the king made him duke of *Valentinois*, and gave him in marriage the daughter of the lord of *Albret*^g, a lady of high birth, and his own relation: so that this affair, which might have proved very difficult and perplexed, was adjusted more easily and more speedily than he could well have expected: but, where their interests coincide, princes are very soon agreed. It was the apprehension of this that had excited some disturbances in *Paris*, the only city in *France* where the inhabitants retained any affection for the memory of *Lewis* the eleventh, which they shewed by espousing the interests of his daughter.

Precautions
taken by Lewis
to preserve
peace at home.

THE next great point the king had in view, was to conclude a marriage with the widow of his predecessor: this negotiation of great importance was very quickly terminated, and, the necessary treaties and contracts being concluded and signed, the marriage was solemnized on the eighth of *January*. On their majesties making their public entry into *Paris*, the king added to his other titles those of the *Two Sicilies* and *Jerusalem*, together with the duchies of *Milan* and *Bretagne*. He claimed the first, as heir of the house of *Anjou*, the second, as descending to him from his grandmother, and the third in virtue of his marriage^h. The face of affairs was much changed in *Italy*; the pope was intirely in his interests, from the hopes of advantage; he had conciliated the friendship of the republic of *Venice*, by promising them a part of the *Milaneze*; and, that he might secure to himself better success than his predecessor had met with in a like expedition, he took care to have his own dominions in perfect security and quiet. The emperor had invaded the duchy of *Burgundy*, where his troops had received a defeat, which did not hinder the king from concluding a truce, upon very equal terms, with the archduke *Philip*, who thereupon did homage to the chancellor of *France*, at *Arras*, for the counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois*ⁱ. The king renewed his treaty with *Henry* the seventh of *England*, and his alliances with *Scotland* and *Denmark*, and, after taking these precautions, assembled his forces, and prepared, in earnest, for his *Italian* expedition^k. *George d'Amboise*, archbishop of *Rouen*, to whom, out of compliment to the king, the pope had given a hat, and, which was far more extraordinary, declared him his legate in *France*, hindered his master from commanding in person. His forces, consisting of twenty thousand men, were

^f Annales de France. Proces du Divorce de Jeanne de France, Histoire de Louis XII. par DU CLOS, liv. xi.

^g FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI della Historia d'Italia, FRANCISCI BELARII, DUPLEIX, P. DANIEL. ^h ARGENT. Histoire de Bretagne, Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne, J. DE SERRES, MEZERAY, P. DANIEL. ⁱ Recueil de Traites, par LEONARD, Memoires de BETHUN, DUPLEIX, DU TILL. P. DAN. ^k HALL, HOLINSH. SPEED.

death. He was after this in great favour with that king, who was not at all displeased with his wildness, but indulged it, some say, from a malicious disposition, in hopes that, becoming one day his successor, the disorders of his reign might efface the memory of his own (11). In his youth, the duke of *Orleans* entered into a close friendship with *George d'Amboise*, who, after the death of *Francis* count of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, which happened *November* the 25th, 1491, became his sole confident. He procured for him, first the archbishopric of *Narbonne*, and afterwards that of *Rouen*, in his own government of *Normandy*. He quarrelled with *Charles* the eighth, because, when he demanded a cardinal's hat for *Brissonnet*, bishop of *St. Maloes*, he did not also demand one for his favourite *d'Amboise* (12). He gave the king also some other causes of offence. Instead of sending the troops that arrived from *France* into the kingdom of *Naples*, according to *Charles's* express orders, he kept them with him; and instead of continuing upon good terms with *Lodowic Sforza*, which

the king likewise recommended to him in the strongest terms, he made use of those troops to surprise *Novara*, which threw *Sforza* into the league against the king, and was the ruin of that expedition. As he lost the king's favour by this conduct, he might have recovered it by pursuing it. *Charles* in the latter end of his life would have put him at the head of his army, and was desirous that he should have made war in his own name, for the recovery of his duchy of *Milan*. But this he declined, supposing that, from his ill state of health, the king could not last long, which motive *Charles* either penetrated himself, or was told by others, and repented it highly; so that at the time of his decease, as we have observed in the text, he was in a kind of disgrace (13). It was to cover or to extinguish the memory of this, that he made so pompous a funeral for the king, and, that he might gain the good graces of the people, he paid for it out of his own pocket, whereas commonly this expence was borne by the public (14).

(11) *Commines*, *Matthieu*, *Histoire de Louis XI.*
pleix. (14) *Du Tillet.*

(12) *Vie du Cardinal D'Amboise*, P. Dan.

(13) *Du-*

a commanded by *Lewis* of *Luxemburgh* count *de Ligni*, *Robert Stuart* lord of *D'Aubigny*, and *John James Trivulce*, a native of *Milan*, who had been in the service of his predecessor¹.

THE duke of *Milan* had provided every thing for his defence; his places were well fortified, his troops numerous, and the success of the war might have been doubtful, but that a prince universally hated is easily defeated, when attacked by an equal force. *Sforza* had kept faith with none, and none kept faith with him. The *Venetians*, who were to have the country beyond the *Adda*, made themselves masters of it in a week. The *French* proceeded as briskly. *Novara* and *Alexandria* were quickly taken; *Mortara* capitulated; the keys of *Pavia* were obtained without a siege; and *Genoa* submitted in the like manner: the citizens of *Milan* opened their gates; and the citadel, the strongest place then in *Europe*, with provision for two, and ammunition for four years, was sold by *Bernardin Curtio*, to whom it had been intrusted by *Sforza*^m. But the *French* nobility treated this perfidious adventurer with such contempt, that he died in ten days, of mere shameⁿ. As for the duke himself, who had been sold too if he had staid, he very wisely withdrew to *Innsbruck*, with the children and his treasures^o. *Lewis* passed the mountains himself, upon this news, and carried with him his minister; made his entry into *Milan*, in the ducal habit, on the 6th of *October*, with the universal acclamations of the people^p. The cardinal, whose maxim it was, that a people, well governed, would never revolt, restored all who had been banished, or their estates confiscated, by *Sforza*; established a court of justice; remitted a fourth part of their taxes; directed small garrisons only to be left in the principal places; appointed *Trivulce* governor of the duchy, and gave the command of the horse to the lord of *D'Aubigny*. These measures taken, and a treaty concluded with the *Florentines*, the king, having received the compliments of all the *Italian* princes, except *Frederick* king of *Naples*, returned home, as he had entered *Milan*, in triumph^q. All this success was justly attributed to the care, circumspection, and foresight, of cardinal *D'Amboise*.

A GREAT change was soon effected in the affairs of *Italy*, not only by the revolutions of *Naples*, but also by the successive deaths of the Popes *Alexander VI.* and *Pius III.* which last was succeeded by *Julius II.* to the great mortification and disappointment of the cardinal *D'Amboise*.

LEWIS, in resentment of the ill usage which he had met with from *Ferdinand the Catholic*, attacked *Spain* with three armies, two by land, and one that was to act by sea. The first, commanded by the lord of *Albret*, and the marshal *de Gie*, penetrated as far as *Fontarabia*, and then retired, without performing any thing, either through want of subsistence, or from some misunderstanding between the commanders: the remains of this army having joined that commanded by marshal *Rieux*, besieged *Salces*, in *Roussillon*; but the *Spaniards* advancing with an army to his relief, they were constrained to raise the siege^r. The fleet, after alarming the coasts of *Valentia* and *Castile*, returned to *Marseilles*, without performing any thing worthy of notice. In the kingdom of *Naples*, the Great Captain took *Gaeta* in three days, by a capitulation, which permitted all the *French* officers and soldiers to return home as they could: but as he was never famous for performing his capitulations, so he broke shamefully through this; restraining it to the natives of *France*, and thrusting all the *Italians* into dungeons. *Lewis d'Ars*, one of the *French* officers, had retired, after the defeat at *Cerignoles*, with a handful of men, into *Venosa*, a place of no great strength, where he declared that he rejected the capitulation of *Gaeta*, and meant to depend upon his sword. The bravest of the *French*, and of the *Italians* in the *French* service, resorted to him from all sides; and, having given a very severe check to the *Spanish* troops which attacked him, he returned through the heart of *Italy*, drums beating and colours flying, and brought his troops, in good order, into the duchy of *Milan*; whereas of those who capitulated in *Gaeta*, very few returned into *France*^s. This reverse of fortune had such an effect upon the mind of *Lewis*, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, which was very near proving mortal. The point he had now chiefly at heart was the re-establishment of peace. A truce had been concluded with *Spain* for the countries bordering on the side of the *Pyrenees*; but the king had so little dependence on *Ferdinand*, that he would not so much as suffer him to participate in this new negotiation, which ended in a treaty, concluded at *Blois*, the twenty-second of *September*, between the emperor, the archduke, who now took the title of king of *Castile* and *Leon* on the death of queen *Isabella*, on one side, and the king on the other^t. By this the treaty of marriage between *Charles* and *Claude* was again renewed, the kingdom of *Naples* and many other dominions confirmed to them, and the investiture of the duchy of *Milan* promised to the king, upon payment of a large sum of money. The space of four months was allowed to *Ferdinand* to accept the treaty; and here it

¹ Annales de France, GUICCIARD. St. GELAIS, SERRES. ^m SEISSELL. ⁿ DU TILL. MEZERAY.
^o St. GELAIS, BRANTOME, DUPLEIX. ^p Annales de France, BOLCARI, SERRES. ^q Vide
 History of Naples and the Popes. ^r Saint GELAIS, SEISSELL, MARIANA, FERR. ^s GUICCIARD,
 PAULI JUVII Hist. St. GELAIS, SEISSELL, DUPLEIX. ^t Annales de France, BELCARI, MARIANA,
 FERR.

was that the contracting parties first engaged to attack the *Venetians*, though, for the present, this came to nothing.

On the marriage of Ferdinand with his niece Germain de Foix, Lewis renounces, in favour of the children of that marriage, his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. THE king, who had a great dependence on the treaty concluded last year, and who, above all, had fixed his heart upon obtaining the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, sent cardinal *d'Amboise* into *Germany* to receive it; which he did, after paying homage, and paying also a large sum of money^w. But the cardinal clearly perceived, at this interview, that nothing was to be expected as to the emperor's performance of what he had stipulated of entering into *Italy*, in order to act against the *Venetians*^x, whom *Ferdinand the Catholic* had informed of the confederacy that was upon the carpet against them^y. The king falling sick, and, at the turn of his disease, being thought past recovery, the queen caused her richest furniture, her jewels, and her wealth, to be embarked on the *Loire*, in order to convey them to the castle of *Nantes*^z; but, in their passage, they were stopped at *Saumur*, by the marshal *de Gie*^a, who thought that, at this time, she ought to be occupied only about the king's person. This she

A. D. 1505. resented so highly, as to procure him to be suspended from his employments, the most considerable of which was being governor to the count of *Angoulesme*, and to be forbid the court^b. But posterity rendered him justice, and have considered this as the meanest action of her's and the king's life. The views of *Philip*, now, in right of his wife *Joan*, king of *Castile*, alarmed *Ferdinand*, his father-in-law, so much, that, recollecting the tenderness which *Lewis* had expressed for his niece *Germain de Foix*, he sent an ecclesiastic into *France*, to try whether, after all their disputes, he might not recover the friendship of the king by espousing that lady: this proposition being extremely well received, he concluded a new treaty, by which the kingdom of *Naples* was settled on his posterity, by the new queen, in favour of whom *Lewis* renounced all his pretensions, except as to the expences of the war, for which he was to receive one hundred thousand ducats, for ten years together: what redounded highly to his honour, he stipulated that all the *Neapolitan* nobility, who were seized by the Great Captain, should be set at liberty; and that the estates of such as had been confiscated for their adherence either to him, or to the house of *Anjou*, should be restored, which, as things were now circumstanced, *Ferdinand* found himself obliged to promise, and the king took care that he should be likewise obliged to perform^c. This was one of the most remarkable turns of policy that happened in this busy age.

Marries the princess Claude to the count d'Angoulesme. AT the time of the king's sickness, in the preceding year, the nobility of *France* began to entertain great apprehensions of the alliance stipulated by the treaty of *Blois*, by which not only the *Italian* dominions, but likewise the duchy of *Bretagne*, and other important countries, were to be given, with the king's daughter, to *Charles* of *Luxemburgh*, on which, having modestly represented their thoughts to the king, he appointed an assembly of the states to be held at *Tours*, in the month of *May*. There, having received their remonstrances, and another from the states of *Bretagne*, who were more immediately concerned, he resolved, after mature deliberation, to yield to their request^d; and thereupon contracted the princess *Claude* to *Francis* count of *Angoulesme*. By this he revenged himself sufficiently of all the slights he had received from the house of *Austria*; but, at the same time, shewed he could make free with treaties as well as they. In the circumstances *Maximilian* then stood in, he could not resent it, and death removed king *Philip*, before he had an opportunity of expressing his sentiments. But the sincerity of his friendship to the king he had already clearly shewed, by his appointing him tutor to his son *Charles*, which trust he very honourably discharged^e. *1506.* *Ferdinand the Catholic*, having made a tour to *Naples*, executed punctually his engagements to the king. At his return, he refused to go on shore at *Genoa*, and, when some deputies from the city came to compliment him on board his galley, he told them that he understood there were factions amongst them, that possibly might end in a revolt, which they would find not for their interests; but that, at all events, they were to expect no assistance from him. What he predicted came to pass; the people, having drove out the nobility, chose eight tribunes, and declared *Paul Nuova*, a silk-dyer, their duke; expelled the *French* governor, and reduced a great part of the *Riviera*^f.

The king passes again into Italy. ON the issue of this war depended not only the continuance of the *French* power in *Italy*, but the reputation of their monarchy in *Europe*. The Pope, forgetting the protection given him in *France* during the reign of *Alexander* the sixth, and the many favours he had received from cardinal *d'Amboise*, was the principal author of this revolt, to which the emperor also was no stranger, and which the *Pisans* encouraged and supported by their troops^g. As soon as the news arrived at court, the cardinal suggested to the king the necessity of going in

^w LEONARD, Annales de France, DU TILL. ^x MEZERAY, LE GEND. ^y SERRES. ^z Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne. ^a Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne. ^b SAINT GELAIS, Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne, P. DANIEL. ^c GUICCIARD. Memoires de BETH, MARIAN. FERR. ^d SEISS. Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne, DUPLEIX, P. DANIEL. ^e PET. ANGL. Epist. MARIAN. FERR. MEZER. P. DAN. CH. LONS, LE GEND. ^f GUICCARD. ST GELAIS, SEISSELL. ^g D. ANTON. Annales de France, DUPL.

a person into *Italy*, if he meant to reduce *Genoa*, or preserve *Milan*. But the queen, who had a great ascendancy over him, opposed it with all her power, not only out of tenderness to his person, but because she thought it would raise the minister's credit, and fix his authority^b. Instead of wearying and disturbing his master with repeated solicitations, the cardinal pressed the military preparations in such a manner, that, at the very opening of the campaign, he had a numerous army, well officered, and a most amazing quantity of artillery, with the best engineers that were in *Europe*, whom he had drawn from all quarters into the service^c. By this the expedition appeared so sure, and the glory of it so great, that *Lewis* could not resist the desire of commanding in person, which added, under the title of volunteers, all the young noblemen in the kingdom^k.

b THE *Genoese* depended on the situation of their country, and on a strong fortress which they had raised to command the passage, and the great number of men which they could at any time assemble for their own defence: this made them shew little or no regard to the overtures made, from time to time, by the king, who was naturally merciful, and had not the inclination of coming to extremities. But, when these could not be avoided, he committed the van-guard of the army to his most experienced officers, who quickly forced the passes, and at length came in sight of the new fort, which, being very difficult of access, the *Swiss*, when commanded, declined the attack^l; but, when they saw the *French* infantry mount to the assault, their first lines, consisting intirely of officers, attempting it, they supported them very gallantly, which contributed not a little to their carrying the place. The *Genoese* were so disconcerted at this, that they sent deputies to demand the king's pardon, and, under colour of that treaty, endeavoured to surprise his camp^m. But they had to do with those who understood perfectly their manner of fighting, and their manner of treating. The king refused so much as to see their deputies: the cardinal told them, it was too late to think of terms; and that all they could expect was to surrender at discretion; which advice, when it could be no longer avoided, they were obliged to take. The proper guards being posted, and the people intirely disarmed, the king, on the 29th of *April*, entered the city on horseback, at the head of his armyⁿ. His aspect was stern, his sword drawn in his hand, but on his coat of arms was depicted a royal bee, with a swarm on every side; which device was accompanied with these words; *Non utitur aculeo rex cui paremus*; that is, "The monarch we obey uses no sting^o." After a whole week's keeping them in terror, the king declared, that though, for their rebellion, they had forfeited their lives and estates, and that, having so often refused it, they had no title to his clemency, yet, in compassion to their distress, he pardoned them, their chiefs only excepted, of whom *Paul Nuova* and *Demetrius Justiniani* suffered death, and on the city he imposed a fine of three hundred thousand ducats^p. After this he had an interview with *Ferdinand the Catholic* at *Savona*, where *Lewis* caused the Grand captain to dine with them at the table. On the other hand, *Ferdinand* conferred, for several hours, alone, with cardinal *d'Amboise*^q. After a visit of four days, in which many things were secretly concluded, *Ferdinand* took his leave, and the king returned to *France*. The emperor had prevailed upon the dyet to assist him with a great army, upon an assurance that the king meant nothing less than the intire conquest of *Italy*. But when the king, by dismissing his troops, demonstrated the falshood of this suggestion, the princes of *Germany* grew cool, and the emperor, attempting to pass a small body of his own troops into *Italy*, they were repulsed with loss by the *Venetians*^r.

Has an interview with Ferdinand the Catholic.

A. D. 1507.

e THE emperor *Maximilian*, being extremely provoked at the opposition given his army by the *Venetians*, reinforced his troops, and at length marched in person; but, in a short time, he found himself so much distressed for money, that he was constrained to retire. The *Venetians*, who were now joined by a body of *French* troops, under the command of the marshal *Trivulce*, thought proper to ask his consent to a truce for three years, which was offered them by *Maximilian*. *Trivulce* readily offered to sign, if the truce was general, and the allies on both sides comprehended in all places: but this the emperor refused; and the republic, finding that truce of consequence to them, subscribed it, notwithstanding the *French* general's protest. The motives to his proposition was the king's having excited the duke of *Guelders* to arm against the house of *Austria* in the *Low Countries*; and, as he was in some danger, it was requisite to preserve him by this means; which, having failed, the king was much provoked. *Maximilian* was much more so, at his being forced to make such a truce; and, by the interposition of *Margaret*, governess of the *Low Countries*, proposed to *Lewis* the reviving that project, which had been approved some years before, for the destruction of this too powerful republic. The king, and his minister the cardinal, hated the *Venetians*; and the council in general, when this proposition came to be examined, concurred with them in opinion.

^b GUICCIARD. P. JUVII Hist. DU TILL.

^l SAINT GELAIS.

^k GUICCIARD. DUPL. LE GEND.

^c SAINT GELAIS, SERRES, MEZ.

^m SEISS. DUPL.

ⁿ D'ANTON.

^o P. DAN. & al.

^p SAINT

GELAIS, DU TILL. BRANTOME.

^q SAINT GELAIS, BRANTOME, MARIAN. FERR.

^r GUICCIARD.

MEZER. P. DAN. SAINT GELAIS, SEISS. SERRES, DUPL.

Stephen Poncher, bishop of *Pavia*, a man of parts and probity, was the single opponent; he said, the republic of *Venice* was the only power in *Italy* that was not engaged in interest to dispossess the king of the duchy of *Milan*; that *Lewis* could depend little upon the Pope; that *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand the Catholic* had deceived him often, and, as soon as they found their account in it, would deceive him now. But, notwithstanding this remonstrance, cardinal *d'Amboise* was sent with full powers to treat with *Margaret*, who had the emperor's powers; and, with her, under pretence of regulating the disputes in the *Low Countries*, he, after a long negotiation, concluded the famous treaty of *Cambray*, by which the state of *Venice* was consigned to destruction, and the king obtained the investiture of the duchy of *Milan* simply for himself and his heirs^a.

Views of the several powers in the famous treaty of Cambray. THIS league of *Cambray* was one of the greatest and most singular events that *Europe* had ever seen, as being a league founded in resentment, and diametrically opposite to the interests of every one of the contracting powers. The republic of *Venice* was grown extremely potent, and not by the most direct methods; for great power in states, like great wealth amongst private men, is very rarely acquired but by fraud or oppression^b. But the republic of *Venice* was the bulwark of *Italy*; prevented the Pope from drawing the emperor, or the king of the *Romans*, as the phrase then was, into *Lombardy*, against the *French*; moderated the views of king *Lewis*, and hindered him from extending his conquests; kept the Pope from being reduced to a state of dependency; and preserved to *Ferdinand the Catholic* the kingdom of *Naples*. All this resulted from their great power, however that power might be acquired; and therefore, though it might be the interest of each of these potentates, separately, to recover, if possible, what had been taken from them by the republic; yet to oblige her to refund all her conquests, was to reduce a power of which they were all afraid, and open a source thereby of perpetual wars amongst themselves^c. The catholic king wanted to have *Trani*, *Monopoli*, *Brindisi*, *Otranto*, *Gallipoli*, and other towns on the *Adriatic* gulph, restored to him. The *Venetians* had acquired some by mortgage, and had seized the rest; but it was by the help of their money, and the assistance they had given, that *Naples* was preserved to the house of *Arragon*, and had been acquired by *Ferdinand*^d. The emperor, by a mixt title, as head of the empire and of the house of *Austria*, formed pretensions on the patriarchate of *Aquileia*, some towns in *Friuli*, *Rovero* in the *Trentin*, and *Verona*, *Padua*, and *Vicenza*, beyond the *Alps*^e. What the king desired was, *Cremona*, *Crema*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and the country beyond the *Adda*. It is true, he had yielded this to them in consideration of their assisting him to conquer the rest of the *Milanese*; but, after all, the *Milanese* was not complete without them^f. *Faenza* and *Rimini* had been usurped from the church by tyrants; *Cæsar Borgia* had dispossessed those tyrants; from him they were taken by the *Venetians*, and Pope *Julius* was willing to have them again^g. The allies were to be ready to act by the first of *April*, before which time the Pope was to signify to the republic what restitutions he expected; upon their refusal he was to excommunicate them, and to demand the emperor's assistance, as the protector of the church, in which quality he might act against the *Venetians*, without breach of his oath, in respect to the truce he had sworn to keep for a year^h. *Julius*, though in effect the first mover of this treaty, repented it very early; he foresaw its consequences, and endeavoured to make the state of *Venice* conceive them, offering to dissolve the league, if *Faenza* and *Rimini* were restored. But the republic, confident of her own strength, rejected the proposal; upon which *Julius* ratified the treaty, which, for some time, he had delayedⁱ.

Lewis passes the mountains to command his army in person, attended by the cardinal. CARDINAL *d'Amboise*, whose aversion to the *Venetians* had dictated this measure to the *French* court, acted with that indefatigable diligence, which was the characteristic of his ministry, in order to carry it into execution. He prepared every thing for the campaign; caused the troops to march; took the *Swiss* into pay; and brought every thing to bear by the time that had been fixed, though he saw all the rest of the allies backward^j. He pressed and he prevailed upon his master to pass the mountains once more, in order to command his army in person; and this notwithstanding the intreaties and tears of his queen, for whom he had not only great tenderness, but much deference also for her counsels. The cardinal himself, though afflicted with the gout, a slow fever, and an inveterate cholic, passed the *Alps* in a litter; for it was his maxim to leave nothing to others that it was possible for him to do^k. When the army came to take the field, it appeared, that the confederates intended to leave the whole burden upon the *French*, and to reserve for themselves whatever advantages might arise either from their victory or defeat. It was impossible that the cardinal should not discern this;

^a LEONARD, SEISSEL, GUICCIARD. DU TILL. P. DAN. CHALONS, PR. Henault, LE GEND. ⁱ MACHIAVEL Histor. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise, Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray, MEZERAY, P. DAN.

^b SEISSELL, GUIC. PET. BEMBI Hist.

^w MARIAN. TURQUET, FERR. Histoire de la Ligue de

Cambray, Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

^x MACHIAVEL Hist.

^y ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus

gestis Gallorum, Saint GELAIS, Memoires de BRANT.

^z MACHIAVEL Histor. Histoire de la Ligue de

Cambray, Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

^a DU TILL. MEZ. P. DAN.

^b GUICCIARD. PET. DE

ANGLERIA Epist. RAINALD.

^c FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, Memoires de BRANT. St. GE-

LAIS.

^d Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

a and yet he advised the king to march directly, and give battle to the enemy ^e. The marshal *de Chaumont*, nephew to the cardinal, and governor of *Milan*, had surprised the town of *Treviglio*, on the other side the *Adda*; the *Venetians* besieged it; their army consisted of three thousand men at arms, four thousand light horse, and thirty thousand foot, commanded by the count *Petigliana*, and by *Bartholomew d'Alviana*, the former cool as water, the latter hot as fire ^f. The king had two thousand three hundred men at arms, as many volunteers of the first families in his kingdom, eight thousand *Swiss* foot, and thirteen thousand of his own subjects, the best infantry that *France* had ever seen. In marching to the relief of *Treviglio*, the van-guard was commanded by marshal *Chaumont*, supported by marshal *Trivulce*; the king, having the duke of *Bourbon*, *la Trimouille*, and many other persons of the first rank, about him, commanded the main body, and the duke *de Longueville* the rear. The *Venetians* had taken the place by capitulation, notwithstanding which they had burnt and plundered it. This gave the king leisure to pass the *Adda* without opposition.

THE king's design was to seize *Vaila*; the enemy had the same design, which brought on a battle, contrary to the intention of the *Venetians*, who were instructed to avoid it by all means. ^{The Venetians defeated at Aignadel.} It was fought on the 14th of *May*, between *Vaila* and *Aignadel*, and the *Venetians* were totally defeated: they lost their cannon, baggage, colours, a vast quantity of ammunition, nine thousand men killed, and as many taken ^h. *Bartholomew d'Alviana*, whose warmth occasioned the battle, breathed his last on the field; and it was a fortnight before the count of *Petigliana* could assemble the remains of his army. Cardinal *d'Amboise* took care that this victory should be improved. Before the enemy's first terror was over, all the places the king demanded surrendered at discretion: *Pesquera* was the only one that made a defence; it was carried by assault; and the king caused the proveditor and his son, who defended it, to be hanged, and the garrison cut to pieces, because the *Venetians* had violated the capitulation of *Treviglio* ⁱ. Upon this great blow the republic lost her courage to such a degree, that she demanded peace from all the great powers that had embarked in the league on their own terms; and at the same time gave orders to the governors of those places to withdraw their garrisons. By this means the Pope and king *Ferdinand* acquired all that they sought by the war, and the emperor might have done the same, if his army had been in *Italy* ^k. The cities which he claimed being evacuated, offered their keys to king *Lewis*, who, in regard to his alliance, refused them. d The emperor's indolence, and the king's great moderation, saved the state of *Venice*; for the inhabitants of *Trevisa*, having refused to admit the imperial commissary, who came without troops, the republic supported them: soon after they surprised *Padua*, and resolved to defend it ^l. *Maximilian* arrived at *Trent* in the month of *June*, where he was met by cardinal *d'Amboise*, to whom he granted the investiture of *Milan*; but, after appointing an interview with the king, the emperor failed, upon which *Lewis*, after entering *Milan* in triumph, returned into his own dominions, having concluded a new treaty with the Pope, and leaving a body of auxiliaries to act in conjunction with the emperor. *Maximilian*, with an army of forty thousand men, besieged *Padua*; but, after lying before it seventeen days, was obliged to retire. Some disputes arose between the king and the Pope; in which the latter was forced to give way ^m. The emperor and *Ferdinand the Catholic* referred their disputes about the government of *Castile* to the arbitrament of king *Lewis*, of which we have shewn the issue in another place ⁿ.

POPE *Julius*, instead of executing his treaties, endeavoured to engage the emperor to desist from the war; and, not succeeding in that, gained the electors, who advised him to make peace. *Maximilian*, persisting in his own measures, mortgaged the city and citadel of *Verona* to *Lewis* for fifty thousand ducats ^o. *Julius* absolved the *Venetians*, and laboured to reconcile them to the emperor, declared openly against *France*, and practised every method to distress king *Lewis*. With this view he negotiated with *Henry* the eighth, who had lately succeeded to the crown of *England*. He also brought over the *Swiss*, who, having demanded an increase of their pensions, and being refused by king *Lewis*, were highly irritated: but the king, having obtained troops by the like capitulation with the *Grisons* and their allies, was the less concerned ^p. The death of cardinal *d'Amboise*, which happened at *Lyons* on the 25th of *May*, was a great mortification, as he was equally esteemed by the king, and beloved by the people ^q. By the persuasion of the Pope, the *Genoese* attempted a revolt without effect, the *Swiss* endeavoured to invade the *Milanese*, and were constrained to retire, both by the incomparable prudence of the marshal *de Chaumont*. *Julius* granted the investiture of the kingdom

^e FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallorum, St. GELAIS, Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

BEMB. Hist. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

^h FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum. de rebus gestis Gallorum, Memoires de BRANT. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

ⁱ PET. BEMB. Hist. GUICCIARD, PET. BEMB. Hist. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

^k GUICCIARD, PET. BEMB. Hist. FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum.

^l PET. BEMB. Hist. GUICCIARD, PET. BEMB. Hist. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

^m FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum.

ⁿ MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

^o St. GELAIS, P. DAN.

^p Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

^q ARNOLDI FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise, P. DAN.

^f GUICC. PET.

^g FERRON.

^h GUICCIARD, PET. BEMB.

ⁱ PET. BEMB. Hist. GUICCIARD, PET. BEMB. Hist.

^j MARIANA, TURQUET, FERR. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

^k ARNOLDI FERRON. de rebus gestis

of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, and, instead of the usual tribute, accepted of a gennet, declaring, at the same time, that *Lewis* had lost all title to the kingdom^r. The king, notwithstanding this provocation, being grown weary of the war, laboured all he could to conclude a peace, in which he was crossed by the Pope, who went so far as to imprison an agent from the duke of *Savoy*, who proposed his master's mediation, and even put him to the torture, under colour of taking him for a spy^s. *Lewis*, finding milder methods ineffectual, appointed an assembly of his clergy at *Tours*, where they decided, that it was lawful to make war on the Pope, and to seize his territories, when he was the aggressor; that his censures, in such a case, were null, and not to be regarded: they forbid the carrying money to *Rome*, and granted large subsidies out of all the ecclesiastical revenues in *France*, to enable the king to defend himself against the Pope^t. The emperor made a new treaty with the king, by which he confirmed that of *Cambray*, and consented to the assembling a general council, in order to bring the Pope to reason. *Julius*, to shew that he was not at all intimidated, excommunicated the duke of *Ferrara*, and besieged his capital; went in person to *Bologna* to promote that siege, where he was very near being taken by the marshal *Chaumont*^u. Being obliged to raise it, he afterwards invested *Mirandola*, notwithstanding several cardinals, displeased with his conduct, retired to *Florence*. In this expedition he was very near being taken by the chevalier *Baiard*; notwithstanding which, and his being in a very declining state of health, he went in person to press the siege, lodged within cannon-shot of the place, and visited the trenches. The king, on the contrary, grew more and more tired of the war, which was become very burdensome, and which exposed his *Italian* dominions to great inconveniencies, the people of *Genoa* having conspired a second time, and the preservation of that city requiring a constant fleet in the *Mediterranean*^v.

Marshal Trivulce commands the French army, and pushes the Pope and his allies.

THE Pope, in his new vocation of a general, had the honour of reducing *Mirandola*, after a siege of three months; and, to shew how much he was pleased with it, he made his entry through the breach^x. In the mean time, the marshal *de Chaumont* died of a lingering disease, which he took to be an *Italian* fever, or, in plain terms, the effects of poison. He was but thirty-eight years of age, and yet was marshal and admiral of *France*, governor of the duchies of *Milan* and *Normandy*, and one of the ablest officers of his age. The command of the *French* army devolved upon the marshal *Trivulce*^y. But in the mean time *Ferdinand the Catholic*, under colour of zeal for religion, and his great respect for the Pope, procured a kind of congress to be held at *Mantua*, in hopes of bringing about a peace; which, however, had no effect. The emperor and the king, in support of the seceding cardinals, indicated a general council to be held at *Pisa*, in the month of *September*, to which the Pope was summoned. Marshal *Trivulce* advancing with an army into the neighbourhood of *Bologna*, the Pope immediately retired into *Ravenna*, the people revolted in favour of the *Bentivoglios*, and the garrison was cut to pieces. The marquis, soon after, drawing his forces out of that city, attacked the army of the Pope and the *Venetians*, defeated them, and might have marched to *Rome*, but he knew, that his master was not inclined to push things to extremities^z. This moderation had no effect upon *Julius*, who, notwithstanding his being reduced to the very brink of the grave by a disease, and lying, in a manner, at the mercy of the *French*, lost nothing either of his spirit or his abilities. On the contrary, he negotiated with *Ferdinand* and the *Swiss*, excommunicated the council at *Pisa* and all their adherents, and declared war against the *Florentines*. He also called a council himself at *Rome*, and his emissaries at *Pisa* made the council that met there so uneasy, that the members, for their own security, removed to *Milan*^a. All this was chiefly owing to the irresolution of *Lewis*, who, since the death of cardinal *d'Amboise*, paid too much regard to the queen's advice, who looked upon a war against the Pope as an act of impiety. It was owing to this, that, though the king did not desert, he never properly supported the council, which he had caused to assemble, in order to awe the Pope. The emperor was yet more fickle than the king; was desirous of transferring the council into his own dominions, in order to engage them not only to depose the Pope, but to raise him to the apostolic see^b. While these monarchs acted so strange a part, *Julius* caused the treaty he had concluded to be proclaimed at *Rome* with great solemnity, and gave it the title of the Holy League. The *Swiss* attacked the duchy of *Milan* with their whole force, burnt fourteen or fifteen towns and villages, and then retired into their own country, which some ascribe to the conduct of *Gaston de Foix*, duke of *Nemours*, who harrassed them continually with small parties of horse; but it is more probable they thought they had done enough, as their principal

^r GUICCIARD. RAINALD, PET. BEMB. Hist.

^s FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, P. DAN.

^t SAINT GELAIS, Acta Concil. Turon. tom. xiii. Conc. Labbæi & Cossarté.

^u GUICCIARD. PET. DE

ANGLERIA Epist. RAINALD.

^v Hist. du Chevalier Baiard.

^x GUICCIARD. Hist. du Chevalier

Baiard, ARNOLDI FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum.

^y SAINT GELAIS. Memoires de BRANT. DUPLEIX.

^z Histoire du Chevalier de Baiard, FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum.

^a PET. BEMB. Histor. RAINALD.

^b GUICC. Monita Politica, ad S. T. R. Principes, Edit. de Francfort, 1609. MARIAN. Hist. Espana, lib. xxx. P. DANIEL.

a aim was not the expulsion of the *French*, but to oblige them to take them again into pay upon their own terms. Don *Pedro de Navarra*, with the title of general of the league, began to commit hostilities towards the end of the year, entered into the *Ferrarese*, and took several places. But the *Venetians* contented themselves with acting defensively ^c.

THE agents of *Lewis* had in vain endeavoured to engage the *Florentines* to declare in their favour. But they were wiser, and made choice of a neutrality; cardinal *John de Medicis*, at the head of the troops of the Pope, and the duke of *Cordona*, viceroy of *Naples*, at the head of the *Spanish* army, invested *Bologna*, but not so completely as to prevent *Gaston* duke of *Nemours* from entering it with his whole army; upon which they raised the siege, not without suffering considerable loss in their retreat ^d. In the mean time the *Venetians* had surprised *Brescia*, the *French* garrison having barely time to retire into the castle. The duke of *Nemours* was no sooner informed of this misfortune, than he marched to their relief, beat a great body of *Venetian* troops that attempted to hinder his passage, and, having entered the citadel in the night, sallied from thence upon the town, which he recovered, after putting to death eight thousand of the enemy ^e. He had promised the pillage of the place to his soldiers, and he kept his word; and the value of their plunder is said to have amounted to three millions of ducats. These exploits, performed in the space of a fortnight, acquired him the character of the greatest, at the same time that he was the youngest, general in the *French* service. He received soon after the king's orders to fight the enemy at any rate; for, in the midst of victories, *Lewis* found his cause declining ^f. The king of *England* had dismissed his ambassador from a scruple of conscience, in holding any friendship with a prince who made war upon the Pope. The *Florentines* were on the point of declaring for the league, and the emperor disposed to desert him; for all which evils a decisive victory was held the only cure ^g.

THE duke of *Nemours*, in order to oblige the enemy to come to a battle, besieged *Ravenna*. This had the effect he expected; the confederates marched to its relief, and he advanced to meet them. His army consisted of sixteen thousand foot, eighteen hundred men at arms, and three thousand light horse. He commanded the van-guard in person, having with him *Alphonso* duke of *Ferrara*, the main body was commanded by *Monf. la Palisse*, and the rear-guard by *Yves d'Allegre*. The army of the confederates was pretty near the same strength; they had two thousand men at arms, three thousand archers on horseback, and fifteen thousand foot. They were commanded by the cardinal *John de Medicis*, and, under him, by *Fabrizius Colonna*, the marquis of *Pescaro*, Don *Pedro de Navarra*, *Antonio de Leva*, and Don *Juan de Cordona* ^h. The battle was fought on *Easter* day, the eleventh of *April*: it lasted many hours; but, in the end, the confederates were defeated, and, in all probability, this victory had answered the king's hopes, if, after having gained it like an experienced general, the duke of *Nemours* had not thrown himself away like a young soldier. A corps of four thousand *Spaniards* retired in good order; he attacked them with thirty gens d'armes, and, not being supported in time, perished: in all other respects the victory was complete; for, except that corps of *Spaniards*, all the rest were either killed or taken: amongst the prisoners was the cardinal legate, the marquis of *Pescaro*, *Pedro de Navarra*, *Fabrizius Colonna*, and *Juan de Cordona* ⁱ. But the death of the duke of *Nemours*, in the twenty-third year of his age, more than balanced this advantage, and the taking of *Ravenna*. The army, for want of pay, dispersed, so that *Monsieur la Palisse* scarce conducted four thousand men to *Milan* ^k. The *Swiss* poured twenty thousand men into that duchy, and declared *Maximilian Sforza*, son of *Lodovic*, who died about two years before, duke. The *Genoese* revolted, expelled the *French*, and declared *Janus Fregoza* their duke. *Henry* the eighth declared for the league; *Ferdinand the Catholic* expelled the king of *Navarre*; the Pope put the kingdom of *France* under an interdict, and offered *Henry* the title of *The Most Christian King*, and even the realm of *France*, if he would attempt the conquest of it ^l. In this sad situation, when all was going to wreck, *la Palisse* shewed himself a politician; for he rendered most of the great towns to such of the allies as had the least title to, and could reap the least benefit from, them, in hopes that this would divide them amongst themselves, as it actually did, though not time enough to be of any great service to the *French* ^m.

The Pope, now in the zenith of his glory, undertook to reconcile the *Venetians* to the emperor; that is, to engage the republic, now they had recovered their losses, to fulfil the offers they had made, when on the point of being undone. But this they absolutely refused,

^c FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, GUICC. PET. BEMB. Hist.

^e FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, Memoires de BRANT.

Gallorum, Memoires de BRANT. GUICC.

BEMB. Hist. RAINALD.

^f ARN. FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, Memoires de BRANT.

moires de Marechal de Fleuranges, Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

VIRG. HALL. HOLINSH.

Cambray.

^d Hist. du Chevalier Baiard.

^f ARNOLDI FERRON. de rebus gestis

^h PET.

^k Me-

^l GUICC. RAINALD. POLYD.

^m Hist. du Chevalier de Baiard, Memoires de BRANT. Histoire de la Ligue de

Jan, and lose it
again in a few
weeks.

and chose rather to declare themselves neuter ; which *Julius* took so much to heart, that it killed himⁿ. Cardinal *de Medicis* succeeded him, by the title of *Leo* the tenth, and was crowned Pope on the anniversary of the battle of *Ravenna*, in which he was taken prisoner^o. He proceeded on his predecessor's plan, and the confederates resolved the destruction of *France*, in the very manner that the ruin of the *Venetians* had been contrived by the league of *Cambray*. The Pope was to send an army into *Dauphine*; the emperor to make an irruption into *Champagne*; the *Swiss* to invade *Burgundy*; *Henry* of *England* to march into *Picardy*; and *Ferdinand the Catholic* was to attack *Guienne* and *Languedoc*^p. *Lewis*, in the mean time, had regained the *Venetians*, in hopes, by their assistance, to recover the duchy of *Milan*; and, by agreeing to abandon *Navarre*, he quieted *Ferdinand*, and had leisure to act on that side. *Lewis de la Trimouille*, the ablest officer in his service, marched at the head of sixteen thousand foot, two thousand men at arms, and six thousand light horse, to relieve the citadel of *Milan*, which he performed, and in a short time recovered the whole duchy, excepting only *Novara* and *Como*. Into the first of these places *Francis Sforza*, the brother and successor of *Maximilian*, entered, with a body of six thousand *Swiss*^q. It appeared the shortest way to end the war, to besiege this place, which *Trimouille* accordingly invested with all his forces. The place was on the point of surrendering, when a numerous army of *Swiss* marched to its relief. The *French* generals, after mature deliberation, resolved, that, as the adjacent country was flat, *la Trimouille* should remain in his lines with his infantry, and marshal *Trivulce*, at the head of the cavalry, should march to stop the progress of the enemy^r. The measure was right: but as *Trivulce* did not give into it, he drew his horse into a morass, which gave the *Swiss*, both within and without the town, an opportunity of putting the *French* foot between two fires, and, in the sight of their horse, who could not stir to their assistance, cutting them to pieces. In the space of a week *Francis Sforza* recovered the whole duchy: the *French* were completely expelled out of *Milan*^s, and soon found so much employment at home, as, for the present, prevented all thoughts of return.

Henry VIII.
invades
France, takes
Terouenne
and Tournay,
and returns
into England.

THE concerns of *France* were, in a manner, become desperate of a sudden; for if the allies had executed their engagements, pursuant to the treaty they concluded at *Mechlin*, *Lewis* the twelfth would have found himself in a very distressed situation, as may be easily gathered from the risks to which his affairs were exposed, even from the different manner in which they were executed^t. As for *Leo* the tenth, he had ambition, and he was not strait-laced in point of religion; but he had no malice to the *French* nation, nor any prejudice to the person of the king: and therefore, upon his abandoning the council of *Pisa*, now transferred to *Lyons*, and some few other concessions of less consequence, the Pope consented to a reconciliation, which was highly acceptable to the queen, who had ever been in terrors about this war^u. Most writers ascribe this mostly to superstition, and there is no doubt but it might have a large share; and yet there is another circumstance that very probably had greater weight. *Julius* the second, amongst other threats, had given out that he would cancel her marriage, and very probably had done it, if the queen had not been always on his side. This accommodation with *Rome* put an end to all apprehensions on the side of *Dauphine*, which, in truth, were not very great^v. The emperor *Maximilian* had received a subsidy from *England* of one hundred thousand crowns for an invasion, which, probably, he never intended to make. *Henry* the eighth, who had little or no cause for entering into the war, and who, notwithstanding, was at almost the whole expence of it, prepared to fulfil his engagements both by land and sea^w. He landed himself in the month of *July* at *Calais*, and very speedily formed an army of thirty thousand men. He was joined by the emperor with a good corps of horse, and some foot; but his business was only to excuse his not having executed what he undertook to execute by his treaty of subsidy; for here he did not pretend to serve as the ally or auxiliary, but as the mercenary of *Henry*, who assigned him his quarters, and allowed him an hundred ducats a day for his table: a circumstance which sufficiently explains the vanity of one of those princes, and the sordid temper of the other^x. The first enterprize they undertook was the siege of *Terouenne*, which they invested with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men. The place was strong and well defended, so that when the enemy had lain before it some time, the duke of *Longueville* marched to its relief with a numerous army, and succeeded in the attempt; but, being unfortunately attacked in his retreat, the cavalry fell into a precipitate flight, the duke and a few of his principal officers excepted, who were made prisoners. This action happened on the 18th of *August*, and was stiled by the *French*, *La Journée des Eperons*, or, “the battle

ⁿ PET. BEMB. Histor.

^o ARNOLDI FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, PET. DE ANGLER. Epist.

^p SAINT GELAIS, Memoires de BRANT.

^q Memoires de BRANT. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

^r PET. BEMB. Hist. GUICCI. Hist. du Chevalier Baiard.

^s Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges, Histoire

de la Ligue de Cambray.

^t ARNOLD. FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum, PET. DE ANGLERIA Epist.

Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

^u Memoires de BRANT.

^v RAINALD.

^w POLYD. VIRG.

HALL. HOLINSH. ARNOLD. FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallorum.

^x Lord HERBERT'S History of

Henry VIII. HUBERTI VELLEJ ad Ganguin. Append.

a "of the spurs". On the twenty-fourth the place surrendered, after two months siege, and the allies, not agreeing who should keep it, it was dismantled and burnt^a. Henry then marched, at the emperor's request, into the *Low Countries*, and besieged *Tournay*, a place of large extent, and which might have made a good defence, but the inhabitants, confident of their own strength, refused a garrison, and yet thought fit to surrender in a few days. This city, though less convenient for him than *Terouenne*, Henry resolved to keep: having directed some additional fortifications, and left in it a strong garrison, he put an end to the campaign, and returned into his own dominions in triumph^b.

THE king was the less in a condition to defend his territories against the *English*, as the *Swiss*, elevated by the victory they had gained at *Novara*, made an irruption into *Burgundy* with twenty-five thousand men, and were joined on the part of the emperor by *Ulrick* duke of *Wirtemberg*, who brought with him the gentry of *Franche Comtè*, and some artillery^c. These new invaders besieged *Dijon*, the capital of the province, into which *Lewis de la Tremouille* had thrown himself with three or four thousand men. The place being but indifferently fortified, must have been infallibly taken, and then the passage had been open to *Paris*, of which some of the richer citizens were so sensible, that they began to retire. At the beginning of the siege *la Tremouille* made a brisk sally with almost his whole force, which was thought very imprudent; but having taken some *Swiss* officers prisoners, he entertained them at his own table, treated them kindly, and enquired what were the sources of this enmity between nations whose interest it was to be constantly allied. This produced a negotiation, in which the *Swiss* claimed four hundred thousand livres as the arrears of their pensions; insisted on the king's renouncing all claim to the duchy of *Milan*, and also upon submitting the king's title to *Burgundy* to the determination of experienced lawyers^d. All this *la Tremouille* admitted to be reasonable, and undertook should be complied with; giving his own nephew, one of his principal officers, and four of the best citizens of *Dijon*, as hostages, and twenty thousand crowns by way of earnest; upon which they raised the siege and retired. The king disavowed the treaty as dishonourable, and refused to perform it; but, notwithstanding this, it was universally acknowledged, that *la Tremouille* had saved *France*, and the hostages were afterwards disengaged for a considerable sum^e. The *English* and *French* fleets had two engagements at sea; in the last *Sir Edward Howard*, high admiral of *England*, was blown up, and *Prosmoguer*, a native of *Bretagne*, who commanded the *French* fleet, was likewise slain; but the latter had the advantage, as appeared by their making a descent on the coast of *Sussex*^f. The allies of *France*, in the course of this year, were as unfortunate as the *French*. The *Venetians* were beaten by the *Spaniards* with great loss; and *James* the fourth of *Scotland*, who invaded *England* with a potent army, was defeated and killed by the earl of *Surry*, in the fatal battle of *Flodden*, which was considered as a grievous misfortune in *France*, as no farther diversion was to be hoped for on that side, during the war^g.

AT the opening of the year died the queen, equally regretted by the king her husband and by her subjects^h; and yet her death proved an advantage to the state. The pope, who had vast designs for his own family, was equally desirous of excluding the *French* and *Spaniards* from *Italy*, and with this view laboured to reconcile the emperor to the *Venetians*, and king *Lewis* with the *Swiss*, which he knew could not be done but by renouncing his claim to the duchy of *Milan*: but the king, though much inclined to peace, had other views, and knew how to negotiate so as to obtain them. He began with offering *Ferdinand* the Catholic his second daughter for either of his grandsons *Charles* or *Ferdinand*, and to renounce, in favour of that marriage, his claims on *Milan* and *Genoa*. This proposal was approved, the truce renewed for another year, and the emperor includedⁱ. The king then married his eldest daughter to his presumptive heir, *Francis* count of *Angoulesme*, to whom he had been long contracted, and soon after put him in possession of the duchy of *Bretagne*, though this seemed to be a little dangerous, considering the trouble he had given his predecessor, when he was only protected by a duke of *Bretagne*^k. The news of these negotiations was not well received at *Rome*, and much less so at *London*, where *Henry* made no scruple of declaring how little he was pleased with the conduct of the emperor, and how much he resented the double dealing of his father-in-law *Ferdinand*. But that which piqued him most was, that his sister *Mary*, for whom he had a real affection, was slighted by *Charles* of *Austria*, for a younger daughter of *France*. The duke of *Longueville*, then prisoner in *England*, but at the same time well received at court, took advantage of the temper the king was in to suggest

Burgundy invaded by the Swiss. Venetians beaten by the Spaniards. K. of Scots killed.

A. D. 1513.

On the death of his queen, Lewis makes peace with England, and marries the sister of Henry VIII.

^a FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallor. HOLINSH. STRYPES Annals. SPEED. Gaguin. Append. Memoires de BRANT.

^b POLYD. VIRG. Histoire du Chevalier de Baiard.

^c HALL.

^d ARNOLD FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallor. HUBERTI VAL. ad

^e HUBERTI VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. Histoire du Chevalier

^f BELCAR. FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallorum. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. P. DAN.

^g POLYD. VIRG. Lord HERBERT's History of Henry

^h Annales de France. FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallorum. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin.

ⁱ MARIANA.

^j M. TURQUET. FERR. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

^k Memoires de BRANT. BELCAR.

that the king his master was a widower, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and that the princesses might be as well married to him as to a prince of *Spain*¹. *Henry* entertained the motion, which was not disapproved by *Lewis*. A suspension of arms immediately followed, and a treaty was quickly concluded, by which *Tournay* was left to the *English*, *Henry* was to have a million of crowns, and *Lewis* was left at liberty to prosecute his intentions in *Italy*, even against the allies of *England*, without prejudice to the peace, which was at the same time an alliance offensive and defensive between the two crowns. This treaty was signed on the 7th of *August*, and ratified by both monarchs on the 20th of the same month^m.

Queen Mary arrives in France, is received with all possible magnificence.

It is hinted by some historians, and not without great appearance of truth, that one of the principal motives which determined *Henry* to this peace was to be rid of *Richard de la Pole* duke of *Suffolk*, who, with a body of twelve thousand *German* mercenaries, was on the point of making a descent in *England*ⁿ. *Richard* the third had declared this family heirs to the crown. *Henry* the seventh left the elder brother of *Richard* prisoner in the tower of *London*; who, at the time he made his last expedition, *Henry* the eighth caused to be put to death: which shews that he was apprehensive that the warm affection the *English* nation had for the house of *York* was far from being extinguished^o. At least it is certain that *Lewis* made another use of the *German* troops that were to have been employed in the invasion; and advised *Richard de la Pole* to retire to *Metz*, where he gave him an annual pension of six thousand livres^p. The princess *Mary* passed the seas with all possible pomp and splendor, and, on the ninth of *October*, the marriage was celebrated at *Abbeville*^q. On the 6th of *November* following their majesties made their public entry into *Paris*, amidst the universal acclamations of their subjects. In the midst of the pompous diversions which were made for the reception of the new queen, the king was far from neglecting public affairs. *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*, at the head of a numerous body of gens d'arms, advanced to the frontiers towards *Italy*, and was to be followed by sixteen thousand *German* foot which the king had taken into pay^r. But in the mean time the castle of the lanthorn at *Genoa*, the only place *France* retained of all her conquests in *Italy*, was obliged to surrender, the garrison being absolutely destitute of provisions; and the *Genoese* were no sooner in possession of it, than they demolished it to its very foundation^s. The king was very desirous of engaging the pope in his interest, and, on the other hand, *Leo* made use of every art to hide his true design, which was to preserve the duchy of *Milan* for the family of *Sforza*, to maintain his own family in *Tuscany*, and to procure for them, if possible, the kingdom of *Naples*; so that none but *Italian* princes should rule in *Italy*. These schemes of his were conducted with all the secrecy and address imaginable, and he omitted nothing that was requisite to keep fair with both crowns, who, notwithstanding, had their suspicions of what was his true design^t.

Death and character of Lewis XII.

AFTER having extricated himself, from so many difficulties, and brought his affairs into so good order, whilst he meditated yet greater things, *Lewis* found his infirmities increase, and his health decay. His constitution was much broken by the gout, against which his only preservative was a very regular manner of living. He thought himself obliged to depart from this, in complaisance to his young queen, and his affection, his too great affection, say the writers of those times, for the most sprightly and the most beautiful young princess in *Europe*, hastened him to his grave^u. He died in the night following the first of *January*, in the fifty fourth year of his age, and in the seventeenth of his reign (B). Perfection is not to be found in

¹ Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges. gestis Gallor. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. Gaguin. Append.

^m Lord HERBERT'S History of Henry VIII. FERRONI de rebus

ⁿ Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges. HUB. VALL. ad

^o HALL. HOLINSH. SPEED. P. DANIEL.

^p Memoires du Marchal de

^q POLYD. VIRG. Memoires de BRANT.

^r GUICCIARD. Histoire du Chevalier

Baiard.

^s DUPLÉIX. MEZERAY.

^t GUICCIARD. PET. BEMB. Hist. de la Ligue de Chambray.

^u FERRONI, de rebus gestis Gallor. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. Lord HERBERT'S History of Henry VIII. Histoire du Chevalier Baiard.

(B) We have spoke so amply of this monarch, and have insisted so fully on his character in the text, that we may be the shorter here. He is reported by some historians to have been too easy in his temper, and to have been too much governed by his ministers and his queen. On many occasions, however, he exerted himself in such a manner, that such as are guided only by facts, and not by authorities, will clearly discern, that he acted according to his own judgment, even in those points in which he seemed to be governed. He did not restrain the magnificence either of the queen or of cardinal *d'Amboise*, which proves he was no lover of money, and that his frugality was the effect of sentiment and reflection, not of a covetous disposition. By this means his affairs derived all the assistance they could have done from magnificence in his own disposition, at the same

time that his subjects escaped the oppression, and himself the embarrassment, that must have resulted, if, in his own court or person, there had been a display of splendor and parade. He put this out of doubt, when, observing the different turn of the count *d'Angoulême*, who loved nothing but pomp and expence, he said, with regret, "All our labours are in vain; that great boy will ruin all." His firmness in supporting the cardinal ought never to be esteemed a foible. His choice of ministers after his decease shews his good sense and penetration; he confided in *Poncher* bishop of *Paris*, who had so boldly opposed both him and his minister in the conclusion of the league at *Cambray*, the only blemish of his reign; and in *Semblancé*, whom he placed at the head of the finances, who was a man of exemplary probity, as well as excellent parts. His first

- a in mortals, and those are justly esteemed flatterers who ascribe it to kings; but in this the severest of the *French* historians unanimously agree, that more royal virtues, with fewer defects, were never more conspicuous in any of their princes than in *Lewis* the twelfth. *France*, say they, was never more happy, more rich, more quiet, or more submissive, than under his reign. Justice was never better administered; wiser laws were never made, and hardly ever so well executed. Military discipline was never so exact, or so severe, but, at the same time, the troops were punctually paid. In succeeding times the quartering of them in provinces was esteemed a grievance, but, in the time of *Lewis*, it was considered as an advantage, and the provinces solicited it in that light^w. His family and his court, the populace and the nobility, equally
- b admired him, and unanimously called him their father, the title with which he was most pleased, and which he made it the study of his life to deserve. He began his reign with abolishing impositions; and at the time of his death he had diminished above half of them. He was obliged sometimes to raise extraordinary taxes; but when he signed edicts for that purpose, he did it with tears^x. His very misfortunes endeared him to his subjects; for he might have maintained his conquests in *Italy*, if he would have raised large sums upon his people; but he thought any loss light when compared with that of their affections. He was thought a little too saving; and, in the beginning of his reign, his subjects took the liberty of expressing this in satires, and even of ridiculing it on the stage. The king knew it very well, and, which was
- c singular, it gave him no offence: he said, upon that occasion, what ought to be ever remembered, "I had much rather my subjects should laugh at my parsimony, than weep at their own 'oppressions'." The custom in *France* then was for the criers to proclaim the demise of persons of all ranks, as they did his in these words; "The good king *Lewis*, the father of his people, 'is dead':" at once the most artless and the most finished panegyric.

^w HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallor. BELCAR.

^x DUPLEIX. MEZ. P. DAN.

^y HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. Memoires de BRANT. FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallorum.

^z Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII. Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges. BELCAR.

first consort *Joan* of *France*, when her marriage was declared null, *December* 22d, 1498, retired to *Bourges*, where she lived in the exercise of strict devotion, and where she founded the monastery of *Annunciades*, or *Celestes*. She died *February* 4th, 1505. *Anne* of *Bretagne* had two sons, who died in their cradle, and two daughters, *Claude*, who espoused his successor, *Renée*, promised at the age of five years to *Charles* of *Austria*, demanded in marriage by the king of *England*, offered to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and at length married, in 1527, to *Hercules de Este*, duke of *Ferrara*, by whom she had a numerous posterity. She was one of the most amiable, virtuous, prudent, learned, and generous princesses *France* ever produced. After the decease of the duke her husband, she kept her court at *Montargis*,

and became a protestant, and died *June* 12th, 1575, at the age of sixty-six. The third queen of *Lewis* was *Mary* daughter to *Henry* the seventh, and sister to *Henry* the eighth of *England*, who survived him eighteen years. His corpse lies interred in the monastery of *St. Denis*, near that of his beloved wife *Anne* of *Bretagne*, where a noble tomb has been erected to both their memories. He gave for his device a porcupine, with these words; *Cominus Et Eminus*, i. e. "Near and afar off;" meaning probably, that he would vindicate his rights at home and afar off. The porcupine was also painted sometimes with this verse under or round it, *Spicula sunt Humili Pax hæc, sed Bella Superbo*.

"These darts the gentle have no cause to fear,
"But to the foe they speedy vengeance bear."

S E C T. IX.

The reign of Francis I. surnamed The Patron of Learning; Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. in whom the branch of Valois was entirely extinguished.

- d THE widow of the deceased king having declared that she was not pregnant, *Francis* Accession of the count of *Angoulesme*, duke of *Bretagne* and *Valois*, succeeded, without dispute or count of *Angoulesme* delay. He was crowned at *Rheims* on the 25th of *January*; and his accession appeared highly acceptable to all ranks of people; but to the nobility more especially, who, having lived with him in great familiarity, expected to share deeply in his favours^a. The two first offices in the state were vacant, the chancellor and constable; he bestowed the former upon *Antony du Prat*, and the latter on *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*^b. He took great pains to renew the treaties then subsisting, but particularly with the *Venetians* and the crown of *England*. He made also a new treaty with the archduke *Charles* king of *Castile*, with whom he affected to contract a strict and inviolable friendship^c. By this treaty the marriage between that prince and the younger daughter of the deceased king was again confirmed, but without any intention of performing it, but merely to prevent the reviving any propositions in respect to the queen dowager of *France*; and it may be, that, to free himself effectually from all fears of this kind,

^a Memoires de Louisa de Savoye, Duchesse d'Angoulesme. Memoires de MARTIN DU BELLAY. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET. MEZERAY.

^b Memoires du BELLAY. SERRES. P. DAN.

^c GUICCIARD. Lord

the king promoted her marriage with *Charles Brandon*, duke of *Suffolk*^d. *Arthur de Gouffier*, a whom he made great master of his household, and his secretary *Florimond de Robertet*, had a great share in the government; that is, he communicated to them chiefly his designs, for he was not very apt to take council from any. He was, from his accession, determined to pursue his predecessor's scheme for the recovery of *Milan*; which, belonging to the house of *Orleans*, as descendents from the duchess *Valentine*, they had always more at heart than any other part of their dominions: but he kept his secret well, so that it was not disclosed till he was on the point of carrying it into execution (A). This design requiring immense sums of money, and his coffers being absolutely empty, he had recourse to *du Prat*, who was his oracle upon such occasions. The chancellor told him that his predecessor had sold offices, and advised him to do the same; upon which he added a chamber to the parliament of *Paris*, and to each of the other parliaments, which was one of the first and one of the worst strokes of this minister's policy^e. In the beginning of his reign, *Lewis* the twelfth had sold some offices, but none that were judicial, and purely with a view to avoid loading his people with taxes; whereas *Francis* had already raised them as high as his predecessor had found them. Besides, as soon as it was in his power, *Lewis* repurchased and suppressed those offices; and, rather than have recourse to this expedient again, alienated part of his domain, which sufficiently shews the disposition of a minister who could mention this as a precedent. It is thought a great historian^f alludes to this amongst other ruinous extensions of regal power, when he says, that *Francis* the first made two promotions, of which the bad effects of one were felt by his whole race; and, the mischiefs arising from the other, down to the time in which he wrote, were like to fall as heavy on posterity: an honest remark, and a true prophecy.

Passes the Alps
into Italy with
a potent army.

THIS treasure, thus supplied, was very speedily expended. The new duke of *Genoa*, *Frederigo*, was prevailed upon to depose himself, and to accept the title of perpetual governor, under the crown of *France*. Don *Pedro Novara*, who was made prisoner in the battle of *Ravenna*, piqued at the little notice that had been taken of him, entered into the service of *France*, and found means to raise ten thousand *Biscaneers* and *Gascons*. The duke of *Gueldres* brought many thousands of *Landsquenets* out of *Germany*; so that, when the army was assembled, in order to pass the *Alps*, it was the most numerous that *France* had even raised in this quarrel, as consisting of forty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The king having raised his own county of *Angoulesme* into a duchy, bestowed it upon his mother *Louisa* of *Savoy*, and declared her regent^g in his absence: and this princess was the first to whom the *French* gave the title of *Madame*. All things being ready by the beginning of *August*, the troops began to attempt the passage of the *Alps*, by a new road, made with incredible labour, and at a vast expence, at *Roque-perriere*, the *Swiss* having secured all that they thought practicable. The van-guard was commanded by the constable, the main body by the king in person, who had with him, besides several princes of the blood, the dukes of *Gueldres*, *Lorraine*, and *Savoy*; the duke of *Alençon* commanded the rear^h. The first stroke of importance was surprising *Prosper Colonna*, the pope's general, with three hun-

^d Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. DUPLEIX. DU TILL.
P. DAN. LEGEND.
iv. p. 476.

^e Memoires DU BELLAY. BELCAR. SERRES.
^f Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France. par le Sieur de MEZERAY, tom. iv. p. 476.

^g GUICCIARD. Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. DUPLEIX. DU TILL.

^h Memoires

(A) The descent of the house of *Angoulesme* was very clear, being a branch of that of *Orleans*. *John* count of *Angoulesme* was the fifth son of *Lewis* of *France*, who was assassinated by order of the duke of *Burgundy*. This *John* was surnamed *the Good*, and lived near thirty years in *England*, where he was an hostage. He espoused *Margaret*, daughter to *Alain* count of *Roan*, by whom he had *Lewis*, who died in his infancy, *Charles* who succeeded him, and *Joan*, who married the prince of *Mortagne*. After his return to *France*, he lived, universally beloved and esteemed, in his castle of *Cognac*, where he died *April* 30th, 1467; and near one hundred years afterwards, viz. *an.* 1562, his body being then whole and uncorrupted, was taken up and burnt by the *Hugonots*. *Charles* count of *Angoulesme* espoused *Louisa* of *Savoy*, the eldest daughter of *Philip* count of *Bresse*, and afterwards duke of *Savoy*. This princess was extremely beautiful, and had infinite wit, but, at the same time, had most of the foibles of her sex. She was gallant, vindictive, cunning, profuse, and vain. He had by her only two children. *Francis*, who succeeded to the crown, and his sister *Margaret*. *Charles* count of *Angoulesme* died *January* 1st, 1496, at the age of thirty-seven. After his decease his widow lived chiefly at her castle of *Cognac*, where she took great care of her children, who were wonderfully handsome in their persons,

and in their tender years were very carefully educated. But when the countess came to court, as she was young, handsome, and the mother of the presumptive heir to the crown, she had great court paid to her, which so disgusted *Anne* of *Bretagne*, that she treated her with great coldness, so that the countess was quickly weary of residing there, and returned, as soon as she could, to her own house. She cast her eyes very early on *Charles* of *Bourbon*, whom she would have willingly espoused, notwithstanding their tempers were extremely unlike; for he was remarkably silent and serious, his thoughts continually occupied with affairs of importance; so that he had little leisure as well as little inclination to make his court to the ladies; and had either conceived some ill impressions of the countess's behaviour, or had given credit to some disadvantageous reports, so that he slighted the advances that were made him, which the countess took very ill. Yet this did not stifle her passion, or hinder her, at certain times, from expressing great regard for this prince, till, as we shall see hereafter, he carried his distaste so high, that it turned that affection she formerly had for him into a hatred, equally fatal to him, to her, to the king, and to all *France*. So injurious are the foibles, the passions, and the vices of persons in exalted stations, not only to themselves and their families, but to the community.

dred

- a dred men at arms ; upon which *Leo* immediately sent one of his ministers, with full powers to treat of an accommodation ; and the *Swiss*, perceiving it to no purpose to guard them longer, abandoned the passes ¹. They continued, however, to march close by the king's army, fully resolved to attack it the first fair opportunity. Yet, by the interposition of the duke of *Savoy*, they were brought to a negotiation ; and by a treaty concluded at *Guilletres* it was stipulated, that the king should give them seven hundred thousand crowns, in full satisfaction of all their demands. To raise which enormous sum, the king was constrained to borrow not only all the money but all the plate also belonging to the princes and great officers. Such was the terror they had at this time, and not without reason, of the *Swiss* troops ² ; and so desirous were the king and his general to recover their favour.
- b BUT the *Swiss*, receiving at this juncture a considerable reinforcement, under the command of captain *Ross*, and being persuaded by the vehement harangues of the cardinal of *Sion*, resolved to attack the king in his camp, though they were forsaken by the pope's troops, and were without artillery. Accordingly, on the 13th of *September*, about four in the afternoon, they attacked the *French* camp at *Marignano*, within a quarter of a league of *Milan*, with amazing intrepidity. The action lasted for several hours after sun-set, and ended then because both parties were so fatigued that they were unable to support themselves. The king himself slept an hour against the carriage of a cannon, intermixed with the enemy ; and as soon as he waked, gave orders for posting his artillery, and making all the necessary dispositions for renewing the fight ³. Accordingly, as soon as day broke, the *Swiss* returned to the charge, with greater fury than the day before, but were so extremely galled by the cannon, and so miserably broken by the gens d'arms, who charged through them, that about nine they began their retreat, leaving near one half of their army, which consisted of twenty-five thousand men, upon the field. This retreat gained them more reputation than all their victories, for they made it slowly and in good order, and repulsed a corps of *Venetian* troops, which ventured to pursue them, with vigour ⁴. Marshal *Trivulce* said, that eighteen battles, in which he served before, were but children's play in comparison of this, which he stiled the fight with the giants. But the victory, glorious as it was, cost the *French* four thousand of their best troops, and several persons of distinction ⁵. Don *Pedro Navarro* reduced *Novara* ; and the city of *Milan* opened her gates ; the constable besieged the citadel, and took it by capitulation, *Francis Sforza* resigned his dukedom to the king, in consideration of a pension of sixty thousand ducats, and the promise of a cardinal's hat, thinking himself happy in being delivered from the heavy yoke of the *Germans*, the surly humours of the *Swiss*, and the crafty contrivances of the *Spaniards* ⁶. The king made a triumphal entry into *Milan* ; established a parliament there after the model of that of *Paris* ; appointed the constable governor of the city and duchy, and left with him a corps of ten thousand men ⁷. The pope having accepted a peace on such terms as the king prescribed, *Francis* had an interview with him at *Bologna*, where, to prevent a schism, he consented to the *concordat* ; and, having thus gloriously terminated his affairs in *Italy*, returned into his own dominions, after refusing the title of emperor of the East, which the pope offered him, in order to engage him to turn his arms against the *Turks* ⁸.
- c AT *Lyons* the king met his mother and his queen, and the court resumed all that splendor and magnificence, which, while it delighted the eyes of the vulgar, occasioned infinite oppression at home, and at the same time excited the jealousy and hatred of foreign princes ⁹. Amongst these the emperor *Maximilian* was ever the most forward. Assisted openly by the *Swiss*, and secretly by the pope, he made an irruption into *Italy* with thirty thousand men, and pushed the constable so vigorously, that he was almost on the point of abandoning *Milan*, the suburbs of which he burnt, by the malicious advice of the *Venetians*. King *Francis* having concluded a treaty with the *Swiss* (five cantons excepted), and having paid them six hundred thousand crowns, they sent twelve thousand men to the relief of the constable ¹⁰. Upon this *Maximilian*, the best part of whose army also consisted of *Swiss*, retired hastily, from an apprehension that his person might be in danger ; and soon after his army disbanded. The king recalled the constable of *Bourbon*, to gratify the spleen of his mother, and sent *Odet de Foix*, viscount de *Lautrec*, to command in *Milan*, because he was the brother of his mistress ¹¹. This new governor took *Brescia*, which he restored to the *Venetians* ; but he was constrained to raise the siege of *Verona*. The death of *Ferdinand the Catholic* gave the king an opportunity of assisting the house of *Albret* with an army for the recovery of the kingdom of *Navarre*, which was speedily, and with great spirit performed, and as imprudently lost. Cardinal *Ximenes* by

Defeats the
Swiss at Ma-
ignano.

A. D. 1515.

The constable
of Bourbon,
after expelling
the emperor out
of Milan is
himself recalled.

¹ Histoire du Chevalier Baiard. Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges. MEZ.

LAY, GUICCIARD. DU PLEIX. DU TILL.

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI. SERRES. MEZ. LE GEND.

TILL. ² Memoires de Fleuranges. MEZ. P. DAN.

Append. DU PLEIX.

DU BELLAY. DU PLEIX. DU TILLET. P. DAN.

Append. DU PLEIX.

Mod. Hist. Vol. IX.

³ HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. Memoires de Fleuranges.

⁴ Memoires DU BELLAY. DU PLEIX. DU

⁵ Memoires DU BELLAY. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin.

⁶ GUICCIARD. Memoires

⁷ Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. MEZERAY. P. DAN.

⁸ Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin.

⁹ GUICCIARD. DU PLEIX. P. DAN.

¹⁰ GUICCIARD. DU PLEIX. P. DAN.

¹¹ GUICCIARD. DU PLEIX. P. DAN.

A. D. 1516. demolishing all the fortresses, and rendering the country almost a desert, made any future attempt a of that kind less practicable^u. *Charles of Austria* being about to pass into *Spain*, concluded the treaty of *Nojon*, upon terms so very advantageous to *France*, that the performance was not to be expected. He undertook to marry the princess *Louisa*, the king's daughter, who was but a year old, and to allow an hundred thousand crowns a year for her support; he promised to render *Navarre*, in six months, and consented, in case he failed, that the king should assist the house of *Albret* with an army. The true motive to this treaty was the security of the *Low Countries*^w. The emperor *Maximilian* acceded to it; and, for the sum of two hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and the discharge of three hundred thousand more, which he had borrowed of the late king, he promised to deliver up *Verona*, and to grant the king the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*^x. The five protesting cantons now acceded to the treaty of *Friburgh*, since that time stiled the perpetual alliance, having subsisted ever since between the two nations and proved reciprocally advantageous to both^y.

Methods taken by Francis to increase his allies, and to secure his regal dominions. In pursuance of the treaty lately concluded, *Maximilian* rendered *Verona* into the hands of the *Spaniards*, by whom it was yielded to the viscount *de Lautrec*, who restored it to the *Venetians*; so that the republic was now pretty near in the same situation as before the league of *Cambray*. With respect to the investiture *Maximilian* took time to consider; which was his manner of refusing. The duchy of *Urbino* was conquered for *Lawrence de Medicis*, who being in *France*, confirmed the alliance with his uncle *Leo* the tenth^z. About the same time *Francis* renewed the antient treaties between *France* and *Scotland*, and sent over the duke of *Albany* to administer the government in the name of the young king, or, in other words, to render that country a province of *France*, which was highly displeasing to *Henry* the eighth, the young king's uncle, who had very kind intentions towards that young prince^a. The parliaments and the universities of *France* were unanimous in their opposition to the concordat; but the king, to gain the favour of the pope, caused it to be introduced and executed by force^b; sacrificing to the pleasure of a foreign prince the laws of his country, and the affections of his subjects. This was another effect of the new maxims of his chancellor, who was already a creature of the court of *Rome*, and who, for this and other subsequent services, received the usual gratification of a hat (B). THE

^u Memoires Du BELLAY. HUB. VALL. ad Gaguin. Append. MARIANA. FER. DUPLEIX. ^w Recueil de Traites par LEONA D. MEZERAY. P. DANIEL. ^x FRANCESCO GUICCIARD. DU TILLET. MEZ. ^y Recueil de Traites, par LEONARD. SERRES. DU TILLET. CHALONS. LE GEND. ^z Memoires Du BELLAY. MEZ. ^a POLYD. VIRGIL. HOLINSHED. Lord HERBERT's History of Henry VIII. ^b Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction & des Concordats qui est à la fin du Volume des Commentaires de PITHON, sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

(B) The affair of the concordat is a point of too great consequence to be hastily passed over, and yet of too great length and difficulty to be fully treated in this place. We shall therefore endeavour to give the reader a succinct idea of what it was, and of the principal consequences that attended it, and leave the rest to the inquisitive reader's perusal in the works of those authors we shall have occasion to cite. We have before observed that, in order to gain the good graces of pope *Pius* the second, *Lewis* the eleventh attempted to abolish the *Pragmatic sanction*, in which he was vigorously opposed by the parliament; and afterwards, finding no reason to be well pleased with that pontiff, gave up the point, and left the *Pragmatic sanction* to be considered as a law in the *Gallican* church, and as such to be respected in the state. Under the reigns of *Charles* the eighth and *Lewis* the twelfth it was strictly observed, though pope *Julius* the second, in the council of *Lateran*, fulminated against all who should support or submit to it. *Leo* the tenth pursued his predecessor's steps; and it was in this disposition the king found him at his interview. He consented, however, that the cardinals of *Ancona* and *Santiquatro* should confer with the chancellor *du Prat*, in order to find out some expedient that might satisfy both parties; and it was the expedient that these commissioners framed that was afterwards stiled the concordat. By this the abolitions of the reservations and expectatives was abolished, as in the *Pragmatic sanction*; but then the obligation of the pope to assemble a general council within a certain limited time, and the superiority of such councils to the pope, which were also in the *Pragmatic sanction*, were left out in the concordat. But the two principal points in this famous agreement were the granting the king the nomination to the benefices in his dominions, under certain restrictions, and the allowing the pope his annates, that is, a year's re-

venue clear out of every benefice to which the king named; and thus the right of election was taken from the chapters and convents, and the king and the pope jointly shared the spoils of the church. *Francis*, at his return, laboured all that he could to oblige his parliament to receive the concordat; and the pope's nuncio, having presented two books under the leaden seal, the one containing the concordat, and the other the revocation of the *Pragmatic sanction*, he sent the former, as virtually maintaining both, to the parliament, requiring them to register and publish it. Upon this occasion he held his bed of justice, and was present when the chancellor, in a long florid speech, gave the best account he could of the king's conduct and his own: after which the clergy retired into a room by themselves; where, after they had conferred, they returned, and the cardinal *de Boissi* reported, that, being a matter which concerned the *Gallican* church, it ought to be considered in a general assembly of the clergy, without whose consent the concordat could not be ratified. "But I," said the king in a passion, "will make you ratify it, or will send you to *Rome* to debate it with the pope." The parliament answered in softer terms, but to the same effect. The king then sent his letters patent, reciting the concordat, and commanded them to register it. The parliament submitted to examine the affair afresh; but, in the end, declared that they could not register or publish the concordat, but were resolved to proceed according to the *Pragmatic sanction*; and that, if his majesty would have this last abolished, it must be by an assembly of the *Gallican* church, as it was enacted in the reign of his predecessor *Charles* the seventh. *Francis* told them, in answer, that he was king of *France*, and that he would not suffer them to be a senate of *Venice*, and therefore would be obeyed. Upon this the parliament submitted; but,

- a** THE birth of a Dauphin gave great pleasure to the king and to his subjects. The pope promised to answer for the young prince at the font, and accordingly *Lawrence de Medicis* performed that ceremony in his name, which was one of the arts he used to preserve the good opinion of the king, while he was secretly doing him ill offices, and concerting, or at least endeavouring to concert, a league for depriving him of his duchy of *Milan*. On the other hand, *Francis* still persisted in his desire of reviving his claim to the kingdom of *Naples*, which induced him to heap favours upon the pope, in hopes that he might gradually win and fix him to his interest. With this view, as he had already very unjustly fixed *Lawrence de Medicis* in the duchy of *Urbino*; so he next gave him in marriage *Magdalen* of *Bologna*, niece to the duke of *Vendosme*, and a great heiress^c. From this sprung *Katherine de Medicis*, of whom we shall have much to say hereafter. He was still very diffident of *England*, and with reason; for he stood at that time upon ill terms with cardinal *Wolfsey* (who, with the title of his minister, governed *Henry* the eighth as absolutely as if he had been his pupil), though he was in some measure indebted to him for his hat. *Wolfsey* had influenced *Henry* to shew such marks of jealousy, as obliged the *French* monarch to leave *Italy* sooner than he intended; he had likewise prevailed upon him to furnish the emperor with money for his late *Italian* expedition: but perceiving that, as things were then circumstanced, it would be impossible to raise a war in *Europe*, he made some advances towards a reconciliation with *Francis*, who, being perfectly acquainted with his character, made him very rich presents, and consulted him upon points of great importance^d. The point on which they had differed, was in respect to the see of *Tournay*, of which he had the administration and revenue, but was desirous likewise of having the title, which the king had not only refused, but had also solicited the pope to restore the administration to the deprived bishop, who was his subject. But now he treated with *Wolfsey* for the restitution of the city, with a promise to indemnify him amply for the particular loss which he might sustain. The point being once settled with the minister, the admiral of *France*, with other persons of great distinction, came over as ambassadors to settle it with the king. The cardinal managed this affair with great address: he sold the town at a very high price: but, that his new client might have no reason to complain, he stipulated a marriage between the Dauphin, just born, and the king's only daughter *Mary*, to whom he assigned a large portion, and consented that it should be abated out of the purchase^e. On the signing of this treaty on the 14th of *October*, king *Francis*, by his letters patent, granted the cardinal an annuity of fourteen thousand livres. The king was so well pleased with this bargain, that he proposed dealing for *Calais*, and *Wolfsey* entertained the motion, and in all probability would have brought it to bear; but *Charles*, king of *Castile*, interposed, and made him sensible that he was well inclined to repurchase his good graces, which stopped that bargain^f. Monsieur *de Lautrec* governed *Milan* with a rod of iron, harrassed the people extremely, and amassed immense riches; but perceiving that, in spite of these, marshal *Trivulce* was infinitely more esteemed, he rendered him suspected to the king his master, which, when the marshal perceived, though upwards of fourscore and infirm, he passed the mountains in the depth of winter to go and vindicate himself; the king, however, was so prejudiced against him, that he refused to hear him, which affected the gallant old soldier to such a degree, that he died of grief^g. The princess *Louisa* being dead, *Charles*, king of *Castile*, still inclined to sooth the monarch of *France*, renewed the treaty of *Nojon*, and promised to espouse the princess *Charlotte*, who was just born, and, having the same intentions as to both, it was of little consequence.
- In pursuance of the late treaty with *England*, Monsieur *Colligni* took possession of *Tournay*, which, exclusive of the presents and pensions to cardinal *Wolfsey*, cost king *Francis* at least four hundred thousand crowns. However, the two kings were still upon so good terms, that *Henry* was godfather to the king's second son, and gave him his own name^h. The death of the emperor *Maximilian* operated strongly on the affairs of *Europe*. In the latter part of his life he had practised on *Henry* continually, by pretending that he would resign in his favour, or that he would engage the electors to chuse him his successor. But this was only with a view to obtain money; for his real intention was in favour of his younger grandson *Ferdinand*, till, upon more

A.D. 1518.

Charles V. carries the imperial crown from Francis, after which the prince becomes irreconcilable enemies.

^c Memoires DU BELLAY. DUPLEIX.
of Henry the Eighth. P. DAN.
BRANTOME.

^d POLYD. VIRG. HALL. HOLINSH. LORD HERRERT'S History
of Henry the Eighth. P. DAN.
^e A&S. Pub. MEZ.

^f POLYD. VIRG. P. DAN.

^g Memoires de

^h HERBERT. DUPLEIX. DU TILLET.

at the same time, made a protest before the bishop of *Langres*, duke and peer of *France*, that what they did was in obedience to the king, and by force; that they meant not to approve the *concordat*, nor would regulate their proceedings by that, but by the *Pragmatic sanction*, as they did some time after, when the king accordingly named a person to the bishoprick of *Albi*, and the chapter chose another; upon which a process was commenced before the parliament of *Thoulouse*, and from thence removed before the parliament of *Paris*; upon which the

king sent for the first president, and directed him to give judgment pursuant to the *concordat*; notwithstanding which, he pronounced a sentence the next day in favour of the person elected by the chapter. While the king was prisoner in *Spain*, these disputes were suspended; and, at his return, the king transferred the cognizance of causes relating to archbishopricks, bishopricks, abbies, &c. from the parliament to the great council.

mature

mature deliberation, he thought it more expedient to prefer *Charles*; and, on his behalf, a therefore, he was labouring with the electors at the very time he died. *Francis*, though he had refused the title of emperor of the east, was not so indifferent as to the empire of *Germany*; but, on the contrary, very ambitious of restoring that title to the monarchs of *France*; and, as he was very generous, or rather profuse, he found it no difficult matter to obtain promises from the electors¹. The pope pretended sometimes to be neuter; and at other times he affected to favour *France*; but, in reality, he was not desirous that either *Charles* or *Francis* should be chosen, in which he would have prevailed, if the duke of *Saxony* would have accepted the imperial crown. But he refusing it, the electors, after much consideration, bestowed it on *Charles*². As one great reason of their preferring him to *Francis*, was, their apprehension of seeing themselves reduced from the rank of princes to that of nobility, like those of *France*, they resolved to limit the power of their new master, and with this view settled the capitulation, which he was to accept, at the same time he was admitted to the imperial dignity. b

A. D. 1519.

A circumstance to which, in all probability, he had not submitted, but from the apprehension of being supplanted by *Francis*. This controversy was carried on with all the exterior marks of politeness possible between the competitors; but, notwithstanding, *Francis* was so much piqued at this disappointment, that it was the real source of that inveterate aversion, which, however disguised upon particular occasions, those monarchs bore to each other ever after. It immediately revived the old project of recovering the kingdom of *Naples*, which seemed to be facilitated by the old opinion, that it was incompatible with the imperial dignity.

Interview between Francis and Henry at the camp of Cloth of Gold.

BEFORE he undertook any thing, *Francis* held it expedient to be sure of *England*; and c therefore dispatched admiral *Bonnivet* to press king *Henry* to an interview, which was easily effected, for the monarch loved shews, and his minister presents. The two kings and their queens met between *Ardres* and *Guines*: there had scarce any thing been seen of equal magnificence in *Europe*, and it was long after memorable by the title of *de Camp de Drap d'Or*, or, *the Cloth of Gold Camp*; it lasted ten or twelve days, exhausted the treasures of both monarchs, ruined many of their nobility, and answered no end whatever³. The new emperor, passing out of *Spain* to the *Low Countries*, in *July* landed at *Dover*, obtained an exact account of all that had passed in the conferences between the two kings, and made such impressions on *Wolsey*, as weakened, if not effaced, all memory of the *French* politeness⁴. All the *French* historians agree in stating the facts and dates thus, and reason upon them in this manner. But, d however, the truth is, the emperor's visit was prior to the interview between the two kings, as all our historians agree, and as may be proved by incontestible evidence. But this mistake must be accidental; for it would have been more for the *French* writer's purpose to expose *Wolsey*, to have stated the fact as it really happened: all the difference is, that, by a proper application to *Wolsey*, *Charles* prevented this interview from proving detrimental to his interests, instead of learning what passed therein, and then effacing their effects. Take it either way, the duplicity and falshood is just the same, or rather, in regard to the cardinal, as he changed sides before it, somewhat worse. While *Charles* was receiving the ensigns of the imperial dignity at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and thought himself secure of the pope, who promised to take no advantage of his accession to the imperial diadem, supposed to include the cession of that of *Naples*, *Francis* began to treat with him, as if the forfeiture of *Charles's* title to that crown e was a point incontestible. In a little time he concluded an alliance, by which *Leo* undertook to refuse the investiture to *Charles*, and to grant it to *Francis* as soon as he should be in possession, not, however, in favour of himself, but of his second son *Henry*, upon condition that *Gaeta* and a large tract of country should be granted to the see of *Rome*; and that, during the minority of the young prince, the whole realm should be governed by an apostolic legate. Upon the faith of this treaty, *Francis* begun to make his preparations, and to take his measures⁵.

1520.

Francis causes the kingdom of Navarre to be conquered, which is lost again soon after.

As the king could never have a more favourable opportunity than was afforded him by the f insurrection of the commons of *Castile* for the recovery of *Navarre*, he directed a considerable body of troops to be assembled for that purpose, under the command of *Andrew de Foix*, *Sieur de Esparré*, the brother of *Monsieur de Lautrec*, and the countess *de Chateaubrain*. As the country was entirely open, after reducing *St. Jean de Pie de Port*, he met with no farther resistance till he came to *Pampeluna*, which, together with the citadel, he reduced, after a short siege. It is certain, that, if he had been content with doing all that he was ordered to do, and had bent his thoughts entirely to the keeping of what he had got, the house of *Austria* had been deprived of *Navarre*⁶. But being desirous to do more, he undid all that

¹ BELCAR. GUICCIARDINI.² BELCAR. PETRUS DE ANGLER. Epist. SANDOVAL. GUICCIARDINI.³ HUBERTI VELLEI ad Gaguinum Append. Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. HERBERT. STOWE. HALL. HOLINSH.⁴ POLYD. VIRG.⁵ GUICCIARD. P. DANIEL.⁶ Annales de France.

a he had done. On his besieging *Logrogno*, the nobility of *Castile* took up arms, and obliged him to raise the siege. Yet he afterwards fought this army within a league of *Pampeluna*, without staying for a reinforcement of six thousand men, which were in full march towards him; and being defeated and taken prisoner, *Pampeluna* and the rest of the kingdom was lost, much sooner than they were won^p. At the time that the flame of war seemed to be put out on this side, it was kindled again on that of the *Low Countries*, by a very slight occasion, which, in reality, was not so much the cause of the war, as a proof that these two great princes were determined to seize the first opportunity of employing the whole force of their extensive dominions in expressing the inveteracy of their resentments.

SOME years before, the *Sieur d'Aimeres* and the prince *de Chimay* had a law suit for the town b of *Hierge*, in the *Ardennes*, which had been determined by the peers of the duchy of *Bouillon* in favour of the prince of *Chimay*. The *Sieur d'Aimeres* had lent the emperor a very considerable sum of money during the diet of *Francfort*, which had been very useful in the great affair of his election; and, instead of repaying this money, the *Sieur d'Aimeres* was allowed to appeal from the old sentence to the sovereign council at *Brabant*, who presently summoned the children of the prince of *Chimay* to appear before their tribunal. This inflamed *Robert de la Marck*, duke of *Bouillon*, who was guardian to the children of the prince of *Chimay*, and had married their aunt, not only for their sakes, but because it attached the sovereignty of his duchy, which, though small, he affirmed to be as much a sovereignty, and as independent, as any other. His brother *Erard de la Marck*, bishop of *Liege*, had been formerly strongly attached c to *France*, and *Robert* himself had been likewise in that service; but madame *d'Angoulesme*, the king's mother, having disappointed the bishop of a hat, because she had received a present of fifty thousand crowns to procure it for another, both the bishop and the duke went over to the *Spanish* interest, and had contributed not a little to the emperor's election. This aggravated, in their opinion, the ill usage they had met with; they therefore reconciled themselves immediately to *France*; and *Robert* carried it so far, as to go in person to demand the protection of king *Francis*. The king, having assured him of it in strong terms, and having probably made him a considerable present, he fell immediately to raising troops, and, having assembled between four and five thousand men, made an irruption into the duchy of *Luxemburgh*, and sent a herald to declare war against the emperor, in his own name, in the face of d the dyet^q. *Charles*, upon this, sent an ambassador to expostulate the matter with the king, and another to complain to king *Henry* of *England*, as the common umpire between them, of the high insult he had received; but these measures producing no effect, he sent an army, under the command of *Henry* count of *Nassau*, to take vengeance of *Robert de la Marck*.

It was this army that began the war, by reducing *Mousson*; but they failed of taking *Mez- zieres*, which was defended by the chevalier *Baiard*: on the other hand, the *French* took e the long war begun with no advantage on the side of Flanders, and the loss of Milan. *Hesdin*, and some other places. King *Francis* marched with his army directly to *Valenciennes*, where the emperor lay with his, and, having passed the *Schelde*, offered him battle, but the emperor retired; and, if the constable *Bourbon's* advice had been followed, in all probability had suffered a defeat. But the king, prejudiced against him by his mother, rejected the proposition, and gave the command of his van-guard to the duke of *Alençon*, who had married his sister, which was not only an affront to the constable, but derogatory to the rights of his office^r. All this time the imperial and *French* ministers were debating their cause before *Henry* at *Calais*, where, at length, a project of a peace was signed, satisfactory to both parties. But the news arriving that admiral *Bonivet* had taken *Fontarabia*, the imperialists would hear of nothing unless this city was restored. If the admiral had followed his instructions, there had been no room for any dispute, since he was directed to demolish the place as soon as he was master of it; but he was so fond of his new conquest, and had such an ascendancy over the mind of his master, that the restitution of it was rejected, which cost *France* a war of thirty-eight years, and such an expence of blood and treasure, as brought her to the very brink of destruction^s. Before the end of the campaign the emperor took *Tournay*^t. In *Italy*, all things A. D. 1521. took a wrong turn: pope *Leo*, after embarrassing the *French* by his intrigues, at length declared openly against them, and joined his troops to those of the imperialists, in order to restore *Francis Sforza* to the duchy of *Milan*. *Lautrec*, who left his charge to go to court in order to solicit money, was persuaded into a belief that it would be sent after him. But the profusion of the king and his mother absorbed all that was produced by the funds assigned for that purpose; so that for want of pay the *Swiss* deserted, and the greatest part of the duchy, and even the city, of *Milan* fell into the hands of the enemy. The joy conceived at this extraordinary success, and the prospect of seeing the *French* driven out of *Italy* in another campaign, so hurried the spirits of *Leo* the tenth, that he fell into a fever, of which he died,

^p PETRUS DE ANGLER. Epist.
LAY. MEZ.

^q Annales de France.

^r Memoires DU BELLAY. DUPLEIX.

^s POLYD. VIRG. HAL.

^t Memoires DU BEL-

which might have been of great advantage to the *French* in *Italy*, if those who commanded a their forces in that country had been in a condition to improve any advantage ^a. But, thro' the intrigues then reigning at court, this was not to be done.

More misfortunes which produce inquiries, and these, instead of remedies, acts of injustice.

THE forces of the pope, the emperor, and the duke of *Milan*, commanded by *Prosper Colonna*, were by their successes become inferior to those of the viscount *de Lautrec*, who had been joined by a large body of *Swiss*, and, therefore, *Prosper*, to avoid a battle, had intrenched himself at *Bicoque*, which was an old country seat, with a park and gardens well walled and fenced. Here he intrenched himself strongly; but, in all probability, he must have been forced to surrender with his whole army, if *Lautrec* had been suffered to pursue his own scheme of cutting off the enemies provisions, and prevented their retreat. But the *Swiss*, confiding in their numbers and courage, insisted that the *French* general should either give them their pay, or put an end to the campaign, by attacking the enemy in their posts. As he had no money, he was obliged to do what they would have him, and accordingly attempted to force the enemy in their lines, which, though performed with all the bravery imaginable, yet terminated in the loss of the best officers in his army, and about three thousand *Swiss*, who, being much dispirited, left him, and retired into their own country ^b. *Prosper Colonna*, having recovered the superiority, pushed the *French* so effectually, that, before the close of the campaign, the citadel of *Milan*, *Novara*, *Pisighitone*, and the castle of *Genoa*, for the city was surprized, were all the *French* had left ^c. The news of these misfortunes made a strong impression on the *French* court, and occasioned an enquiry into their causes. *Lautrec* insisted, that his not being supplied with money, according to the assurances he received, was the sole source of all this misfortune. Upon this, *de Baune Semblansai*, who had the direction of the finances, was called upon to know what became of the money. He alleged, and very truly, that madame d'*Angoulesme*, the king's mother, had received it, and appealed to acquittances, which she had given him for it. But those acquittances were not to be found; *Gentil*, who was his deputy, and who had an amour with one of the duchess's ladies of honour, had stolen and delivered them up. This drew the process into a great length; but, in the end, *de Baune Semblansai*, an honest venerable old man, whom the king himself had not been ashamed to stile father, was hanged as a public plunderer, and a false accuser ^d. *Gentil*, for his good service, was promoted to be president of parliament; but, all in good time, met with his proper preferment, that of the gallows. These proceedings did not at all contribute to restore the face of affairs, which, on the contrary, grew every day worse and worse ^e, through the unbounded progress of corruption.

Henry VIII. being solicited for succours, instead of granting them, declares war against France.

A. D. 1522.

AT this time cardinal *Wolsey* was entirely at the devotion of the emperor *Charles*, who replaced the great pensions given him by *Francis*, and many considerable presents besides; in order to merit which, he induced his master to act a very extraordinary part. King *Francis*, on the first suspicion of his change, sent to king *Henry*, under his great seal, an exemplification of the treaty subsisting between them, a long detail of the injuries he had suffered from the emperor, and a pressing demand of the succours stipulated by the treaty; in answer to which, *Henry* sent a herald to declare war; and, in the month of *July*, debarked a body of *English* troops at *Calais*, commanded by the earl of *Surry* ^e. This invasion did not produce any great effects; for, after lying about six weeks before *Hesdin*, they were obliged to raise the siege, and suffered considerably in their retreat; yet, in its consequences, this diversion was extremely fatal to the affairs of *France*. The king found himself so exceedingly distressed for money, that, by the advice of chancellor *du Prat*, he had recourse to the most destructive methods of raising it, such as mortgaging his domain, creating offices, merely to set them to sale, and many other expedients of a like nature ^b. Towards the close of the year the castle of *Genoa* was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The important island of *Rhodes* fell this year into the hands of the *Turks*, in consequence of the war amongst the great powers of Christendom, and of the league formed by the pope, the emperor, the king of *England*, the archduke of *Austria*, the duke of *Milan*, the republic of *Venice*, the state of *Florence*, and that of *Genoa* against the *French* ^c, the loss of which island was irreparable ^f.

The constable Bourbon leaves France and enters into the emperor's service.

THE *Spaniards* had blocked up *Fontarabia*, from the time it had fallen into the hands of the *French*, and *James Daillon*, *Sieur du Lude*, had defended it with great spirit and success for near a year, till the marshal *de Chabannes* arrived with an army, and constrained the enemy to raise the siege. This raised the credit of the king's arms; and his affairs might have taken a more favourable turn, if his mother the duchess of *Angoulesme*, who had hitherto persecuted the constable, by drawing on him continual mortifications, had not changed her battery, and commenced a suit against him for his whole estate, which was, in all respects, the most con-

^a BELCAR. THUANUS. DUPLEIX.

^y DU TILLET.

POLYD. VIRG.

² DUPL IX.

^c HALL. DUPLEIX.

^w BELCAR. P. DAN.

^x HOLINSH. Memoires de Louisa de Savoye.

^x Memoires DU BELLAY. MEZ.

^b P. DAN.

- a considerable that any subject possessed in France^d. The constable was a person of great abilities, determined courage, of a high spirit, strong resentment, and had very great connections. When, therefore, he saw his ruin determined, he entered into a correspondence with the emperor, the king of *England*, and the rest of the confederates; and finding this discovered, retired privately, and went into the emperor's service^e. (C). The desertion of such a person occasioned a general consternation; and though there did not immediately happen any insurrection, as was generally expected, yet it had a very bad influence on affairs, and excited such jealousies, that, for the present, the king was forced to suspend the sending succours, as he designed, into *Italy*, which cost him the few places that were yet held, the commanders of which thought it very excusable to surrender upon tolerable terms, and before they were reduced to such distress as should put it out of their power to expect any terms at all. At length, when it was in a manner too late, the king resolved to send a numerous army into *Italy*, though by this very step he exposed the rest of his dominions to the most imminent peril, and his subjects to distress and danger, even in his capital^f.

- b CARDINAL *Wolsey* was exceedingly displeased with the emperor, upon the election of *Adrian* the sixth to the papacy; and could not believe that he, who had been the emperor's preceptor, and at the very time of his election at the head of the administration in *Spain*, could be chosen, as *Charles* would have it believed, without his interposition or assistance; however, as he was very old, and the emperor still continued his pensions and assurances, the cardinal persisted in his plan, entered into the intrigue with the constable, and concerted a new invasion of *France*, in conjunction with *Charles*, in both capacities of emperor and king of *Spain*; and

^d Histoire de Francis I. BRICAR. DU TILLET.

^e MEZ. P. DANIEL. STOWE. HOLINSHED.

^f DUPLEIX.

(C) The death of *Susanna*, duchess of *Bourbon*, April 28, 1521, at the age of thirty, opened the way to those troubles, which compelled, or at least induced, the constable to quit his country, and to enter into the service of the emperor; an affair of such consequence to the *French* history, that it deserves to be particularly considered. *Madame*, the king's mother, was about the age of forty-five, and was still, at least in her own opinion, handsome; the constable was about two-and-thirty. She caused it to be insinuated, on the one hand, to *Bourbon*, what mighty advantages he would reap from the marriage, in case he consented to it; and on the other hand, she gave her son to understand, that she had his interest greatly in view, since, as there was no appearance of issue by this marriage, the vast estates of the house of *Bourbon*, on the death of the constable, would revert to the crown. *Francis*, either seeing the thing in this light, or out of an earnest desire of obliging his mother, pressed the constable all he could to forget the many mortifications he had received, and to espouse *Madame*. The constable not only rejected absolutely all these offers, but likewise gave some disobliging reasons for his distaste, which the king took highly amiss. The duchess of *Angoulême* being provoked beyond all measure, and ascribing the constable's aversion to the insinuations of *Anne*, duchess dowager of *Bourbon*, his mother-in-law, who, notwithstanding the death of her daughter, without leaving any child living, had confirmed, as far as it was in her power, all the cessions made in favour of the marriage, resolved to attack the family settlements, and strip the constable of his vast estates. These consisted chiefly in the duchies of *Bourbonnois* and *Auvergne*, and the counties of *Montpensier*, *Clermont*, and *Forez*, some of which, it was pretended, reverted to the crown upon the death of *Peter*, duke of *Bourbon*, the last heir of the eldest line; and the rest, in virtue of old family settlements, ought to descend to *Madame*, as the cousin and heiress of the late duchess *Susanna*. At the accession of *Lewis* the twelfth, this matter had been stirred, the duchess *Anne* was inclined to marry her daughter to the duke of *Alençon*; and, though she had no great reason to expect that monarch's favour, whom she had imprisoned while duke of *Orléans*, yet, knowing that the best part of her husband's estates would revert to him, she requested a new grant in favour of that marriage; but the king told her, that *Charles*, count of *Montpensier*, was the heir male of the family; and that, in prudence as well

as justice, she ought to give her daughter to him; in which case, he was ready to do all that she desired. Upon this, *Susanna* was given to the constable, then count of *Montpensier*, and, by the marriage contract, they made reciprocal renunciations of their respective rights in favour of each other, and to the longer liver: it was the cession of *Lewis* the twelfth that was attacked as prejudicial to the crown, and this marriage contract as inconsistent with the old family settlements. All writers agree, that the duchess of *Angoulême*'s pretensions were unfounded; however, after a long process, her influence was so great, that she obtained from the parliament a sequestration of the lands in question, by which the constable was to be turned out of possession; this, with the death of his mother-in-law, the duchess *Anne*, daughter to *Lewis* the eleventh, threw him into despair, and induced him to send *Adrian de Croi*, count de *Rieux*, to offer his services to the emperor, who accepted them with great joy, and sent immediately his secretary *Beaurain* to the constable, to whom he offered his sister *Eiconora*, queen-dowager of *Portugal*, with a portion of two hundred thousand crowns, and to declare her sole heiress of the house of *Austria*, in case himself and his brother the archduke *Ferdinand* died without issue. He further offered to receive him into the league concluded with the king of *England*, and directed that it should be communicated to him. In the mean time, the king had intelligence in general terms of the intrigue, upon which he took *Moulins*, where the constable was in his way on his march into *Italy*. He found him in bed, for he pretended sickness, to avoid attending the king in that expedition; and, having frankly told him what informations he had received, added that he supposed the law-suit had rendered him a male-content, and he did not wonder at it; but assured him, that, if the cause was determined against him, he would restore him his estates. The constable made no difficulty of owning that he had treated with the emperor, thanked the king for his kindness, and promised to follow him to *Lyons*, and began his journey accordingly in a litter, but turned off upon the road; and, by the assistance of *Pomperant*, made his escape; but with great difficulty, to *Trent*, of which, as soon as *Charles* the fifth had notice, he declared him his lieutenant general in *Italy*. The discovery of his intrigues hindered *Francis* from going that year, in person, into that country, and threw the command into the hands of the admiral *Bonivet*.

this

this was so well concerted, that it seemed scarce possible their design should miscarry ^a, as the emperor *Charles* sent a corps of troops through the *Franche Compté* into *Burgundy*, where they appeared very unexpectedly, and did a great deal of mischief; but they were at length compelled to retire, by the prudent conduct of the count *de Guise*, and by their disappointment in not meeting with the assistance they expected from the constable, who, if he had been able to remain in *France* till his schemes were ripe, had, without question, reduced the monarchy as low as it had ever been, even in the days of *Charles* the seventh. An *English* army of about fifteen thousand men, under the command of the duke of *Suffolk*, debarked at *Calais*, and was quickly joined by the count *de Bure*, with the like number of the emperor's troops, in quality of duke of *Burgundy*. The *French* having no army to oppose them, they made
A. D. 1523. themselves masters of *Bray sur Somme*, took *Mondidier*, burnt *Roye*, and came within eleven leagues of *Paris*; but by that time *Francis* had sent a good body of troops from *Lyons*, under the command of the duke *de Vendosme*, upon which the allies retired; and, by the address of *Monfieur la Trimouille*, were obliged to abandon their design of taking up winter quarters in *France*. The emperor came, in person, into the kingdom of *Navarre*, caused his troops to invest *Fontarabia*, but suddenly, as if he had changed his design, though, in truth, he had only concealed it, ordered his forces to pass the mountains, and besieged *Bayonne*, into which *Lautrec* had thrown himself with a small body of troops. The *Spaniards* attacked it both by land and sea, and for four days successively, but without effect; so that, after ravaging the adjacent country, they raised the siege and retired ^b. It is true, that the enemies of *France* were every-where disappointed; but it is no less true that *France* was insulted on every side, the country ravaged, and the people ruined. The admiral *Bonivet*, with fifteen hundred men at arms, six thousand *French* foot, as many *Lansquenets*, and fifteen thousand *Swiss*, entered *Italy*, recovered so much of the *Milanese* as lies on this side the *Tessin*, relieved *Cremona*, that is, the castle, the only place that held for them, which, all the officers being dead, was defended by eight private men ^c. By this means an establishment was again made, the king's hopes were raised, and thereby a new fund settled for producing fresh miseries to that kingdom, which had already suffered so often and so deeply by these *Italian* expeditions.

Cardinal de
Medicis suc-
ceeds Adrian
VI. and assumes
the title of
Clement VII.

THE desire as well as the need the emperor had of recovering *Fontarabia*, induced him to send the constable of *Castile* and the prince of *Orange* to make an attempt upon it, tho' they had very little hopes of succeeding. The name of the governor was *Frauget*; he had a good garrison, every thing requisite for the defence of the place, and the example of *Mr. du Lude*, who had defended the place for more than a year without any of these advantages; but, being tempted by the offer of good terms, and being a man of no great abilities, for as to his courage it was never suspected, he surrendered the place, for which he was called to an account, and sentenced to be degraded, tho' the fault was not so much his as those who had intrusted him ^d. In *Italy*, admiral *Bonivet* was constrained to act on the defensive, which he performed for some time; but at length, finding himself disappointed of the succours he expected, seeing most of the places taken into which he had put garrisons, and being constrained to make the best retreat he could, his army suffered extremely: amongst those who fell was *Peter du Ferrail*, more famous by the title of the chevalier *de Baiard*, to whom the whole *French* nation in his life-time, and all historians since his decease, added this surname, or rather character, *Sans Peur et sans Reproche*, that is, *without fear and without reproach*. He was one of the worthiest, as well as one of the bravest men of his age, and one of the ablest officers in *France*; yet he never rose higher than to be captain of a troop of gens d'arms, which is ascribed to his great probity, and his despising the arts of a court. By the end of *April*, the *French* army had repassed the mountains, having not been able to preserve so much as a single castle in the *Milanese* ^e. *Adrian* the sixth being dead, cardinal *de Medicis* was advanced to the see of *Rome*, by the title of *Clement* the seventh, and would have laid hold of this opportunity to conclude a peace: with that view he sent his legate into *England*, where he might have succeeded, if it had not been for *Wolsey*, who yet did not oppose it because he disliked the measure, or thought the conjuncture improper, but because he was resolved the pope should have nothing to do in it, and with a view of having himself the merit of it with king *Francis*, and the reputation with all *Europe* ^f.

The king's af-
fairs take a
prosperous turn
upon which he
makes a new
expedition into
Italy.

HOWEVER, he represented for the present to his master, that he had a favourable opportunity of humbling *France* for ever, by dividing it into two kingdoms, and having, at least, one of the princes for his feudatory. A treaty accordingly was concluded on this plan, in favour of the constable of *Bourbon*, to whom the king furnished money, the emperor troops, and himself the hopes of a great revolt, as soon as he should appear with a force sufficient to

^a HALL HOLINSH HERBERT. MEZ.
PETRUS DE ANGLER. Epist.
getis in Italie. P. DAN.

^b MEZ. HALL.

^c GUICCIARD.

^d DUPLEIX.

^e Histoire du Chevalier Baiard, Memoires DU BELLAY. Capella de rebus.

^f GUICCIARD. HERBERT. HOLINSH.

- a protect his adherents. His own scheme was to march directly to *Lyons*, and thence into the provinces where his estates lay, fully persuaded that most of his vassals would join him. But the emperor, who furnished him both with an army and a fleet, insisted that he should enter *Provence*, and besiege *Marseilles*, which he at length consented to do, because he could not do otherwiseⁿ. He passed the mountains in the midst of summer, reduced *Antibes*, *Frejus*, *Grasse*, without a stroke, *Brignolles* after a short resistance, upon which *Aix* and *Toulon* submitted. By the middle of *August* he appeared before *Marseilles*, and besieged it forty days; but when he had made a breach, and commanded the troops to make an assault, they refused to obey, chiefly through the jealousy of the marquis of *Pescaro*; so that, after all, hearing that the king was in full march to its relief, he was constrained to raise the siege, and to retire into
- b *Italy*^o. If *Francis* had been content with his good fortune, he might have repaired his past disgraces, and have made an honourable peace. But, being at the head of between thirty and forty thousand men, and having most of the princes of his blood and the great lords about him, he proposed, by the advice of admiral *Bonivet*, that they should pass the mountains likewise, and recover the duchy of *Milan*, which, though contrary to the advice of the wiser A. D. 1524. and better part of his officers, was resolved and executed, because it was his pleasure^p. He left his mother, as before, regent in his absence, though the expedition was much against her will, and he had even altered his route to avoid seeing her, for fear her arguments might dissuade him. He met with all the success he could expect, made himself master of *Milan*, and the greatest part of the country, engaged the Pope to quit his alliance with the emperor, and that
- c he might drive his enemies at once out of that part of the country, besieged *Pavia*, though it was winter, and his own army stood in much need of rest and refreshment^q.

THE city of *Pavia* was in itself strong by situation, well fortified, had in it a very strong garrison of *Spanish* and *German* foot, commanded by *Antonio de Leva*, justly esteemed one of the bravest men and one of the best captains in the emperor's service. It must, however, be allowed, that the king did not want as gallant and as experienced officers in his army; perhaps he had but too many, as may be gathered from his changing the manner of his attack more than once, which was one great cause of the length of the siege. It is, however, certain, that, tho' very plausible reasons might be assigned for them, yet the king committed several, and some say great, mistakes in the conduct of this siege, in which he plainly departed from his first principle, which was the importance of taking *Pavia*, a point that ought to have been thoroughly considered before he invested it, and never drawn into question afterwards. He first of all detached the marquis of *Saluces*, to carry on the war on the side of *Genoa*, which he did with great prudence and success; but this no way compensated the absence of that corps of troops which he commanded. After this, by the advice of the Pope, who, it is very probable, gave him this advice with good intention, he made another detachment of six hundred men at arms, a proportionable number of light horse, and four thousand foot, to make a diversion in the kingdom of *Naples*, which, it was supposed, would draw the imperial army, under the command of the viceroy *Lannoy*, out of the *Milanese*; which it was very near doing, but did not^r. The duke of *Bourbon* brought twelve thousand *Germans*, hired with his own and with the emperor's money, to the camp of the enemy, by which their army was rendered superior to the king's. *Francis*, as soon as he was informed of this, recalled the duke of *Albany*; but receiving afterwards a reinforcement of *Swiss* and *Grisons*, countermanded those orders^s.

THE enemy had their difficulties; the place was reduced to the last extremity, the bulk of the garrison consisted of *Germans*, they had mutinied for want of pay, and the governor, *Antonio de Leva*, was so distressed by them, that it was suspected he had poisoned their general, as the only means to prevent their giving up the place. The difficulties were as great or greater in the army, where the foreign troops were ready to mutiny every hour for want of pay. This induced the viceroy, the marquis de *Pescara*, and the duke of *Bourbon*, first to make an attempt upon *Milan*, in which *la Trimouille* had a good garrison, and, if they missed taking the place, to attack the king in his camp^t. *Francis* was aware of this, and had deliberated more than once how his affairs were to be conducted; his best officers were clearly of opinion, that he ought to raise the siege, and to take the properest methods for refreshing and augmenting his army. Pope *Clement*, whose interest was now become the same with the king's, gave the like advice to his minister at *Rome*. The king thought his honour at stake; and that, having besieged *Pavia*, he could not rise from before it without disgrace. On this occasion, *Trimouille* laid down a short and decisive maxim, that the point of honour in war is success; and that no reasons can ever justify a defeat. He shewed him, that in fighting he risked all his army, his person, and even his kingdom; that in raising the siege he risked nothing; and, his own circumstances, and those of his enemies considered, was sure of success.

ⁿ Acta Publica, DUPLEIX, MEZ.^o PETRUS DE ANGLER. Epist.^p Memoires du BELLAY,

P. DAN.

^q DUPLEIX, DU TILLET, LE GEND.^r PETRUS DE Angler. Epist. MEZ.^s GUICCI.^t Annales de France.

But the admiral *Bonivet* undertook to dispose his forces in such a manner as should infallibly reduce the place, and in which the enemy durst not attack; and this *Francis* approved^a. Others assert the king had written to one of his mistresses, that he would return to her after taking *Pavia*; and that this silly motive determined him to risk all, rather than raise the siege^{*}. Be that as it will, he soon saw, or at least might have seen, reasons sufficient to alter his resolution. The *Grisons* in his camp were recalled to defend their own country; he was constrained to bring almost all the troops that were in *Milan* into his lines, which when he had fortified with all possible care, the generals of the emperor's army resolved to attack, sure, if they gained a victory, to relieve *Pavia*, and recover the duchy of *Milan*; and as sure, that, if they did not attempt this, their army would crumble and drop to pieces of itself. In this, therefore, they acted wisely, and took that advantage of *Francis* which he might have taken of them.

The battle of Pavia, in which Francis was defeated and taken prisoner.

On the 24th of *February*, the feast of *St. Matthias*, and the emperor's birth-day, they attacked the castle and park of *Merabel*, in which the king's rear-guard was posted, under the command of the duke of *Alençon*, which they thought themselves secure of carrying, in case the king did not advance to its relief, and, if he did, he must lose the advantage of those works which both he and they considered as impregnable. The armies were pretty equal, and made together near fifty thousand men. What they expected came to pass; the king no sooner saw his brother attacked and in danger, than he marched to his assistance^{*}. At the beginning, the advantage was on the side of the *French*, arising chiefly from the smart fire of their artillery, well posted, and well served; the *Spanish* infantry, unable to sustain it, began to give way. The king, to improve this good fortune, marched to attack them through a hollow way; but, being between them and his batteries, he lost the benefit of his artillery; and, the viceroy marching with his gens d'armes, and a good body of foot to sustain them, he was himself very soon in great distress. His own horse failed in their duty; the *Swiss*, contrary to custom, gave way^y. The king behaved with great intrepidity, and *Francis* of *Lorraine*, brother to the duke, and *Richard de la Pole*, the last of the house of *Suffolk*, who had brought up the *Lansquenets* to his assistance, were killed by his side; the admiral *de Bonivet* had the same fate, and was not at all regretted; *Galeas de St. Severin*, master of the horse, and another of the same name, great master of the household, were slain at the same time and in the same place, where fell also the great *Lewis de la Trimouille*, at the age of seventy-five; the marshal *de Foix*, and the bastard of *Savoy*, covered with wounds, were taken prisoners, and died in a few days^z. The count *de St. Pol* fell at the king's feet, and was taken up for dead by a *Spaniard*, who had a mind to a ring upon his finger, which attempting to cut off, he revived, and afterwards recovered. The king, having killed five with his own hand before he fell from his horse, and two after he rose from the ground, surrendered himself at length to the viceroy *Lannoy*. The *French* lost between nine and ten thousand men in the field, and, amongst them, a multitude of persons of distinction, besides those before-mentioned; the king of *Navarre*, and many others of the first rank were taken^a.

The sad condition of France.

We must now turn our eyes to *France*, in order to see what passed there after this misfortune, the news of which was sent through that kingdom to *Spain*, by the viceroy of *Naples*; the person charged with the dispatches having a safe conduct from king *Francis*: he wrote also to the regent by the same conveyance; and as, under such circumstances, the reader may be desirous to see what the king wrote, we will transcribe his epistle, which contained only these words, "Madam, our honour excepted, we have lost all^b." The duchess of *Angoulême* found herself excessively embarrassed on all sides, the kingdom being without a monarch, without forces, without officers, without resources, without allies, and surrounded by enemies on every side. The *Flemish* troops were making continual inroads; many thousand boors, inspired by an unaccountable enthusiasm, were assembling in *Alsace*, in order to make an irruption; so much the more to be apprehended, as it was equally impossible to find means to prevent or to repel it. *Henry* the eighth had assembled a great army, and seemed to be on the point of embarking them for an invasion; and, as if all this had not been enough to distract and overwhelm her, there was a party in the kingdom who had formed a design of dispossessing her of the regency, in order to confer it upon the duke of *Vendôme*^c. It happened very fortunately for her and for *France*, that this prince, who, after the constable, was the head of the house of *Bourbon*, was so generous as to forget, not only the injuries that had been done his family, but his interests. He went himself to *Lyons*, to assure the regent that he had no views but for her service, and that of his country; upon which she formed a council of the ablest heads in the kingdom, and of this she made him president^d. The famous *Andrew Doria* sailed with the *French* galleys, to take on board the poor remains of the *French* troops, under the duke of *Alva*, whom he landed safely in *France*. Those who escaped out of the *Milanese* found also their way back as soon and as well as they could: the duke of *Alençon* broke his

^a MEZ. P. DAN.

^w Mémoires de BRANTOME.

^x Annales de France.

^y J. DE SERRES.

^z P. DAN.

^a SANDOVAL, MEZ.

^b ANTONIO DE VERA Hist. de Charles V.

^c Mémoires

DU BELLAY.

^d J. DE SERRES.

heart,

- a heart, on account of the reproaches cast upon him for his behaviour at the battle of *Pavia*; the marquis of *Saluces*, though he lost his country, preserved his credit and his troops intire^c. *Henry* the eighth, under the influence of *Wolsey*, acted a very singular part; he resolved not to oppress the oppressed, assured the regent that she had nothing to fear from him; and at the same time advised her to consent to no treaty by which *France* was to be dismembered: but he used another language to the emperor; he gave him to understand that the time was now come when this puissant monarchy lay at their mercy; and, therefore, insisted that so fair an opportunity should not be let slip; that, for his part, he would content himself with *Normandy*, *Guienne*, and *Gascony*, and hoped the empire would make no scruple of owning him for king of *France*, adding, he expected the emperor should make a right use of his victory, by entering
- b *Guienne* in person, with a numerous army, in which case he was ready to bear half the expences of the war. He foresaw what fell out; the emperor was alarmed at these conditions, did not care to have him for a neighbour; and, therefore, agreed to a truce with the regent for six months; and, to shew how little solicitous he was about the friendship of *England*, he negotiated a marriage for himself with the king of *Portugal's* sister, notwithstanding he was bound by treaties to marry the princess *Mary*, *Henry's* daughter^f. This gave the king the occasion he wanted, and, on the 30th of *August*, he signed three treaties with the *French* plenipotentiaries (D). In *Picardy*, the *Flemings* were repulsed; and the count *de Guise*, with the duke of *Lorraine*, had the good fortune, with a handful of troops, to defeat and cut to pieces the *German* peasants. Let us now return to king *Francis* in his confinement, of which we shall
- c treat more succinctly, as we have had occasion to consider it already in another place; our business here being to continue the personal history of king *Francis*.

THE king was no sooner taken, than the great officers of the emperor's army began to make their court to him; and, as might be expected, were well received. The duke of *Bourbon*, indeed, found some difficulty; but at length the king saw and conversed, and, some writers say, was reconciled to him^g. Amongst them all, the marquis *de Pescara* was the best received; instead of going, as the rest did, in great splendor, he appeared in mourning, affected so deep a concern, and treated the king with such profound respect, that *Francis* could not refuse his good graces to this lord, esteemed one of the greatest captains, one of the ablest statesmen, but withal the most artificial man in the world^h. While in the castle of *Pisigbitone*,

d *Francis* had proposed to the emperor, that, to purchase his liberty, he would renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples*, and to the duchy of *Milan*, relinquish the homage due to him for the counties of *Artois* and *Flanders*, concur in reducing under his obedience whatever

^c GUICC. DUPLEIX.^f LEONARD, DU TIL. Memoires DE BELLAY, HOLINSH. HERBERT.^g DU TIL.^h Memoires de BRANTOME, tom. i.

(D) There were in all five treaties signed at *Moore*, on the 30th of *August*, 1525. The first contained a defensive league between *France* and *England*, against all powers, spiritual, or temporal, that should invade either of the two kingdoms. The allies of the two kings were included, by name, in the league, with the limitation that this article was not to be understood of those who had usurped any thing upon either of the two principal contractors, since the league concluded at *London*, *October* the 1st, 1518. Hence the emperor, who had lately conquered the duchy of *Milan*, was excluded. Besides, *Henry* engaged to use his best endeavours to procure the liberty of *Francis*. The second treaty concerned the payment of the sums due to *Henry* from the king of *France*, viz. 1. By a treaty of the 7th of *August*, 1515, one million of crowns of gold. 2. By another of the 12th of *January*, 1518, for restitution of *Tournay*, five hundred thousand crowns of gold. 3. By another of the same date, twenty-three thousand livres *Tournois*. 4. By another of *November* 13th, 1520, four hundred sixty-two thousand crowns. For all these sums the regent bound herself, in the king her son's name, to pay *Henry* two millions of crowns of gold, of thirty-five pence *Tournois* each, which, being reduced to crowns *de Soleil*, of thirty-eight pence, amounted to the sum of eighteen hundred and ninety-four thousand seven hundred thirty-six pounds and thirty-two pence, *Tournois*. This sum was to be paid at several times; viz. forty-seven thousand three hundred sixty crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, the like sum on the first of *November*, and the same every six months, till the whole was paid. This made, in all, forty payments, consequently the whole sum must be paid in twenty years. It was farther agreed by the same treaty, that if *Henry* died before he

had received the two millions, the arrears were to be paid to his heirs and successors; but, in case he outlived the payment of the whole, he should receive, during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns, to cease at his death. To secure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to swear to it solemnly before the *English* ambassadors and *Francis* the first was to ratify and swear to it immediately after his return into *France*. Besides, *Henry* had for security the cardinal of *Bourbon*, the dukes of *Vendosme* and *Longueville*, the earls of *St. Paul*, *Maulevrier*, *Brienne*, the lords of *Montmorency*, *Lautrec*, and *Breze*, the cities of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Toulouse*, *Amiens*, *Bordeaux*, *Tours*, and *Rheims*. It must be observed, that in the sum of two millions of crowns due to *Henry*, there was no deduction of what he had received from *Francis* the first, from the year 1515 to their rupture. This was all the advantage *Henry* made, which was not very great, considering how little punctual the king of *France* was in his payments. By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to *Mary*, *Henry's* sister, queen-dowager of *France*, all the arrears of her dowry at several payments; namely, five thousand crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, and a like sum every six months, till the whole was discharged. Moreover, she promised to let her enjoy her dowry for the future. There was also a fourth treaty, which ran, that the king of *Scotland* should be reckoned in the number of the allies of *France*; but on condition the *Scots* committed no act of hostility against *England*, after the twenty-fifth of *December* next. Lastly, by a fifth treaty, it was agreed, that the court of *France* should consent, neither directly nor indirectly, that the duke of *Albany* should return into *Scotland* during the minority of *James* the fifth.

Charles

Wearied of
confinement in
Italy, he con-
sents to go to
Spain, and
falls ill there
of grief.

A. D. 1525.

Signs the
treaty of Ma-
drid.

Charles claimed in *Italy*, furnish an army and a fleet as often as the emperor should go in that quality into that country, and, lastly, as he was now a widower, would espouse the queen-dowager of *Portugal*, *Charles's* elder sister, accepting the duchy of *Burgundy* as her dowry, which should pass to the children of that marriage¹. These propositions were scornfully rejected by the emperor, who treated the titles to *Milan* and *Naples* with contempt, insinuated that he stood in no need of the king's assistance, and insisted that he could not consider, as a ransom, yielding those things to which he had an incontestable right. On the other hand, the terms he proposed were, that *Francis* should make a cession of the duchy of *Burgundy*, purely and simply give *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and the *Lyonnois*, to the duke of *Bourbon*, without the reservation of any homage, to be erected into a kingdom; and should likewise give satisfaction to the *English*; to which *Francis* answered he would first die in a prison^k. In the mean time there appeared no small difficulty in keeping him there. The princes of *Italy* began to cabal for his deliverance; and if the Pope had not been frightened into paying the imperialists money, but, on the contrary, had employed it in levying *Swiss* troops, the face of affairs had been quickly changed. To carry him from *Genoa* to *Naples*, by sea, was unsafe, because of the *French* fleet; to carry him by land more difficult, since the princes of *Italy* might easily have rescued him: but the viceroy *Lannoy* removed all these obstacles, by persuading them to make it his own choice to go to *Spain* on board his own galleys, manned by *Spaniards*, on a supposition that, when he came to treat directly with the emperor, face to face, all difficulties would be removed. This was done in the midst of *June*; but at his arrival in *Spain* he found himself miserably deceived, in being confined in the castle of *Madrid*, without so much as seeing the emperor; at length, falling sick of grief, the emperor, fearing to lose all by his death, went to visit and to comfort him^l. His beloved sister, the duchess of *Alençon*, who was in all respects one of the most amiable women of that age, came to console, and at the same time to counsel him. She, in a short time, had so many lovers, and so many creatures in the emperor's court, that he knew not how to act; and, by her advice, the king seemed to give up all, instructing her, at her return, to cause the dauphin to be proclaimed king, and to abandon him, rather than his people, to distress and misery. But under all this were couched a variety of intrigues, for the king's escape, reviving the war in *Italy*, and for depriving *Charles* of his own kingdom, and giving it to his own general, the marquis de *Pescara*; contrivances which so amazed the emperor, though himself a deep politician, that he took a resolution of causing her to be arrested the very day her safe conduct expired, which when she had defeated by travelling night and day, and he heard of the king of *Navarre's* escape out of the castle of *Pavia*, he determined to make an end of the treaty, by obliging *Francis* to purchase his liberty upon as high terms as possible^m: in which he acted contrary to the advice of the wisest of his council, who foresaw that all the advantages would be defeated, and the resentment remain.

At the entrance of the year this great affair was adjusted, the treaty bearing date at *Madrid*ⁿ, on the 14th of *January*; it was in all respects as advantageous to the emperor, as disastrous to the king, and as prejudicial to the *French* nation as it well could be (E). Those who say that the king's patience was tired out, and that he was determined to gain his liberty at any rate, which he might have done upon much easier terms, if he could have brought himself to bear his captivity with patience, do much more credit to him and to those who advised him, than such as pretend not barely to excuse, but to vindicate his conduct, which certainly was very irregular as well as extraordinary. He protested before certain notaries and witnesses, whom he could trust before he signed it, that what he did was against his will, under a force; and therefore null and void. A month after the signing the treaty, during all which time he remained as close a prisoner as before, the viceroy of *Naples* came into his chamber just as an ague-fit

¹ FERR. MEZ. P. DAN.

^k SANDOV. ANTONIO DE YERA.

^l Memoires Du BELLAY, GUIC.

^m SANDOV.

ⁿ DU TIL. P. DAN.

(E) The principal articles of this treaty, so much exclaimed against, were these: That the king of *France* should marry queen *Leonora*, the emperor's sister, and have with her two hundred thousand crowns of gold. That *Francis* should be released on the 10th of *March*, and the same day should deliver to the emperor his two sons in hostage. That he should resign to the emperor the duchy of *Burgundy*, in full sovereignty. That he should desist from the homage the emperor owed him for *Flanders* and *Artois*. That he should renounce all claim to *Naples*, *Milan*, *Asti*, *Tournay*, *Lisie*, and *Hesdin*, &c. That he should persuade *Henry d'Albret* to resign the kingdom of *Navarre* to the emperor, or at least should give him no assistance. That within forty days he should restore the duke of *Bourbon* and all his

party to their estates. That he should restore *Philibert de Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, and *Michael Antonio de Saluzzo*, to their principalities. That he should give no sort of assistance to the duke of *Gueldres*, and, after that prince's death, should use his best endeavours to cause his towns to fall into the emperor's lands. That he should pay the king of *England* five hundred thousand crowns which the emperor owed him. That when the emperor went to *Italy* to receive the imperial crown, he should lend him twelve galleys, four large ships, and a land army; or two hundred thousand crowns instead of the army. Lastly, he promised, upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all these articles; or, in case of non-performance, to return prisoner into *Spain*.

left

- a left him, and told him he was come to espouse him, as proxy for the queen-dowager *Eleanor*, though that princess was then within a few miles of *Madrid*; the emperor afterwards conducted him to see his future spouse; and, after the visit, sent him back to his prison, notwithstanding the great repugnance he expressed^o. On the 21st of *February*, after exacting from his own mouth the strongest assurances that he would adhere literally to the treaty, under pretence of conducting him a little way on the road, the emperor took leave of him, and sent him under a strong guard to the frontiers: there he was exchanged against his two eldest sons, put into the hands of the *Spaniards*, without their being suffered to take leave of him^p. The viscount de *Lautrec* received him; and as soon as he set foot into his own dominions, he mounted a fleet *Turkish* horse, and rode full gallop to *St. John de Luz*; there taking a little refreshment, he proceeded with all possible dispatch to *Bayonne*, where he found the regent and the whole court overjoyed at his return^q.

- He immediately signed the bonds stipulated by the treaty, which the regent had made with *Henry* the eighth, and at the same time wrote in the strongest terms to thank that monarch for the share he had in his deliverance^r. He was strongly solicited by the *Spaniards* to ratify the treaty of *Madrid*; but he refused, alleging, that many things were contained therein which regarded his subjects, and it was requisite for him to know their sentiments, and how far it would be in his power to comply with them, before he entered into any fresh engagements. Within the space of two months he entered into the holy league, which was calculated to reduce the emperor's power, to settle the quiet of *Italy*, and to vacate the hardest part of the treaty of *Madrid*^s. In the month of *June* he publicly received remonstrances from the state of *Burgundy*, in which they told him, without ceremony, that he had done what he had no right to do, in breach of the laws, and of his coronation oath; adding, that if he persisted in his resolution of throwing them under a foreign yoke, they must appeal to the general states of the kingdom. He received these remonstrances in a public audience, the viceroy of *Naples* and other *Spanish* ministers present, who, perceiving the end aimed at, expostulated with him in pretty warm terms. At length the viceroy told him, that he had now nothing left but to keep his royal word in returning to the castle of *Madrid*^t, as his predecessor king *John* had done in a like case; to which the king replied, that king *John* did well and right; that he returned to a king, who had used him like a king, and treated with him as a king; but that at *Madrid* he had received such usage as would have been unbecoming to a gentleman; that he had often declared to the emperor's ministers, that the terms they extorted from him were unjust and impracticable; but that he was still willing to do all that was fit and reasonable, and to ransom his sons at the rate of two millions of gold, in lieu of the duchy of *Burgundy*^u.

- HITHERTO the treaty for the tranquillity of *Italy* had been kept secret, in hopes the emperor would have consented to some mitigation of that of *Madrid*; but now, the reason of the thing lying the other way, it was judged most expedient to proclaim it, though the viceroy of *Naples* and the *Spanish* lords were still at the *French* court. It was stiled the Holy League, because the Pope was at the head of it; the king, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, were the contracting parties^w. *Henry* of *England* was admitted in the superior title of *Protector*; it was wholly defensive, and the emperor was at liberty to enter into it, provided he accepted the king's offer of two millions for the release of his children, and left the duke of *Milan*, and the rest of the princes of *Italy*, in quiet possession of their dominions. It is the common misfortune of all leagues, that the powers who enter into them keep their own particular interests in view, and, by endeavouring to accommodate their measures to them, defeat the general end of the confederacy^x. This was the case here. The king's great point was to obtain his children upon the terms he had proposed; and he was desirous of knowing what hopes there were of that before he acted against the monarch who had them in his power. By this slowness the duke of *Milan* and Pope *Clement* were sacrificed. The former was obliged to surrender to the duke of *Bourbon*, and the latter was surprised by the *Colonnas*, both of which would have been prevented, if *French* succours had entered *Italy* in time^y. A. D. 1526.

MARGARET, duchess dowager of *Alençon*, the king's sister, espoused *Henry* the second, king of *Navarre*, and king *Francis* gave his brother hopes of affording him powerful assistance for the recovery of his dominions^z. In the spring, the king sent a splendid embassy, composed of the bishop of *Tarbes*, the viscount de *Turenne*, and the president de *Viste*, to *London*, where they concluded a new treaty^{aa}. But while these negotiations were carrying on, the duke of *Bourbon* sacked *Rome*, and, though he was killed in mounting the breach, his army, under the command of the prince of *Orange*, became masters of the place, and of the person of the Pope. It is by no means clear, that *Bourbon* had the emperor's orders for this expedition;

^o ANTONIO DE VERA.

^p P. DAN.

^q Annales de France.

^r Memoires DU BEL. P. DAN.

^s J. DE SERR. DUP. DU TIL. LE GEND.

^t Annales de France.

^u GUICC.

^w Recueil de

Traites, par LEON.

^x Memoires DU BEL. DU TIL.

^y GUICC. P. DAN.

^z J. DE SERR.

MEZ.

^{aa} Acta Publica.

on the contrary, it seems to have been dictated to him by necessity, his army being become what the companies were in the days of king *John*; and some have suggested, that if he had survived this enterprize, he would have marched into the kingdom of *Naples*, and have either seized it for himself, or have made his peace, by restoring it to the king his master^b. Be that as it will, the news made way for another treaty between the kings of *France* and *England*, by which they engaged to send thirty thousand foot, and a thousand gens d'arms, into *Italy*^c. But before the Pope received any advantage from these stipulations, he was forced to deliver up almost every place of any consequence that was in his possession, agree to pay a ransom of four hundred thousand crowns, and to remain a prisoner till this treaty was executed. At length, in the beginning of the month of *August*, marshal *Lautrec* arrived in the *Milanese*, with a numerous army; the king, about the same time, concluded a third treaty with *Henry*^d. *Genoa* surrendered, and declared once more for *France*; the best part of the *Milanese* was conquered by marshal *Lautrec*, and fairly given up to the duke^e. In *September* there was a fourth treaty concluded with *Henry*, some articles of which are worth the reader's notice. The arms of the confederates prevailed in *Italy*, where, on the second of *October*, marshal *Lautrec* took *Pavia* by assault; and, in the first transports of their fury, the *French* revenged themselves cruelly on that place, for the defeat which they had suffered before it^f. He afterwards passed the *Po*; upon which the duke of *Ferrara* and the marquis of *Mantua* quitted the party of the emperor, and embraced that of the allies. In consequence of this change of affairs, the Pope recovered his liberty, not by treaty, but by stealing out of the castle of *St. Angelo*^g. This year the princess *Renee* was contracted to *Hercules de Este*; and the parliament, after several letters of jussion, registered the letters patents, by which the county of *Guise* was erected into a dukedom and peerage, in favour of *Claude de Lorraine*, brother to the duke of that title^h.

A.D. 1527.

Francis and Charles do same each other.

ACCORDING to the agreement between the two kings, *Francis* and *Henry*, their ambassadors went into *Spain*, attended each of them by a herald, in order to summon the emperor to accept the terms which had been offered him; and, in case of refusal, to declare war. It seems, the emperor's answer was foreseen at the court of *France*; and therefore king *Francis* had previously called together an assembly of the notables, that is, persons of the several ranks of his people, upon whom he could depend, and in whom he could confide; he proposed to them the great question, whether he was bound to perform the treaty of *Madrid*, or whether, if he did not perform it, he was obliged in honour to return to *Spain*ⁱ. That assembly pronounced in favour of the negative on both points; they said, that *Burgundy* was united to the crown of *France*, and that he could not separate it by his own authority; that his person also was the property of the public, of which, therefore, he could not dispose; but, for the two millions, which they looked upon as a just equivalent, they undertook it should be raised for his service^k. When the ambassadors had delivered their proposition, and the heralds had declared their message to the emperor publicly, *Charles*, as we have shewn in another place, treated the *English* herald with respect, and the herald from *France* with contempt, intimating, that *Francis* had broke his word, and that, as he had been before given to understand, there was but one way of ending such disputes between men of honour^l.

New turn of affairs in Italy.

WHEN this was reported to the king, he was extremely angry, sent a challenge to the emperor, conceived in very coarse terms; and when an answer was returned by *Charles*'s herald, refused to hear it, alleging, that his safe conduct was limited to the proposal of a proper field, where they might terminate this quarrel, and, therefore, he would hear him speak to that, and nothing else: if both these princes had not, upon other occasions, given indisputable proofs of their personal courage, this proceeding, which could have no other end than to raise a high opinion of it, would certainly have had a very different effect^m. In *Italy*, *Odet de Foix*, marshal *Lautrec*, reduced all the kingdom of *Naples*, except *Gaeta* and the capital, while *Phillippin Doria* beat the imperial viceroy *Moncada* at sea, and killed him; so that all things seemed to go prosperously; but the face of events quickly changed, an epidemic sickness prevailed in the *French* army that blocked up *Naples*, and, from twenty-five thousand foot, and eight hundred men at arms, reduced them to one hundred men at arms, and four thousand footⁿ. Marshal *Lautrec* himself died, rather of chagrin than any other disease; he was never fortunate, nor had a high opinion of his own merit, and had taken this command against his will; the king of *England* and the state of *Venice* refusing their concurrence to this expedition, if he had it not. His grief proceeded from his being ill supplied, and very indifferently supported by the *Venetians*; the marquis of *Saluces*, who took the command upon his death, raised the blockade of *Naples*, and retired to *Averso*, where, to save the handful of troops he had left, he rendered himself prisoner to the prince of *Orange*^o. Ano-

^b SANDOV. DUP.^c Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.^d P. DAN. HAL. HOLINSH.^e GUIC. Memoires de BRANTOME.^f Memoires DU BELLAY, BELCARIUS.^g MEZ.^h DU-

PLEIX.

ⁱ ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallorum.^k J. DE SERR.^l SANDOV. P. DAN.^m Commentaires de MONTLUC.ⁿ Memoires DU BELLAY.^o GUICC.

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- a ther misfortune, not inferior to this, happened about the same time. *Andrew Doria*, one of the greatest captains, and one of the worthiest men this age had produced, offered king *Francis* two hundred thousand crowns in gold, to have the disposal of the government of *Genoa*, and for the town and port of *Savona*. It was not through interest or ambition that he sought this, but out of a generous design of restoring liberty to his native country, and putting into her hands a place that was like to become her rival^p: there was no reason the king should not have done this in return for the great services rendered him by *Doria*; but he had given the customs of the port of *Savona* to his favourite *Anne de Montmorency*; and the chancellor *du Prat*, to make his court to the favourite, represented this proposal as saucy and seditious, advising that the command of the gallies should be taken from *Doria*, and his person secured. Monsieur *de Barbesieux* was sent to *Genoa* for this purpose, to whom *Doria* delivered the king's gallies, but carried his own into the service of the emperor, and quickly recovered both *Genoa* and *Savona*^q. The count *de St. Pol* coming, however, with a fresh body of troops into the *Milanese*, recovered several places from the imperialists, and revived a little the drooping hopes of the allies, who saw that a peace, made under such circumstances, would be their ruin^r.

- ALL the *French* writers concur in giving *Francis* the character of an open, generous, and candid prince; but, at the same time, they record facts which are not very consistent with these praises; it may be he was naturally so; and that, in political points, he suffered himself to be governed by his ministers. The reader may possibly think this a poor apology; if he does, perhaps he will not be displeased to know that the writer is of the same opinion. The king instructed his ministers to press the allies to make their utmost efforts, which they could not do without his making at the same time promises of great succours, and giving them also assurances that he would act with vigour^s. He sent, in all probability, the like instructions to his generals; so that thus far all was of a piece: but, at the same time, all that was meant by it was, obtaining better terms in the conclusion of a peace than on the carpet. The use, therefore, this great king made of his allies, was, to mislead them into measures that might turn to his profit at their expence. In consequence of these orders, the few forces he had left in *Calabria* acted very cheerfully, in conjunction with the *Venetians*, as the count *de St. Pol* did with the troops of the same state, under the command of the duke of *Urbino*, and with the duke of *Milan* in the *Milanese*, till his army was intirely routed, and himself, chiefly by his own fault, taken by *Don Antonio Leva*, at the battle of *Landriano*, on the 22d of *June*^t. This event contributed to the conclusion of the treaty at *Cambray*. This has been stiled, with propriety enough, the ladies peace, since it was intirely negotiated by the princess *Margaret* of *Savoy*, governess of the *Low Countries*, on the behalf of the emperor, and *Madame*, the *French* king's mother^u. It was published on the 5th of *August*; and by this peace, instead of the possession, the emperor contented himself with reserving his rights on the duchy of *Burgundy*, and the two millions of crowns that had been so often mentioned; of these he was to receive one million two hundred thousand in ready money, upon delivering the prince's lands in *Flanders*; belonging to the house of *Bourbon*, computed at four hundred thousand, and the other four hundred thousand was to be paid by *France*, in discharge of the emperor's debt to the king of *England*. *Francis* was likewise to discharge the penalty of five hundred thousand crowns, which the emperor had incurred by not marrying his niece, the princess *Mary* of *England*, and to release the rich fleur de lys, many years before pawned by the house of *Burgundy* for fifty thousand crowns^v. The town and castle of *Hesdin* was also yielded; together with the sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and all the king's pretensions in *Italy*.

- As for the allies of *France*, they were abandoned to the emperor's mercy, without the least stipulation in their favour, and, which was more extraordinary, the bishop of *Tarbes* was actually soliciting the republic of *Venice* to prosecute the war, when the senate received advice of this peace. But, to be consistent, or rather inconsistent, in every thing, *Francis* protested against the validity of this treaty before he ratified it, as his attorney general did, before it was registred in parliament; but both with the greatest privacy imaginable^x. *Henry* of *England* received the news coldly, and might probably have discovered his dislike in stronger terms; but, at the same time the news was communicated, the *French* ambassador added, that his master had a great influence over his universities, and would very gladly employ it to gratify his brother *Henry*. His majesty of *England* took this so kindly, that he remitted the emperor's penalty of half a million of crowns; and, as a farther instance of his generosity, sent the famous fleur de lys as a present to *Henry* duke of *Orleans*, his godson^y. It happened very luckily for the *Italians*, that great troubles broke out about this time in *Germany*, and the *Turks* invaded *Hungary*, which induced the emperor to deal justly with them, and to leave

The cruel as well as double dealing of Francis, with his allies to the peace of Cambray.

The generous conduct of Henry VIII. towards Francis, in respect to this treaty.

1529.

^p Memoires DU BEL.
STOWE. ^t GUICC.
^y DU TIL.

^q Memoires de BRANT. MEZ.
^u Memoires de CRANT.

^r P. DAN.
^v Act. Public,

^s HAL. HOLINSH.
^x ME. P. DAN.

Sforza in possession of the duchy of *Milan*, which, otherwise, there is the strongest probability he would not have done. a

The children of Francis delivered, and his queen brought into France.

At this time the marshal *de Montmorency* was in the zenith of his favour, and therefore was chosen by the king to carry the money, which was to be paid to the emperor, and to receive his children and his consort. The king went to *Bordeaux*, while the marshal went to *Fontarabia*, where he settled all things with the constable of *Castile*; and towards the end of the month of *June*, the exchange was made at the same place, and with the same ceremony used at the deliverance of the king about four years before ². *Francis* went to meet his children and his queen, and, after the marriage ceremonies were performed, made a public entry with her into *Bordeaux*. She was at this time about thirty, no great beauty; but she had good sense, and by distinguishing the marquis *de Montmorency*, who was the king's favourite, she had an influence in the court, which she would not otherwise have had as queen ³. The return of peace gave the king an opportunity of distinguishing himself in a way that did him great honour. We have spoken of the care taken by his mother of his education; and though business and amusements had left him little or no time to make himself a scholar, yet he had a general knowledge in, and a true taste for, the sciences. *William Budé*, one of the greatest lawyers of that age, and a very able statesman, *John du Bellay* bishop of *Paris*, and afterwards cardinal, and *Peter du Chastel* who became bishop of *Mâcon*, had acquired and maintained themselves in the king's good graces by assisting him in his studies. The king gave them, from time to time, heads of what he desired to understand; and it was their business to instruct him by succinct, methodical, and clear discourses, which were commonly read to him at or after his meals. *John Lascaris*, a *Greek*, of a most noble family, by procuring him many valuable manuscripts, laid the foundation of a royal library, to which a printing-house was added. By the advice of these great men, he erected chairs for *Hebrew* and *Greek* professors, in the university of *Paris*, which were first filled by *Francis Vatable* and *Peter Danés*. By these, and other acts of the same nature, he obtained the glorious title of FATHER and RESTORER OF LETTERS ⁴, which he would have deserved still better, if he had followed his own inclination, and had built a college for six hundred students, with proper endowments, from which he was dissuaded by the chancellor *du Prat*, who told him that the war with the emperor was only suspended, and that arms would produce a better return than books. b

The deaths of some persons of distinction.

THIS year was fatal to some great persons, who have been often mentioned in this history. *Margaret of Austria* died in the *Low Countries*. The *French* say she never forgot the affront offered her by *Charles* the eighth, in sending her back when he married the heiress of *Bretagne*; and to this æra the hatred of *France* to the house of *Austria* is commonly referred. The old duke of *Milan* breathed his last in *France*, where he had lived quietly, while all *Europe* was disturbed with disputes about his dominions. *Philibert de Châlons*, prince of *Orange*, was killed at the siege of *Florence*, which, after a gallant defence of eleven months, submitted to receive *Alexander de Medicis* at the emperor's hand, for their master, who espoused the natural daughter of that monarch ⁵. c

A. D. 1530.

Death of the duchess of Angoulême.

THE coronation of the queen, and her public entry into *Paris*, having gratified the people with shews and feasts, the king thought it expedient, for his honour and their safety, to appoint judges by a special commission, who were to travel through the kingdom, and hold what the *French* call *Les Grands Jours*, which is pretty near the same with our assizes, wherein they judged all causes without appeal, and by that means redressed innumerable grievances which had crept in during the king's imprisonment, and other disorders in the government ⁶. In the month of *September* died *Madame*, the king's mother, to whom the historian of *Savoy* ⁷ gives as high a character as words can well express; but the *French* writers, who consider that, by her piques against the constable of *Bourbon* and the viscount *de Lautrec*, she lost the duchy of *Milan* twice; that, by her intrigues, *Semblançais*, one of the wisest and most virtuous ministers *France* ever had, was brought to an unjust and ignominious death; and that she was the great support of chancellor *du Prat*, whose character was of another cast, they are not quite so lavish in her praises ⁸; however, they acknowledge, that, during the king's imprisonment, she governed well, and that they were indebted to her for the peace of *Cambray*, of which the nation stood in great need; for though king *Henry* of *England* bore a part in the expence of the war, yet he only did this by discounting from the *French* debt, so that it did not ease the people at all. e

1531.

Francis is very desirous of uniting the noble duchy of Bretagne for ever to the crown.

THE king had been long desirous of uniting the duchy of *Bretagne* to his crown, in some more effectual manner than by all the cessions that had hitherto been made. He consulted upon this, as upon every affair of state, his oracle *du Prat*, who studied the point diligently; and though expedients were his talent, yet he found this business so perplexed, that he knew not well what method to advise. Upon this, the king directed him to confer with *Lewis des*

² Mémoires de BRANT. P. DAN. MEZ.

⁴ Mémoires de BRANT.

³ J. DE SERRES.

⁵ GUICHENON.

⁶ DUPLEIX, DU TIL.

⁷ P. DAN.

⁸ GUICCIARD.

a *Deserts*, president of the parliament of *Bretagne*, a man of great parts and probity. The chancellor entered freely into a long detail of the inquiries he had made, and of the projects he had formed. The president heard him patiently, and disapproved them in the lump. He told him there was but one way of doing this business, which was, to engage the states of the duchy to demand this union themselves. The chancellor shewed his great abilities in putting up all his papers, and declaring that he would leave the management of this arduous affair to a man who had convinced him, by a few words, that he understood it so much better than he ^e.

By the advice of the president, the king made a tour into *Bretagne*, where he corrected whatever was amiss, did many popular acts, caressed the leading members of the states, and, by honours, gifts, and places, gained them to his party. But, notwithstanding this, when the proposal was opened, debates ran very high in the assembly of the states, more especially amongst the commons. The deputy from *Nantz* particularly inveighed bitterly against the proposal, as tending to invade and destroy their liberties, to make them, of a free state, a mere province, and to deprive them of all they had left, which was the hope of being, some time or other, what they once were, a free and separate principality; but he declaimed still more violently against the method in which this was to be done, which he represented as forging their own chains, renouncing their birthrights, and, instead of being forced, desiring this as a favour, which they ought to consider as the highest injury. The president, who expected this, obliged the friends of the court to be passive, and let the deputies vent their resentments freely. But when their first fury was over, he sent for the deputy of *Nantz*, and for such as had manifested parts as well as zeal in the debate, and represented to them calmly, that they intirely mistook the matter and their own interest. He admitted, that the privileges, the independency, and the prerogatives of the duchy of *Bretagne*, were extremely valuable to its inhabitants, and what it ought to be their perpetual study to preserve; he shewed them, that they had been often in danger under their dukes; that their country suffered frequently by being the seat of war; and that, if it ever came to be separated again from the crown of *France*, it would be sooner or later conquered, lose its privileges, and become indeed a province. He added, that by being annexed in this manner, they gained all they could wish, and more than they could expect in another way; that, by having the monarch of *France* not for their king, but their duke, they secured the protection of that crown, without losing their independency. In respect to the manner of doing it by their own demand, he proved, that this was so far from being injurious, that it was both honourable and advantageous; it was a proof of their freedom, an obligation conferred on their sovereign, and a treaty of union between one state and another. The deputies submitted, their heats subsided gradually; and thus, by a prudent application of lucrative motives, to those whom nothing else could move, and by opening the true state of things to those whose ears were not deaf to argument, he carried his point, and that in such a manner, that the parliament of *Paris* protested against the condescension which the king shewed in this matter, being ashamed to see, that, through the wisdom and weight of one man, the liberties of *Bretagne* were fixed upon so much a better basis than their own ^b. He succeeds in this by the prudent management of the president of the parliament of Bretagne.

In the month of *October* the king had a conference with *Henry* the eighth at *Calais*, by which that friendship, which had subsisted for some time between them, was much strengthened; they complained mutually of the double dealing of the Pope, and of the too great power and ambition of the emperor; but, as things then stood, they agreed on nothing but a declaration of their readiness to arm a body of eighty thousand men to act against the *Turks*, in which they sought to amuse *Charles*, and to gain a reputation with the rest of the *European* powers; for it does not appear that either of these monarchs was much in earnest in this affair, but rather gave it out for the purposes before-mentioned, and that they might, if they thought it convenient, arm by sea or land, in their own dominions, under this pretence, and without giving umbrage to other princes ^c. The emperor, on his side, amused them likewise, his affairs being so perplexed in *Germany* that he knew not well how to act, and the *Turkish* sultan being on the point of making an irruption into his brother *Ferdinand's* dominions with the whole force of his empire. In the management of these affairs, he made use chiefly of the mediation of the queen his sister, whose overtures *Francis* received with great testimonies of kindness and civility, but without suffering them to make any impression. These frivolous intercourses of mere policy answered the end of both parties, by keeping things quiet, and affording them leisure to take their own measures, till a favourable opportunity should offer for explaining their true sentiments. A. D. 1532.

The king had many good reasons to suppose the peace would not last long. He was himself not much better satisfied with the treaty of *Cambray*, than he had been with that of *Madrid*; he was still as much persuaded as ever of his rights to the kingdom of *Naples* and duchy of *Henry* ^d. Francis and Henry continue firmly united.

^e ARGENTRE Hist. de Bretagne.
MOD. HIST. VOL. IX.

^b Memoires de BRANT.

^c BELCARIUS, HALL, HOLINSH. P. DAN.
L 11 Milan,

Orleans, to
 spouse Catherine de Medici.

Milan, and extremely chagrined at the loss of his superiority over *Flanders*, which he had been obliged to renounce; besides these, which had been more than sufficient, the emperor had taken precautions for his own security, which gave *Francis* fresh disquiet. He had compelled the princes of *Italy* to enter into a defensive alliance, which was, in effect, and which he understood to be, an alliance against *France*. He had taken infinite pains to detach the duke of *Savoy* from the party of *Francis*, and had sold him the county of *Aste*, or *Asti*, very convenient indeed for that duke, but which had been the ancient patrimony of the house of *Orleans*. But what gave him most pain of all was, that, by the help of the duke of *Savoy*, who had a great influence over the *Swiss*, *Charles* was labouring to detach both them and the *Grisons* from their alliance with *France*. The king determined to use his utmost endeavours to prevent this blow, but at the same time very wisely considering, that a kingdom must be very insecure, while the principal strength of its armies consisted in mercenaries, he took a resolution to put an end to that evil, by establishing a national infantry; and as, in all probability, this thought occurred to him from his conversations with his learned friends, he directed those corps to be formed in the manner, and bestowed on them the name, of *Legions*. In order to gain once more an opening into *Italy*, he negotiated a marriage between his son *Henry*, duke of *Orleans*, and *Katherine de Medicis*, styled duchess of *Urbino*, niece to the Pope. The emperor *Charles* had proposed a marriage between this young princess and the duke of *Milan*; but when Pope *Clement* mentioned the overture that had been made him from *France*, the emperor himself advised him to prefer it, thinking it impossible the king should be in earnest, or ever intend to sink so low as such an alliance. In this, however, he found himself mistaken; and though the duke of *Savoy*, to oblige him, rendered an interview at *Nice* impracticable, yet the Pope, embarking at *Genoa*, landed at *Marseilles* on the fourth of *October*. The marriage was celebrated there with all the magnificence for which this prince was famous. He laboured likewise to engage the Pope to give his ally, the king of *England*, satisfaction; and though some have suspected the contrary, yet he appears to have acted in this with equal zeal and sincerity, and we may add, that if Providence had not interfered, would have acted with success. He could not indeed prevail on the Pope to suspend his excommunication of *Henry* on his marriage with *Anna Bullen*; but he persuaded him to keep it secret, and sent *John du Bellay*, bishop of *Paris*, to negotiate with *Henry*, which he did so effectually, as to prevent his separating immediately from communion with the church of *Rome*; though in the depth of winter, he went in person to carry this news to the Pope, with whom he concerted the means of adjusting this perplexed affair of the divorce, and procured the publication of the sentence to be put off to a day certain, that it might be known whether *Henry* would accept the terms or not. No answer coming, *Bellay* pressed for a farther suspension for six days only, which was refused, and the sentence published. Two days after arrived the king's submission, but it was then too late. This, however, shews the sincerity of *Francis* and his agent.

Measures taken
 by the emperor.

ALL this time the king had in view a breach with the emperor, when a proper opportunity should offer itself, and to this point all his endeavours were directed. *Charles*, who was by no means ignorant of this, took all possible methods to let the world into the secret, that, whenever a war happened, the blame of it might fall upon *Francis*. He had demanded assistance both in men and money for his war against the *Turks*, in a manner that he knew must produce a refusal: this he magnified to the dyet, and upon all occasions represented the king to the princes of *Germany* as his irreconcilable enemy. In this, as in the affair of the Pope, his politics were too refined; for the princes of *Germany* took from thence occasion to negotiate with the king for his assistance, in the support of their liberties, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to *Charles*. But while they were thus employed in secret leagues and negotiations, an event happened, which at once produced a war: the king had sent a *Milanese* gentleman, who had acquired a great fortune in his predecessor's service and his own, and who was uncle to the chancellor of *Milan*, as his ambassador to the duke, who being afraid to receive him openly, desired that his credentials should be only communicated to himself.

The king's minister is put to death by the duke of Milan, on which follows a war.

BUT the emperor, suspecting the truth, gave the duke to understand, that, unless he had satisfaction on the head of this *French* minister, he was not to expect his niece, the princess of *Denmark*, for a wife; the poor duke sent him king *Francis's* letters, in which he recommended him only as a gentleman who had a mind to make a tour into his own country, to settle his family concerns. *Merveille* having at this juncture a quarrel with one of the family of *Castiglione*, and this man coming with several persons armed to insult him in his house, was killed by his domestics. *Francis Sforza* upon this committed him to prison, and being apprehensive he might declare his public character, caused him to be beheaded without form or process.

* Annales de France.
 IONS, P. DAN.
 Annales de France.

† GUICCI. FERR. P. DAN.
 ° BURNET'S History of the Reformation.
 ‡ Memoires DU BELLAY.

™ Memoires DU BELLAY.
 P HERBERT.
 § Annales de France, P. DAN.

⁂ CHA-
 9 PARADIN.

- a This was resented by the king in the warmest manner; he even complained of it at the court of the emperor, who answered coolly, that the duke of *Milan* had a right to punish his own subject for the murder, on which the *French* ambassador produced the clearest proofs that *Merveille* had been sent to, and owned by, the duke of *Milan*, as the king's ambassador, which was a great satisfaction to *Charles*, who discovered at once the deceit of *Sforza*, and that he was now embarrassed beyond reconciliation with the court of *France*¹. It is true he sent his chancellor to offer excuses, though he was the nephew of the gentleman who had been so hardly treated, which rather inflamed than abated the quarrel. Before the end of the year, an event happened, which was far from being acceptable to the *French* court; this was the death of Pope *Clement*, who had promised to give his niece *Modena*, *Pisa*, *Leghorn*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and to unite his forces with those of the king, for the conquest of *Urbino*².
- b But *Francis*, who knew his ambition and his attachment to his family, to which he had more than once sacrificed his dignity, his safety, and his conscience, relied very much upon his aid in the expedition he was about to undertake; and there is no doubt that, after procuring his nephew to be raised by the emperor to the sovereignty of *Florence*, he would have been equally pleased to see his niece placed on the ducal throne of *Milan*, by the arms of *France*. The disappointment was great, and it had been happy for his subjects if the king had thought it so great as to desist from the intended war, of which, in losing him, he certainly lost his chief support.

- c THE war with *Milan*, was, notwithstanding, resolved, and the king made vast preparations for it; but, in order to reach the dominions of that prince, he was under the necessity of demanding a passage through those of the duke of *Savoy*; and this produced a previous war with that duke, which did not at all displease *Francis*, who had many reasons to be offended with him, and who resolved to take this opportunity of chastising him severely. But before he began the war, he took a very extraordinary step with regard to religion. His beloved sister *Margaret*, queen of *Navarre*, was inclined to favour the new opinions; that is, was disposed to become a protestant; and she had such an influence on her brother, that he had once taken a resolution of inviting *Melancthon* to his court, but he was diverted from that by the cardinal *de Tournon*: and taking occasion from some papers that had been fixed against the *Louvre*, in disproof of the doctrine of transubstantiation, he caused six persons to be burnt with extraordinary cruelty; and made a wild declaration, that if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the *Lutheran* heresy, he would cause it to be cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the Catholic church³. This zeal was somewhat singular, or, to speak out, was strangely absurd, in a monarch, who had, at this very time, a minister at his court from the *Turk*, and made afterwards no scruple of acting in conjunction with the Infidels, both by sea and land. This barbarous execution over, he set out for *Lyons*, and sent admiral *Chabaut* with a numerous army into *Savoy*, the best part of which he speedily reduced⁴. But while he was thus employed, an event happened, that once more changed the face of affairs; this was the death of *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*; upon which the emperor sent the famous *Granvelle* to offer the king the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, for his third son, the duke of *Angoulesme*, which produced a long negociation, with strong professions of sincerity on both sides, and with very little of reality in it on either⁵. The duke of *Savoy*, to whom the king had made some propositions of peace, rejected them, notwithstanding the distress he was in, and made an offer to the emperor of exchanging the county of *Nice*, and all his territories on this side the *Alps*, for lands in *Italy*, which, if *Charles* had accepted, would have opened him a passage into the heart of *France*; and this irritated the king still more than all the injuries he had sustained from the duke already⁶.
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- e

- f THE emperor *Charles* the fifth was now in the zenith of his glory, returned in triumph from his *African* expedition, and having a numerous army and many great captains about him in the kingdom of *Naples*, framed to himself vast designs, in order to which he found it necessary to amuse *Francis*, which he performed with great success⁷. Then he proceeded to *Rome*, where, in the presence of Pope *Paul* the third, of the house of *Farnese*, and his cardinals, he inveighed bitterly, in a *Spanish* oration, against *Francis*, talking of fighting him hand to hand, in an island, on a bridge, or in the midst of a river on board a bark; but when the *French* ambassadors demanded a copy of this speech, and desired to know whether he intended it as a defiance to their master, or pretended to impeach his honour, he refused it, and qualified all he had said, by alleging, that in the heat of his discourse he had mentioned a single combat as a means of preventing the effusion of Christian blood, which, knowing the generosity and bravery of *Francis*, he conceived he would not refuse⁸. All this was mere art, as ap-

¹ BELCARIUS.
naissance & progres de l'heresie, liv. vii.
France. P. DAN.

² GUICC. CHALONS, LE GEND.
³ P. DAN.
⁴ Memoires de LANGEI.

⁵ FLORIMOND DE REMOND Histoire de la
⁶ MARIANA, DUPLEIX.
⁷ Annales de

peared by the emperor's causing copies of his harangue to be dispersed in *Germany*, of different tenors, according to the temper and dispositions of those they were to move^c. At the same time his partizans gave out, that *Francis* had solicited the *Turks* to invade *Hungary*, and ascribed to *French* emissaries the fires that happened in different parts of the empire, by which such a spirit was raised, that *William du Bellay*, lord of *Langei*, whom the king sent into *Germany* to negotiate, durst not appear in public^d. But in a little time, through the address of that minister, those schemes were dissipated, and, like all others of that kind, turned upon their authors, and proved highly prejudicial to the emperor's affairs, who really intended no more by all this, than to hinder his antagonist from levying troops in the empire, to ruin his credit with the *German* princes, and to facilitate his own enterprize^e.

The admiral
Brion reduces
a great part of
Piedmont.

In the course of these negotiations, the emperor affected to make the king believe that he was very desirous of having the peace concluded and signed by the admiral, *Philip Chabot*, lord of *Brion*, which was only to prevent his taking the command of the army, and making the conquest of *Piedmont* with the same ease he had done that of *Savoy*. The king at last perceived this, and sent the admiral with orders to reduce *Piedmont*, but not to commit any hostilities against the emperor. The admiral quickly became master of *Turin*, *Fossan*, and *Coni*, forced the duke of *Savoy* to shut himself up in *Verceil*, and had made himself master also of that fortress, if he had not been awed by the emperor's army in that neighbourhood, commanded by *Antonio de Leva*^f. However, when the king received positive intelligence, that the emperor's true design was to invade *France* with that numerous army of veteran troops, which he thought invincible, the king ordered all his forces, a small number excepted, to leave *Piedmont*, and repass the mountains, declaring the marquis de *Saluces*, who had been bred up with him, and for whom he had a great affection, his lieutenant in *Italy*, directing him to put *Turin*, *Fossan*, and *Coni*, into the best posture of defence possible^g, and to distribute his troops amongst them. The marquis believing, from the posture of affairs, that the *French* would never more be able to enter *Italy*, went over to the emperor, betrayed *Coni*, and would have given up the other places; but *Montpesat*, who commanded in *Fossan*, defended it so gallantly, that he kept the enemy before it a month, and at last obtained honourable conditions. *Claude d'Annebaut* had a good garrison in *Turin*, and appeared so little inclined to part with it, that the emperor, being afraid of losing the season, contented himself with causing it to be blocked up by a good corps of troops; and directing his march through the county of *Nice*, entered *France* in *July*, with an army of fifty thousand men, the marquis del *Vasto* acting as general of foot, *Ferdinand Gonzago* as general of the light horse, and the duke of *Alba* at the head of the gens d'arms, *Antonio de Leva* having the chief command under the emperor^h. The king gave the command of his army to his favourite the marshal of *Montmorency*, with instructions to lay the whole country waste from the *Alps* to *Marseilles*, and from the sea to the frontiers of *Dauphine*; to encamp with his army under *Avignon*, covered by the *Rhone* and the *Durance*; and not to hazard a battle upon any termsⁱ.

Charles in-
vades France,
besieges Mar-
seilles, and is
forced to make
a miserable re-
treat.

THE emperor quickly found the effects of this disposition: being extremely straitened for provisions, his army diminished daily; and, after attempting to draw the marshal out of his lines, and having brought his army before *Arles*, at length he besieged *Marseilles*^k. While he was thus employed, the dauphin *Francis* died at *Tournon* on the 12th of *August*, of poison, which was charged, by the person who administered it, when he came to be executed, upon *Ferdinand Gonzago* and *Antonio de Leva*; whence a great, though probably undeserved, blemish was thrown upon the emperor's reputation^l(F). On the twenty-fifth of *September*, *Charles* raised the siege, after losing more than half his army by sickness and skirmishes. He was so harrassed in his passage, that he had not ten thousand men in a condition to serve when he entered *Piedmont*, where he found his affairs in a very bad situation, *Annebaut* having forced his troops to raise the siege of *Turin*, and having a good army in the field. The count de *Nassau*, who had entered *Picardy* from the *Low Countries*, had met with no better fortune; for the marquis de *Fleuranges*, afterwards marshal de *la Marck*, defended *Poreenne* so obstinately, that after two assaults he was constrained to raise the siege^m. Thus, by three places well defended, the king weathered this storm, which, it was believed, would have overwhelmed him and his dominions; and the emperor lost *Antonio de Leva*, with many other brave captains,

^c ANTONIO DE VERA:

^d DUPLEIX, MEZ.

^e CHALONS.

^f Memoires de LANGEI.

^g ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallorum.

^h ANTONIO DE VERA.

ⁱ BELCARIUS

^k DU-

PLEIX, P. DAN.

^l MELANGES Historiques de Camusat.

^m Annales de France, P. DAN.

(F) The death of this young prince is differently reported by the *French* historians. An *Italian* historian reports, that he died of drinking cold water, when extremely heated by playing at tennis (1). A reverend

prelate, though it may seem strange that he should be so much better acquainted than others with a secret of this kind, ascribes his death to his indulging himself to excess with a woman, whose name was *Le Strange*.

(1) Paul. Jov. Hister.

(2) Belcaris Metensis Episcopi, rerum Gallicarum Commentarii.

- a and, of both his armies, not less than forty thousand men: he felt this so sensibly, that, after A. D. 1536. a short stay in *Piedmont*, he went to *Genoa*, and embarked for *Spain*.

On the first report of the great preparations made by the emperor to invade *France*, *James* James V. king the fifth, king of *Scotland*, assembled a considerable body of troops, and having embarked of Scots, goes them on board his fleet, endeavoured to transport them to the opposite coast; and though this to the assistance was prevented by contrary winds, yet that monarch landed himself at *Dieppe*, and repaired to of Francis, and the French camp, where the king then was with the dauphin *Henry*. This was esteemed so marries his daughter. generous an action, that, upon this king's demanding the princess *Magdalen* in marriage, *Francis* thought himself obliged in honour to grant it, though he was very apprehensive of its altering the good understanding between himself and *Henry* of *England*, which had been so beneficial to both crowns; and, therefore, he sent a minister to *England*, to obtain *Henry*'s consent to the marriage of his nephew, or at least to excuse it; but the king was so angry, that he would not hear it mentionedⁿ. It took place, however, on the first day of the new year, and the king returned soon after with his new queen to *Scotland*, where she did not survive many months^o. If *Henry* had been well informed of this princess's disposition, he would not have been displeased with the marriage, for she had been bred up chiefly with her aunt, and was so sincerely addicted to the principles of the reformed religion, that, if she had survived, it is probable she would have brought her husband, who was extravagantly fond of her, to have favoured it likewise.

- THE success of the last campaign elevated *Francis* so much, that he acted the very same The king causes part *Charles* had done the year before in *Italy*. He ordered the emperor to be proceeded Charles to be against before the parliament of *Paris*; and that assembly having declared, that, by violating summoned be- the treaty of *Cambray*, he had forfeited all title to the advantages derived therefrom, and that in the parli- consequently the king entered into his antient rights of sovereignty over the counties of *Flan- ders*, *Artois*, and *Charolois*. Upon this he was summoned, by sound of trumpet, by the name of *Charles* of *Austria*, vassal to the crown of *France*, to answer before that tribunal, where, being condemned of felony and contumacy, in taking up arms and not appearing, those counties were declared confiscated, and united to the crown^p. After this strange and useless parade, the king entered *Artois* with an army, where he took *Hesdin* and some other places. Afterwards the imperial army, under the command of the count *de Burenex*, covered most of d them, and besieged *Terouenne*, which was succoured by *Claude d'Annebaut*, who, in his retreat, was defeated and taken prisoner^q. The dauphin then marched with an army to relieve the place, but, by the interposition of the queen of *France*, and her sister *Mary*, governess of the *Netherlands*, a truce was concluded for that frontier, for the space of a few months^r. This afforded the king leisure to fulfil, in some measure, the treaty he had made with *Solyman*, 1537. emperor of the *Turks*, who executed his part punctually, which *Francis* did not, but was so far excusable, as that, in favour of his Infidel allies, he did all that he could. He sent the dauphin and marshal *Montmorency* before him into *Piedmont*, who forced the pass of *Suza*, relieved *Turin*, and restored the face of affairs on that side. The king followed them; but, at the persuasion of the Pope, consented, in the month of *November*, to a truce, during which both e parties were to keep what was in their hands, which mortified the duke of *Savoy* extremely, who saw his subjects and his dominions suffer alike from his allies and from his enemies^s. But *Solyman*, who had made an irruption into *Hungary*, and sent a great fleet into the *Mediterranean* to join the *French*, was no less disappointed and provoked.

- THE king, to reward the services he had received from the marshal *de Montmorency*, who, since the death of the chancellor *du Prat*, was become his first minister, bestowed on him the Two inter- constable's sword, that he might command his armies with greater dignity, and made *Mon- tejan* and *Annebaut* marshals of *France*^t. One would have concluded from hence, that he views between the king and the emperor. intended to carry on the war with greater vigour than ever; but, by the persuasion of Pope *Paul* the third, he agreed to an interview with the emperor and that pontiff at *Nice*, the only place the duke of *Savoy* had left, who was with great difficulty brought to this agreement. The emperor remained at *Villa Franca*, the Pope at a monastery near *Nice*, and the king a quarter of a league from thence; so that the two princes did not see each other, but communicated their sentiments to the Pope, who conferred with them alternately^u. The queen of *France* went to make her brother a visit by sea, which had like to have been fatal to them both; for a bridge made in haste being thrown from the shore to her gally, which was about fifty paces, and the emperor going to receive her as she came out of the vessel, the bridge gave way, and they fell both together into the sea, but were happily taken up without hurt^v. After all, the Pope, finding it impossible to adjust things so between the two monarchs as to establish a peace, contented himself with doing his own business effectually, by marrying

ⁿ DUPLEIX, MEZ.

MARTIN.

moires DU BELLAY.

^o P. DAN.^r Annales de France.^w DUPLEIX.^p Memoires de LANGEI, FERR.^q GUICHENON.^t J. DE SERRES.^s Memoires de^u Mc-

Ottavio Farnese to *Margaret of Austria*, and prolonging the truce between *Charles* and *Francis* a for ten years, during which space the king was to keep that part of *Piedmont* which he had conquered, and the emperor, for his own security, kept the rest ^z. These points settled, the king returned, towards the end of *June*, into his own dominions, and the emperor embarked for *Spain*: but being driven on the coast of *France*, he sent one of the officers of his household to *Avignon*, where the king was, to let him know that he was very desirous of conferring with him. *Francis*, struck with this mark of civility and confidence, set out for *Aigues Mortes*, where he received and entertained the emperor on shore with great magnificence, and was in A. D. 1538. return feasted by him on board his galley, where they had a very long conference on the state of their affairs, and parted with great marks of esteem and cordiality ^y on both sides; but it does not appear that they concluded any thing of importance, or that this singular interview b had any other effect than that of alarming *Henry* the eighth of *England*, who could not be well pleased with a reconciliation between these two princes, more especially as it was brought about by the Pope, whom he considered as his capital enemy. The king making his public entry into *Leon*, the crowd was so great, that the chancellor, *Anthony du Bourg*, who rode near him, according to the custom of those times, upon a mule, was thrown down and trampled to death. He was succeeded by *William Poget*, whose great abilities might have enabled him to discharge with honour that high trust which he acquired by his agreeable conversation; a circumstance that had rendered him very acceptable to the king his master ^z.

In the beginning of the year a new treaty was concluded at *Toledo* between the emperor and the king, of a very singular nature, since it imported no more than that neither party should c enter into any engagement, or contract any marriage with *England*, without communicating it to the other ^a. The truce for ten years was soon after confirmed. The dauphin *Henry* did homage to his father, in quality of duke of *Bretagne*. About this time the people of *Ghent*, conceiving themselves oppressed, and their privileges invaded, by *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, and sister to the emperor, governors of the *Low Countries*, revolted, expelled the emperor's officers, and by a solemn deputation demanded the redress of their grievances from *Francis*, as their lawful sovereign ^b. This was the fairest opportunity that could have offered of resuming what he had lost by the treaty of *Cambray*. But the king, upon this occasion, laid aside the politician, rejected their proposals, and, not content with this, gave advice to the emperor of all that had happened. *Charles* found himself extremely embarrassed, notwithstanding the d king's generous proceeding; for judging his own presence absolutely necessary to extinguish this unexpected flame, he knew not how to pass into the *Low Countries* with ease and safety. By sea he was apprehensive of the *Turkish* fleets, which rendered the passage dangerous; and the religious disturbances in *Germany* rendered his route that way equally difficult and disagreeable. The shortest way was through *France*; and, with the king's consent, he knew it would be safest. In order to procure this, he addressed himself to the bishop of *Tarbes*, the *French* minister at his own court, and to the constable, the king's prime minister and favourite, suggesting, that he was willing to grant the investiture of the duchy of *Milan* to the duke of *Orleans*, and hoped the king would not insist upon his entering into any treaties. e

This point was disputed in the king's council; the cardinal *de Tournon* insisted that the emperor should make his proposition in writing; but the constable *Montmorency* was against f this: he said, that a promise in writing was not either more binding or more effectual than an unwritten promise, which, in a matter so concise, might be easily authenticated; and that the investiture, being the return of a favour, the best way to secure it was to heighten the favour as much as possible in the manner of doing it. This, being most agreeable to the king's own temper, was accepted; and the dauphin and his brother the duke of *Orleans* sent to meet the emperor at *Bayonne*, where they offered to remain hostages in *Spain*, till the emperor was safely arrived in the *Low Countries*; but *Charles* very politely refused it, and declared, that he would rely on his brother *Francis's* word ^c. The king himself, though but just recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness, went to meet him as far as *Chastelleraud*. All possible honours were paid him in his passage, and during his short stay at *Paris*. At his departure the king accompanied him as far as *St. Quintin's*, the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans* attended him to *Valenciennes* ^d. It was now thought good policy, and no breach of decorum, to desire an explicit promise from the emperor of the investiture, as the most solid proof of his friendship, and the surest means of establishing a lasting peace. But the emperor began by making a restriction, afterwards offered the *Low Countries* with his daughter to the duke of *Orleans* as an equivalent, and at length threw so many obstacles in the way, that the king found himself deceived. If the *French* writers are to be believed, it was not barely in this point; they alleged that the emperor gained such an ascendancy, by his address, over their g

^z MEZ.^y Memoires de LANGEI, Annales de France.^z MEZ. P. DAN.^a J. DE SERRES.^b ANTONIO DE VERA, DUPLIX.^c BELCAR. Annales de France, ANTONIO DE VERA, FER.^d J. DE

SERRES, DUPLIX, DU TIL. SANDOV. MARIAN.

a monarch, that he drew from him all that had passed between him and *Henry* the eighth ; and, while he yet held him in hopes of the investiture, prevailed on him to send an embassy to *Venice*, to dissuade the republic from making a separate peace with the *Turk*, which, having no effect, lessened his credit with the *Italian* princes; and ruined him for the present with *Solyman* ^c, who imputed to ingratitude what was owing to incapacity.

THIS transaction had terrible consequences in respect to the court and the king's favourites. *The constable, Francis*, from the most easy, open, and generous man living, became angry, vindictive, and suspicious. The constable was the first victim ; who, finding himself disgraced, retired to the castle of *Chantilly*, where he resided during the remainder of this reign. The admiral, who was next in favour, was next also in disgrace. The king, one day out of humour, told him, that possibly some researches might be made into his conduct. The admiral told him, in return, that his conduct would bear any researches he could make. *Francis* caused him to be arrested, and sent prisoner to *Melun* ^f. The chancellor *Pojet* most unworthily undertook to be the instrument of the king's vengeance, picked out commissioners to inquire into his behaviour, and put himself at the head of them ; and, partly by promises, but chiefly through menaces, prevailed upon them, in consequence of very equivocal testimonies of, or causing some duties to be levied as admiral, to which he had not a very clear right, to pronounce a sentence, by which he was deprived of his employments, and condemned to banishment. He had assured the king, that the admiral had been guilty of many flagrant, and some capital offences : when, therefore, he brought him this sentence, he laughed at it ; and, having pardoned the admiral, sent for him again to court. The first time he appeared in his presence, the king said, " You see, my lord, it is not quite so safe to set me at defiance." " True, Sire," returned the admiral, with his usual steadiness, " but they did not find the slightest instance of my want of care or fidelity in your service." " No," replied the king, " we will look into that." Upon this the process was referred to the parliament to examine, and they declared him intirely free from blame ; on which he was restored to all his employments, which did not hinder his dying of chagrin ^g. The chancellor met with a worse fate : the family of the admiral attacked his conduct, which brought in a multitude of informations ; and upon these, after four years imprisonment, he was condemned in parliament to lose his office, pay a fine of one hundred thousand livres, and to suffer five years imprisonment ^h. He suffered the two first, but the last was remitted ; and, being old and poor, he was forced to get his bread by giving opinions ; for his knowlege was respected, while his person was despised.

ALL his old favourites being either dead or disgraced, the marshal *d'Annebaut*, who, without the title, executed the office of constable, came into the prime direction of affairs, *William du Bellay*, lord of *Langei*, succeeding him in the government of *Piedmont* ⁱ. The principal object the king had in view was to prepare for a war ; and in this innumerable obstacles were to be overcome, the emperor's power being as great as ever, and the king's reputation much sunk with foreign powers. In the first place, it was thought expedient to make a treaty with *Christian* the third, king of *Denmark*, and *Gustavus* king of *Sweden*, who had the strongest interest in opposing *Charles* ^k. The king took the duke of *Cleves* next under his protection, whose title to *Gueldres* was questioned by the emperor, and whose alliance, by marrying with *Henry* the eighth of *England*, flattered *Francis* with the hopes of regaining that monarch, tho' these proved vain. However, the alliance of this prince was thought of such consequence, that the king gave him in marriage *Joan* of *Albret*, heiress of the kingdom of *Navarre*, in order to widen the breach between him and the emperor, as well as to attach him more immediately to his own interests ; but, the princess being but eleven years of age, the marriage was never consummated. In order to dissipate the suspicions which the emperor's emissaries had infused at *Venice* and *Constantinople*, the king sent *Cæsar Fregosa* and *Antonio Rincon*, first to the Seignior, and, when they had finished their negociation with that republic, they were to proceed to the Porte. The marquis *del Vasto*, or, as the *French* call him, *du Guast*, governor for the emperor of the duchy of *Milan*, and the countries depending upon it, having intelligence of their passage, and some hint also of their business, caused their vessel to be attacked by a party from the garrison of *Pavia*, and both the ministers killed. Some who were with them escaped, and gave an account of the whole affair to *Monf. de Langei*, who commanded in *Piedmont*, and, as soon as the king was acquainted with it, he published it to all *Europe*, as a most flagrant insult upon the law of nations, as well as a direct breach of the truce. The governor of *Milan*, however, steadily disavowed the fact ; the emperor disclaimed its being done by his orders ; and the king, finding that no satisfaction was to be obtained in the way of negociation, resolved, which was, indeed, the thing he wanted, to seek it by the sword ^l.

^c MEZERAY, P. DAN.

^f Memoires de BRANT. DUPLEIX.

^g SERRES, DU TIL. MEZ. CHA.

LONS, Pr. Henault, LE GEND.

^h Memoires de LANGEI, ESTIENNE PASQUIER Recherches de la France,

DUPLEIX.

ⁱ Annales de France, M.-Z. P. DAN.

^k Memoires de LANG. BELCAR. DUPL. DU TIL.

Recueil des Traites par LEONARD.

^l Memoires de LANG. MEZERAY, P. DAN.

The French
army ravages
Luxembourg
and Brabant.

A. D. 1542.

The emperor
served by
English auxi-
liaries.

The castle of
Nice attack-
ed by the
French and
Turkish fleets.

IN the spring of the year the crowns of *France* and *Denmark* declared war against the emperor, who, contrary to the pope's advice, had made a second expedition into *Africa*, in hopes of ruining *Algiers*, and instead of that, had ruined his own fleet and army. At the entrance of the summer the *French* army, consisting of between forty and fifty thousand men, commanded by the duke of *Orleans*, and, under him, by the duke of *Guise*, entered the duchy of *Luxembourg*, took *Damvilliers*, and afterwards *Yvoi*, which was a place of strength; *Arlon* surrendered next, and then the army invested *Luxemburg*, which, though strong and well fortified, and provided with a good garrison, surrendered in a few days: *Vireton* and *Montmedi* had the same fate; and, if the young prince could have been prevailed upon to have followed the duke of *Guise*'s advice, the whole county had been reduced, as the duke of *Cleves* ravaged *Brabant* to the very gates of *Louvain* and *Antwerp*^m: but, of a sudden, he dismissed his army, and went to his father at *Montpellier*. *Rene de Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, recovered *Luxemburg*, and some other places, and had recovered all, if it had not been for the duke of *Guise*, who defended *Yvoi*, and afterwards recovered *Montmedi*; while the prince of *Orange*, entering the duchy of *Juliers*, revenged upon that poor country the mischief which the duke of *Cleves* had done in *Brabant*. The Dauphin's army, which was stronger than that of his brother, having with them Mons. de *Montpesat*, marched into *Roussillon*, and besieged *Perpignan*ⁿ. The king expected that the emperor, who was returned into *Spain*, would have marched to its relief with an army, and, in that case, he would have put himself at the head of his own troops, in order to have given him battle. But the duke of *Alba* saved him the trouble: he threw himself into the place with some bands of old *Spanish* foot, and finding the artillery, ammunition, and stores, that remained after the *Algerine* expedition, defended the place so well, that, after a siege of three months, the king having sent *Annebaut*, now made admiral of *France*, and the count de *St. Paul*, to see how things stood, they advised desisting from this enterprize; and accordingly, towards the end of *October*, by the king's command, the siege was raised^o. The admiral then marched with part of the troops into *Piedmont*, where the *French* were this year on the defensive.

IN the beginning of the month of *March*, the army of the duke of *Cleves*, commanded by *Martin du Rossen*, defeated the emperor's forces, under the command of the duke of *Arscot*, killed four thousand upon the spot, took five thousand prisoners, and all their baggage and artillery. This hastened the king into the field, who marched towards *Cambrai*; and, having taken the little town of *Landrecy*, ordered it to be fortified, and left in it a good garrison. The duke of *Orleans* and admiral *Annebaut* reduced the best part of the duchy of *Luxembourg*; but, in the mean time, the duke of *Cleves*, being oppressed with the whole weight of the emperor's force, found himself under the necessity of making the best terms he could; and was able to obtain no better, than that he should renounce his alliance with *France*, send back *Joan of Albret*, and put part of his troops, under the command of his general before-mentioned, into the emperor's service^p. This was a severe blow to the *French* interest; but the alliance of *Henry* the eighth with the emperor, which was the pure effects of the king's own imprudence, was a much greater, as it was immediately followed by the descent of ten thousand men in the *Low Countries*, which, having joined the emperor's army, induced him to lay siege to *Landrecy*, though the king was yet in the field, and consequently in a condition to march to its relief; but, having the good luck to relieve it twice by surprise, the emperor was forced to retire both from before this place and *Guise*, instead of marching to *Paris*, which he had threatened, after the junction of the *English* forces^q.

CAPTAIN *Paulin*, one of the king's agents, found means to dissipate at the Porte the impressions which the emperor *Soleyman* had received of king *Francis*; and, in consequence of these persuasions, the Grand Signor not only passed by what he knew, as well as what he had heard, but promised him also to send a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, in the proper season, on board which captain *Paulin* himself was to embark^r. The *French* historians are themselves very much embarrassed in speaking of the treaties between their monarch and the Soltan, and inveigh bitterly against *Charles* the fifth, for exposing the king at the dyet, as being closely connected with Infidels: nor are they less angry at the same monarch's taking care to let *Soleyman* understand, that, by the help of a little condescension, he could have drawn this good ally of his, without receiving the least provocation from him, to have entered into an alliance for attacking, with all his forces, the *Ottoman* empire^s. There is no reason for us to fall into this embarrassment likewise, since we are under no obligation so much as to dissemble, much less to deny the truth, which is, that *Francis*, if he could have gained the emperor,

^m HAROEUS in Annal. Brabant. DUPL. Annales de France. DU TIL. ⁿ BELCAR. HAROEUS in Annal. Brabant. J. DE SERRES. DU TIL. DUPL. ^o Memoires de BRANT. Memoires de LANG. P. DAN. ^p BELCAR. Annales de France. DU TILLET, LE GEND. ^q Memoires de LANGEI. HALL. HOLLINSH. ^r HERB. DUPL. P. DAN. ^s GUICHENON Hist. de Savoye. SERRES. MEZ. ^t Memoires de Mont-

a would have acted against the *Turk*; but, as he could not, he demanded the assistance of the *Turk* against the emperor, and received it. *Soleyman* in person entered *Hungary*, and sent the famous *Barbarossa*, with a fleet of one hundred and thirty galleys, into the *Mediterranean*, where he put the city of *Ostia*, and all the sea coast of the pope's territory, under terrible apprehensions, but without doing them any hurt, upon captain *Paulin*'s declaring that they were under his master's protection¹. In the beginning of *July* this fleet arrived on the coast of *Provence*, and were joined there by twenty-two *French* galleys, commanded by *Francis* count of *Anguien*, or *Engbien*, the son of *Charles*, and brother of *Anthony*, duke of *Vendosme*, and then sailed to the coast of *Nice*, where they reduced the city of that name, but were not able to take the castle, though they besieged it two months². *Barbarossa* shewed an equal
b contempt for the *French* fleet and its commander; the former was so ill equipped that they were forced to borrow bullets, ammunition, and naval stores from the *Turks*; and the count being but in his twenty-third year, *Barbarossa* looked upon and treated him as a child, which the count shewed his judgment in bearing, and soon after made it evident, that old men, and even great men, might be mistaken. After this unsuccessful expedition, the *Turkish* fleet came and wintered at *Toulon*, where *Barbarossa* is said to have exercised his trade of piracy, without paying much respect even to the *French* flag; and, in the spring, demanding the king's leave to depart, very readily received it³. After this one cannot wonder that *Charles V.* reproached his antagonist with joining the *Turks*. In *Piedmont*, after the departure of the *Turkish* and *French* galleys, the duke of *Savoy* and the marquis *du Guast* took *Mandovi*, and,
c in breach of their capitulation, cut to pieces a great part of the *Swiss* garrison, and plundered their baggage. Towards the close of the year *Bouillieres*, who commanded for the *French*, took *St. Germain*, and was on the point of taking *Yvrée*, which was a place of consequence; but, finding himself superseded, and the command given to the count *d'Anguien*, upon his sending to him for an escorte, *Bouillieres* marched to meet him with the whole army, and so abandoned the siege, rather than allow his successor to have the honour of taking the place⁴.

THE views of *Francis* and *Charles* in this war were very different; and those of the former, in comparison of the latter, might be stiled insignificant. What he aimed at was the duchy of *Milan*, which, once acquired, either by the sword or by a treaty, he had sat down contented;
d but *Charles* aimed at an ascendancy over all the powers of *Europe*, and to obtain this at the destruction of *France*. *Francis* took his measures but indifferently for the gaining his little end; whereas *Charles* took his measures so well, that he was very near carrying his point; so that it may be truly said, that *Francis* staked his kingdom against a duchy. At the dyet of *Spire* the emperor prevailed on the princes and states of *Germany*, Protestants as well as Papists, to declare the king an enemy to the empire, and to furnish him with an army of twenty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse, to carry on the war against him. At the same time he solicited the pope to declare him an enemy to Christendom, and the *Swiss* to relinquish their alliance: if he had succeeded in these, the king had been undone: as it was, he was very near it⁵. *Henry* the eighth agreed with the emperor to attack *France* on one side with
e fifty thousand men, while he, with a like number, entered it on the other, and the two armies joining, were to march directly to *Paris*⁶. *Francis* was not ignorant of this; and yet, to gratify the ardour of the count of *Anguien*, who besieged *Carignan*, for the relieving of which the marquis *du Guast* was assembling a great army, consented that he should give him battle. He did this against the advice of his council, who represented, that the safety of *France* would be risked by that engagement; since he had with him the flower of the *French* troops, and the king under the greatest necessity of employing them in another place. Yet, weighty as these arguments were, they urged them in vain; the young general had the king's consent; and, on the fourteenth of *April*, he fought the battle of *Cerizolles*, in which
f he gained a complete victory⁷, against a superior army, killed ten thousand men upon the spot, made three thousand prisoners, and took the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and baggage. If this victory had been improved, the whole duchy of *Milan* might have been easily conquered. It was not, indeed it could not, be improved; for the king was obliged to recall the best part of the army to defend his frontiers, and even his capital. What was in the power of the count *d'Anguien* he did; he took *Carignan*, *Moncalles*, *St. Damien*, *Vigon*, *Pont Pierre*, and, which was still more, he put it out of the power of the imperialists to attempt the invasion of *France* on this side⁸; the only signal advantage that arose from the victory.

*Imperialists
defeated at
Cerizolles.*

¹ GUICH. SLEIDAN Commentar. DUPL. MEZ.

² Memoires de LANGEI. BELCAR.

³ GUICH.

DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN.

⁴ GUICH. Memoires de LANGEI. BELCAR.

⁵ SLEID. Commentar.

DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN.

⁶ Lord HERBERT'S History of Henry VIII. HALL. HOUSH.

⁷ Memoires

de LANGEI. Memoires de Montluc. A. NOLD. FERRON. de rebus gestis Gallor. J. DE SERRES. DUPL. DU TIL.

CHALONS. LE GEND.

⁸ Memoires de Montluc. MEZ. P. DAN.

The gallant defence of St. Dizier ruins the emperor's army and saves France.

COUNT William of Fursenberg, who had quitted the king's service upon some disgust, besieged *Luxemburg* on behalf of the emperor, and took it in a fortnight. *Commerci* surrendered also as soon as a breach was made. *Ligny* in *Barrois* was carried by assault, and then the emperor, with his army, invested *St. Dizier*, a place of no great strength, but which was defended by *Monf. La Lende*, and *Monf. du Bueil*, count *de Sancerre*, who preserved it for six weeks, and obtained a good capitulation at last ^c. *Henry* had landed at *Calais* in the month of *May*, but finding the emperor intent on taking towns, he followed his example, and invested *Montreuil* and *Boulogne* at the same time ^d. If they had held to their first proposal, and had joined their two armies before *Paris*, which would have consisted of eighty thousand foot, and twenty-two thousand horse, *Francis* must have abandoned his capital, and all the country on this side the *Loire*; nay, if the emperor, after the taking of *Luxemburg*, had marched to *Paris*, there was nothing to oppose him; for the king depending upon the defence that fortrefs should have made, had not hastened the *Swiss*, so that it was the defence of *St. Dizier* that, in this critical conjuncture, saved *France*. As soon as this place was taken, the emperor summoned *Henry* to march to *Paris*; but the king refused to stir till he had taken *Boulogne* and *Montreuil* ^e. The emperor then advanced with his army, which was much reduced, so far into *Champaigne*, that he was in great danger of being defeated by the Dauphin, or reduced to great distress for want of provisions, if *Epernai* and *Chateau Thierry*, where the king's magazines were, had not been betrayed into his hands: and this again threw the inhabitants of the city of *Paris* into such a consternation, that they fled on every side. But the emperor, instead of advancing towards that city, turned off to *Soissons*, and entered into a treaty, to which he invited *Henry*, who refused to treat at all ^f.

Treaty of Crepi, in which Francis is again duped by Charles V.

IN order to understand this, we must observe, that the *French* court was divided into two factions; that of the Dauphin, and that of his brother the duke of *Orleans*. The latter was his father's favourite, and the favourite also of *Anne de Puiffelleu*, duchess of *Estampes*, the king's mistress, who had an inveterate hatred to *Diana of Poitiers*, the mistress of the Dauphin. *Charles* the fifth made that duchess believe that he had a great affection for the duke of *Orleans*, and was very desirous of seeing him married to his daughter, which the Dauphin treated as mere artifice; and, believing the danger over, and himself in a condition to make the emperor repent his invasion, was not at all inclined to peace; of which the duchess seeing no hopes, if the emperor was beaten, contrived things so as to let the king's magazines fall into his hands. This brought on the treaty of *Crepi*, by which the emperor promised to give the duke of *Orleans* his own daughter, or his brother's daughter, and either the duchy of *Milan* or the *Low Countries*, with the counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*; and all the places taken since the treaty of *Nice* were to be restored ^g. The king was the more easily induced to sign this treaty, by the news of the loss of *Boulogne*, a place strong, well fortified, supplied with all things necessary, and which had a numerous garrison, but commanded by *Vervines*, a young man, who, for this slip in his conduct, in the next reign lost his head ^h. As for *Montreuil*, which was old, ill fortified, and had but a small garrison, the marshal *de Biez* preserved it; for half the duke of *Norfolk*'s army that besieged it being composed of the emperor's troops, who quitted him upon the signing the treaty, he was obliged to retire ⁱ. *Henry* returned to *England* as soon as *Boulogne* surrendered; and the Dauphin, understanding that the breaches were not repaired, made a bold attempt, recovered the lower town, and, if his troops had not fallen to plundering the *English* baggage, had actually carried the place ^k.

A. D. 1544.

Francis at a vast expence equips a fleet, with an army on board, to invade England.

THE Dauphin was so much displeased with the peace of *Crepi*, that he protested against it privately, as did the parliament of *Toulouse*, as contrary to the dignity and unalienable rights of the crown of *France*. Some remains of the antient *Vaudois* being settled in the villages of *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, the former under the jurisdiction of the legate of *Avignon*, and the latter in the king's territories, some zealots, making an ill use of their power, fell upon the poor people, and cut the throats of about three thousand in the first of those places, and many more in the latter, and in twenty-two little villages in the neighbourhood; for which barbarous deed some of the principal authors were deservedly punished in the succeeding reign ^l. The king, being very desirous of recovering *Boulogne*, resolved to employ for that purpose the whole forces of his kingdom by sea and land; and having taken into his service a considerable number of ships from the *Italian* states, he appointed the admiral *Annebaut* commander in chief of this puissant navy, with a large number of land forces on board; but, before they sailed, the king intended to have given the ladies of his court a great feast on board the admiral, which carried an hundred guns; but, by some accident or other, in making preparations for this feast, the ship took fire, and, with most of the people on board

^c BELCAR. ARNOLDI FERFONI de rebus gestis Gallorum. Annales de France. DUPL. HALL. HOLINSH.

^e Memoires de Langei.

^f DUPL. DU TIL.

^g BELCAR. LEONARD.

^h Memoires de Langei. HALL, & al.

ⁱ DUPL. DU TIL. MEZ.

^k HALL. P. DAN.

^l DUPL.

- a her perished ^m. The admiral, notwithstanding this accident, sailed with his fleet, consisting of one hundred and twenty large ships, and twenty-five galleys: their design was to attack an *English* squadron which lay at *Portsmouth*, in which their galleys gave them a great advantage: but they found them so securely posted, that after a little cannonading, they declined attacking them. They next debarked three different corps to ravage the *Isle of Wight*, and held a council of war to deliberate whether they should fortify themselves there, which was at length determined in the negative. Leaving the *Isle of Wight*, they made some descents upon the coast, with little advantage, and then returned home ⁿ. The land army, under the command of the marshal *de Biez*, was not more fortunate; he was ordered to build a large fort that might command the entry of the harbour of *Boulogne*, in which he departed from
- b his instructions, built it where it was of no use, and so small that it was forced to be pulled down. He forced, however, the lines of *Oye*, but did not prosecute this success with effect. The king, who had brought his son the duke of *Orleans* into *Picardy*, with an intent to be present at the siege of *Boulogne*, had the mortification to find the season so much advanced, and his army in so bad a condition, that it was impracticable. An epidemic distemper reigning at this time, the young prince was seized with it, and died on the eighth of *September*, A. D. 1545; not without great suspicion of poison ^o, to the inexpressible grief of his father. The council of *Trent* was opened this year, to which the king sent ambassadors, who were received and treated with great respect; but this did not console him for the loss of his son, and his disappointments in the war, which had cost him immense sums of money, and this levied in such a
- c manner, as grievously distressed his subjects, which filled the king's mind with very melancholy reflections.

- THE two kings were, by this time, tired of the war, and with equal reason; it had answered the purposes of neither, and was a heavy burden on both. *Henry's* health was declining, and *Francis* also felt himself daily decay: their subjects equally wished and needed a peace: but, notwithstanding this, the overtures that had been hitherto made for the conclusion of it, had met with great difficulties. *Francis* insisted on the restitution of *Boulogne*, and the *Scots* being included as his allies; but *Henry* would not listen to either. At length expedients were found, with respect to the first, and *Henry* consented to the latter, with this qualification, that the *Scots* gave him no fresh provocations. The two admirals of *France* and *England*
- d were the principal plenipotentiaries, and the peace was at length concluded in the beginning of *June*, on terms which were hard enough upon *Francis* ^p. He confirmed former treaties, recognized the validity of antient obligations, which he promised to perform; contracted a new debt of eight hundred thousand crowns, for the restitution and fortification of *Boulogne*, which was to be discharged by annual payments in eight years, and the place to remain till that time in the hands of the *English*. *Francis* was as well pleased with this as with the treaty of *Crepi*; they were neither of them favourable or honourable, but they were both necessary. The king was very desirous to leave his dominions in safety and in peace: he was sensible of former miscarriages, and intended to repair them as far as was in his power. It was with this view that he visited his frontiers, and directed several fortresses to be repaired, especially on
- e the side of *Germany*, because, under pretence of chastising the Protestants, the emperor was assembling a great army; and when the admiral *Annebaut* had demanded of him, after the death of the duke of *Orleans*, what his intentions were with regard to the duchy of *Milan* and the peace, he told him very roundly, that, as to the former, he looked upon himself to be under no obligation; and that he would observe the latter, unless he was provoked: which the king understood to be, when he found himself in a condition to break it with advantage. In this situation *Francis* might have availed himself, as his successors afterwards did, by a close alliance with the Protestants in *Germany*; but from this he was dissuaded by cardinal *Tournon*, who likewise prevailed upon him to revive religious persecutions in his own dominions, which rendered him unquiet at home, and ruined his reputation abroad; at the same time that it diverted him from what he had once designed, the reformation of the numerous abuses, that, through his own indolence, his frequent necessities, and the advice of bad ministers, had been introduced during his reign, and to which his duty and his interest obliged him.

AT the beginning of the ensuing year, being at *St. Germain en Laye*, he received the news of the death of *Henry* the eighth, his grief for which, some writers say, was the cause of his own ^q; for, notwithstanding their frequent quarrels, these two monarchs had a great affection for each other, as well as great resemblance, being nearly of a height, having the same air, the same tone of voice, and the same inclinations: *Henry* was, of the two, somewhat elder. *Francis* had reckoned much upon his assistance, in case of being attacked by the emperor, and,

^m Memoires du BELL.ⁿ HALL. HOLINSH.^o Memoires du BELIAY. BELCAR. DUPLEIX.^p ARNOLDI FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallor. BELCAR. DU TIL. STOWE, & al.^q Memoires de Langei.

upon his loss, altered his sentiments with regard to the Protestants of *Germany*, with whom ^a he saw it absolutely necessary for him to unite : but before he could proceed far in these or in any other of his schemes, he found himself attacked by a slow fever, occasioned by a malady brought upon him by his pleasures. He sought relief from exercise and change of place, but in vain ; and as he went from one country palace to another, he found himself so ill at *Ramboillet*, that he began to prepare for death, which he received with great composure of mind, advising his son to imitate him in his good qualities, if he had any, and to avoid his vices and foibles, which were but too numerous and too apparent ^b. He recommended to him the admiral in very strong terms, and dissuaded him from recalling the constable. This had little effect ; for, as a great historian ^c says, they were forgot before he was well in his coffin. He deceased on the last day of *March* ^d, in the fifty-third year of his age, ^e and the thirty-third of his reign, and with all his faults, universally regretted by his subjects (G). We need the less wonder at this, when we reflect, that almost all men of letters in *Europe* received pensions from him.

Henry II.
breaks through
all his father's
injunctions.

HENRY the second acceded to the throne the very day that he became twenty-nine years of age, with great expectations of the whole *French* nation : it is said that his father exhorted him in his last moments to consider the admiral *Annebaut* as one of his ablest and most faithful servants ; to withdraw his confidence from the constable, whom he suspected of holding a correspondence with *Charles* the fifth ; and to keep a strict eye over the princes of the house of

^c FERRONI de rebus gestis Gallor.

^d JACOBI THUANI Histor. sui temporis.

^e Ibid. ibid.

(G) This monarch was tall and tolerably well-shaped, had an high open forehead, brisk eyes, a long nose, a fine complexion, and his hair black. He was very expert in his exercises, very brave, and took great pleasure in feats of arms (1). At the second marriage of *Lewis* the 12th he gained great honour in a tournament. At the beginning of his reign, in some diversions of this sort, captain *de Lorges*, lord of *Montgomery*, tossing a firebrand, it fell upon the king's head, by which he was so burnt, that he was forced to be shaved, and ever after wore his hair short, and his beard long, which became the fashion (2). In the battle of *Pavia* he slew with his own hand the last heir male of the famous *Scanderbeg* (3). He had great natural parts, as appears from several pieces of poetry of his composing, which are yet extant. At his meals, in his recreations, and at night, before he went to sleep, he had persons who read to him, and it was by this means that he gained so general an acquaintance with the sciences (4). He was magnificent in every thing, and not only introduced the *belles lettres*, but a taste for the fine arts. He built many royal palaces, such as *Fontainebleau*, *St. Germain en Laye*, *Chambard*, the castle of *Madrid* in the wood of *Boulogne*, and he had laid the foundation of the *Louvre* (5). In the first part of his life he was profuse, but however it was in a noble way ; his palaces were richly furnished ; he had as fine jewels and finer pictures than most of the princes of his time : but what cost him the most was his pensions to great men, that is, to men of superior talents ; for there was not an able officer, or an accomplished scholar of whom he had any knowledge, but he either gave, or at least offered, him a pension. After he became infirm, he applied himself with more assiduity to his affairs, and grew so good an economist, that, at the time of his death, he had disengaged his whole domain, had four hundred thousand crowns in his coffers, and a quarter's revenue untouched, which his successor received (6). His first consort *Claude* of *France* died at the castle of *Blois*, *July* 20th, 1524, at the age of twenty-five (7). By her he had the Dauphin *Francis*, who was poisoned at the age of nineteen ; *Henry*, who succeeded him ; and *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, who is said to have died as his elder brother did, in the twenty fourth year of his age. He had also four princesses by the same queen, of whom *Louisa*

and *Charlot* died young, *Magdalen* married *James* the fifth of *Scotland*, with whom she lived only seven months, and *Margaret*, who, after his death, married *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of *Savoy* ; she was stiled the *Pallas* of *France*, and died at *Turin*, in the fifty-eighth year of her age, universally beloved, esteemed, and admired. By his second queen, *Eleanora*, sister to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, and the widow of the famous *Don Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, he had no issue. After his death, she returned to the court of her brother, who, as we have shewn in another place, carried her with him into *Spain*, where she died at the age of threescore. Amongst all the foibles of *Francis*, his love of women was the greatest : he was extremely smitten with *Mary* of *England*, the wife of his predecessor ; and the chancellor *du Prat* is said to have owed his fortune to the good advice he gave him, not to suffer his passion to defeat his succession. In his youth he had a mistress whose name was *Cureau*, by whom he was thought to have been the father of *Stephen Delet*, who suffered an infamous death for impiety. By another lady, whose name is not mentioned, he had a son, who took the name of *Vilecœurvin*. His amour with *Frances de Foix*, countess of *Chateaubriant*, made a great noise, and some say her husband, after a long imprisonment, put her to death : but this seems to be disproved by her monument, which shews she was reconciled to him, and died in 1537. However this be, he had another gallantry which was equally fatal to himself and his mistress ; she was a married woman, and the husband's resentment induced him to give her a disease, of which she died miserably, and the king, after languishing for many years, owed his death to the same cause. His last mistress was *Ann de Pisseleu*, who, at her coming to court, was stiled mademoiselle d'*Helli*. She had a prodigious ascendancy over *Francis*, tho' he would have made the world believe that nothing criminal ever passed between them. She married *John de Bretagne*, who, for her sake, was created duke d'*Estampes*. He gave for his device a salamander in the flames, with this motto, *Nutrisco et extinguo*, that is, " I am nourished, and I " extinguish ; " but the meaning is either impenetrable, or at least very obscure. He was buried with great pomp at *St. Denis*, and the bodies of his two sons, were also interred with his, near that of their mother queen *Claude*.

(1) *Memoires du Bellay. Belcarius. Arnoldi Ferroni de rebus gestis Gallor.*
pleix. (3) *Belcarius. Du Tillot. P. Daniel.*
pleix. Mezeray. (6) *Memoires de Brantome. Le Gend.*

(2) *Memoires du Bellay. Du-*

(4) *Arnoldi Ferroni, Scip. Duplex.*

(5) *Du-*

(7) *Duplex. Mezeray. P. Daniel. Le*

- a *Lorrain* ^u. Henry, to gratify his own inclinations, or to shew that he was a king, broke every one of these injunctions. He disgraced *Annebaut*, and deprived him of his employments, without so much as assigning a cause; he recalled the constable immediately, and he took the duke of *Guise* and his children into his council ^v. His coronation was celebrated at *Rheims*, on the 26th of *July*, where the six antient peers were represented by six of the new, and the duke of *Guise* had precedency of the duke of *Montpensier*, as the elder peer, though the latter was of the blood ^x. This prince either delighted in change, or yielded implicitly to those who did. The duchess of *Estampes*, finding herself neglected and despised, retired to her castle in the country, and became a zealous Protestant; but *Diana* of *Poitiers*, the widow of *Lewis de Breze*, whom the king created duchess of *Valentinois* ^y, directed all at her will, and was the principal cause of so many changes. The chancellor was disgraced, tho' he could not be deprived, and the seals, in process of time, given to *John Bertrandi*. The cardinal de *Tournon* was turned out of the council, to make way for the duke of *Aumale*, son to the duke of *Guise*. The two secretaries of state were dismissed, and many others ^z. This was not all; the king, tho' he is represented as a good-natured prince, made some examples like wife. *Edward du Biez*, marshal of *France*, was not only disgraced, but, by a sentence pronounced upon him for his want of conduct, or rather for his want of success, in the late reign, was degraded from his office and imprisoned. His son-in-law *James de Couci*, lord of *Vervines*, lost his head for surrendering *Boulogne* to the *English*, when the succours were almost in sight; but this was not executed till two years after, the process being so long depending ^a.
- c AFTER his coronation, the king made the tour of his frontiers, and, at his return, permitted a duel on a private quarrel, occasioned by their amours, between *Guy Chabot*, lord of *Jarnac*, and *Francis de Vivonne*, lord of *Chasteneraye*: the former was but just recovered from a fit of sickness; the latter was an active vigorous man, for whom the king had a great affection. The court was present, as was sometimes the custom on such occasions, when, contrary to all expectation, *Vivonne* was borne to the ground by *Jarnac*, and so much enraged at his disgrace, that, obstinately refusing to have his wounds dressed, he died in despair; at which the king was so much troubled, that he is said to have made a vow never to permit any thing of this kind again ^b. The queen-dowager being desirous to retire into the dominions of her brother, the king made no difficulty of giving his consent, and, at the same time, settled her jointure, which consisted of the revenues of *Touraine* and *Poitou*, to her wish ^c. The ministers, apprehending that the residence of twelve cardinals at court might be prejudicial to their interests, and bring too many ecclesiastics into the council, advised, under colour of doing honour to pope *Paul* the third, who had begun to negotiate an alliance with the king, and that they might have a stronger party in the conclave, which, they judged could be at no great distance, as the pontif was arrived at a very great age, sent no less than seven of them to *Rome*, where they were directed to use all possible methods to promote the king's interest, and to thwart the views of the emperor ^d. The delivery of the queen being expected towards the close of the year, the king directed his ambassadors to intreat the *Swiss* cantons, as a mark of their kindness and friendship, to assist, in quality of sponsors, at the baptism of his child; to which they readily assented, and named ambassadors to give their attendance at this ceremony, which they did in the month of *December*, when the young princess, who was named *Claude* after her grandmother, was carried to church by one of the ambassadors. This was intended to signify to the world the close conjunction there was between the crown of *France* and the *Swiss* cantons, and to make way for renewing the alliance upon such terms as were most convenient for the king's designs, which was also, tho' at some distance of time, brought about ^e; only the cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne* absolutely refused to be included in this new alliance, on account of the great severities that were daily exercised in *France* against their brethren the Protestants; yet this procured them no indulgence.
- f THE king, as a fresh mark of his favour, made *Francis* duke of *Aumale* a peer of *France*; and it was ascribed to the influence of that family, as well as to the politics of those times, that the king determined to send a fleet, with six thousand good troops on board, under the command of the lord d'Esse, to the relief of the *Scots*. The queen dowager was the daughter of the duke of *Guise*, and the sister of the duke of *Aumale*; she had vigorously promoted the views of *France* in hindering the marriage of her infant daughter with king *Edward* of *England*, and had, by that means, embarked the nation in a war, which had brought them to the brink of ruin. The sending this succour, whatever it might do to the *Scots*, clearly answered the king's intention, as it enabled the *French* party in *Scotland* to execute what they

Permits a duel in his presence, and renews his alliance with the cantons.

Sends succours to the Scots, and during his absence in Piedmont, an insurrection breaks out in Guienne.

^u Memoires du BELLAY. P. DAN.

Gallia, Libri quinque. Annales de France.

CORM. Hist. DUPL.

DAN.

THUAN.

^v THOMÆ CORMERII. Alenfonii rerum gestarum Henrici II. Regis

^x BELCAR. Memoires de Francis de RABUTIN.

^y THOM.

^z JACOB. THUAN. DU TIL.

^a Memoires de Francis de RABUTIN. P.

^c Idem ibid.

^d THOM. CORM. JACOBI

^e THOM. CORM. Hist. STETLER Chron. Bernense. JACOB. THUAN. SERRES.

had long intended, the sending over their queen *Mary*, a child of six years old, to be educated at the court of *France*^f, which lost her the love of her subjects, and was the true source of all her misfortunes. The king made another progress this summer thro' *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *Savoy*, and at length passed into *Piedmont*. His design was to see that all his frontier places were in a good state of defence, his forces complete, and to give countenance to his friends in *Italy*, where he was very desirous of reviving his pretensions to several countries; and, besides his jealousy of *Charles* the fifth, now at the very summit of his greatness, his personal resentment was stronger against him than that of his father, on account of some ill usage he had received when he was a hostage at *Madrid*. In the course of this progress he caused the marriage of the heiress of *Navarre* to be celebrated at *Moulins*, where *Anthony* duke of *Vendosme* espoused the princess *Joan* of *Albret*, whom *Francis* the first had given in marriage to the duke of *Cleves*, and who, through the terror of the emperor's arms, had been forced to send her back^g. While the king was thus employed, and had his thoughts chiefly occupied with foreign affairs, there broke out, very unexpectedly, a kind of civil war at home. It first appeared at *Saintonge*, and in the *Angoulmois*, but quickly spread itself through all *Guienne*, and was owing to the impatience of the people in regard to the salt tax^h; for the salt being the natural product of their own country, and considered as the peculiar blessing of Providence, derived to them without labour, by the influence of the sun upon the sea, they thought the tax very oppressive; but it was the insolence of the officers which rendered it intolerable. In this revolt the clergy and nobility had little share, the grievance did not fall upon them, and the people, as is commonly the case, tho' their cause was in itself worthy of compassion, rendered themselves, by their conduct, inexcusable, committing the most horrid acts of barbarity, and treating as enemies all who declined taking their method of expressing their resentmentⁱ. At length the flame of sedition caught the city of *Bordeaux*, where, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken by the magistrates, and in spite of the remonstrances of the parliament, the populace first besieged the king's lieutenant *M. de Monem*, in the citadel, and, when they had drawn him forth upon the public faith, that all possible respect should be paid to his person, they massacred him and another gentleman, who attempted to defend him in the streets^k. The king, at his return, ordered two corps of troops, one commanded by the constable, the other by the duke of *Aumale*, to reduce the revolted provinces to their duty. The duke took the higher road: and passing through *Saintonge*, with fair words, and making a very few examples, brought every thing into perfect order^l. The constable took his route by the sea-side; and though the city of *Bordeaux* opened her gates, and sent deputies to meet him, he would not enter otherwise than by a breach made in their walls, posted his troops in all parts, as if the place had been taken by storm, with cannon pointed at the head of every street; and, after a short process, seized their bells, as well as their records; declared all their privileges forfeited; hanged up one hundred substantial tradesmen; disarmed the rest; fined them in two hundred thousand livres; and finished by suspending the parliament from the exercise of their functions^m. Some say his resentment was sharpened on account of *Monem*, who was his near relation; and indeed there is some appearance of it, for he caused the town-house to be demolished, and a chapel to be erected over it, where a solemn service was to be said annually for the soul of the deceased; the magistrates, with an hundred of the principal inhabitants, were obliged to dig his body out of the grave with their nails, which was then carried in great pomp to the church of *St. Andrew*, and there interred, upwards of five thousand citizens attending the ceremony with torchesⁿ. The king remitted a great part of these penalties; but the different conduct of his officers had a strange effect; the constable remained ever afterwards odious to the people; the family of *Guise* began from that moment to reign in their hearts. The king caused the edicts against the Protestants to be executed with the utmost severity; erected a chamber on purpose, composed of members of the parliament of *Paris*, because he found the clergy too mild in the prosecution of heresy^o.

The king proceeds severely against the Protestants, and fails in his attempt on Boulogne..

In the month of *February* the king was blessed with another son, who had the name of *Lewis*, and the title of *Orleans*, bestowed on him^p. The astrologers who were in those days in great vogue, promised mighty things on the behalf of this young prince; but, as he died under three years of age, they gained no great credit by these predictions. The factions in the court of *England*, and the popular insurrections in the country, inspired the king with the hopes of recovering *Boulogne* easily; in order to which, he resolved to attack it by surprize,

^f Annales de France. HALL. & al.

CORM. Hist. Memoires de Francis de RABUT. DUPL.

^g JACOBI THUAN. Memoires de Francis de RABUTIN.

de France. JACOBI THUAN.

^h JACOB. THUAN. DU TILL.

ⁱ Annales de France. JACOBI THUAN. P. DAN.

^j Annales de France, & auct. sup. citat.

^k J. DE SERRES. DUPL.

^l Memoires de Francis de RABUTIN. Annales de France. P. DAN.

^m THOM. CORM. Hist.

- a the nobility having secret orders to bring with them a great number of gens d'arms when they came to attend the ceremony of the queen's coronation and public entry, which was fixed for the month of *June*. It was performed with great magnificence^a; but the splendor of it was quickly clouded by proceedings of a different nature; for it was at this time that the lord of *Vervines* suffered, and his head and quarters were placed on the *French* forts nearest to *Boulogne*. After this followed a solemn procession, which was closed by the burning of many Protestants. The king was himself present at this dreadful spectacle, which, however, shocked him to such a degree, that he could never forget it, but complained, as long as he lived, that, at certain times, it seemed before his eyes, and troubled his understanding^b. About the beginning of *August*, all things being ready, and *Strozzi* with the *French* fleet,
- b having attacked the *English* near *Guernsey*, with some advantage, by reason of a calm, which gave them an opportunity of using their galleys, the *French* forces attacked and carried all the advanced posts of the *English* about *Boulogne*; notwithstanding which, and the presence of the king, the constable, the dukes of *Vendosme* and *Aumale*, the place was so gallantly defended, that they were constrained to change the siege into a blockade^c, after war had been proclaimed against *England*, as a sort of justification of this enterprize. At the close of the year died *Margaret* queen of *Navarre*^d, the king's aunt, whose engaging manners and great abilities had rendered her admired throughout *Europe*. She had shewn so much zeal for the new opinions as occasioned their spreading in *France*, and, as far as she could, protected their professions.
- c On the humble application of the people of *Bordeaux*, the king restored them to his favour, and the parliament to its functions: they were likewise permitted, upon the payment of a sum of money, to withdraw their bells from the fortresses to which they had been carried at the time that city was punished by the constable^e. The blockade of *Boulogne*, which had continued all this time, alarmed the new government of *England*, where *John Dudley*, earl of *Warwick*, and afterwards duke of *Northumberland*, had supplanted the protector *Somer-*
set, and, not knowing how to relieve it, at the same time that money was much wanted, a treaty was set on foot for the sale of it, to which king *Henry* readily listened: The negociation was quickly concluded, by which it was agreed, that the place should be yielded to *France*, upon the payment of four hundred thousand crowns, one half on the day of restitution, and
- d the other before the middle of *August* following: *Scotland* was included, where the *English* restored what they had taken, and the claims of both parties were reciprocally reserved in general terms, and hostages given on both sides for the due performance of articles^f. This was the most advantageous peace that *France* had hitherto made with *England*; the vast arrears that were due from that crown being, in effect, remitted, and those pensions, which looked so like tribute, for want of being mentioned, in effect extinguished. The earl of *Warwick* himself was so sensible of the disgrace his nation had suffered by this scandalous bargain, that he pretended to be sick, to avoid setting his hand to the ratification. But, notwithstanding this, it was both ratified and executed. A peace being proclaimed, to shew that a thorough understanding was restored between the two courts, it was agreed to exchange their orders:
- e and accordingly the marshal *de St. André*, the king's favourite, was sent with that of *St. Michael* to king *Edward*, and the garter was sent in return to *Henry*^g. *Claude* duke of *Guise*, and his brother *John*, cardinal of *Lorraine*, dying, *Francis*, duke of *Aumale*, assumed the title of duke of *Guise*, and his brethren, *Charles* and *Lewis*, both cardinals, were stiled, the former of *Lorraine*, and the latter of *Guise*^h. An edict was made to restrain the extravagant remittances the clergy were obliged to make to *Rome*, and for correcting other abuses committed by the papal notaries, with which pope *Julius* the third, of the house of *Caraffa*, who had succeeded *Paul*, was highly displeasedⁱ. About the same time the affair of *Merindol*, which happened in the former reign, was revived; and, after exposing all the cruelties with which it was attended, those who were most criminal escaped, and
- f only *Guerin*, the king's attorney, felt the weight of the sword of justice, by the loss of his head, considered by the Protestants as a victim, and by the Papists as a martyr. *Charles de Cofse*, count of *Brisac*, one of the gallantest and one of the handsomest men in *France*, was sent to command in *Piedmont*, in the absence of the prince of *Melfi*, that he might be out of the sight of the dukes of *Valentino*; and the prince dying soon after, he succeeded him in the government, and in the post of marshal of *France*^j. The taxes were at this time so high, that the country people resorted in crowds to *Paris* to avoid them, by betaking themselves to trades; and, to prevent this, the king published an edict to restrain additional buildings, being apprehensive the city should become too big.

A. D. 1549.

Boulogne is yielded, and a peace concluded with England.

1550.

^a BELCAR. JACOB THUANI. Memoires de Francis de RABUTIN. DUPL. DU TILL. ^f MEZ.
P. DAN. & al. ^g Annales de France. ^h DUPL. MEZ. ⁱ JACOBI THUANI. ^j LEONARD.
DU TIL. HAYWARD'S Life of Edward VI. P. DAN. ^k DUPLEIX. HAYWARD'S Life of Edward VI.
HOLINSH. ^l JACOB. THUAN. Memoires de Francis de RABUT. ^m THOM. CORM. Hist.
JACOBI THUAN. DUPL. ⁿ JACOBI THUANI.

The king makes
war on the pope
and the empe-
ror.

ALL things were now in that order, which the king had so much wished, for resuming a the old plan of foreign affairs'. The scheme of pope *Paul* the third had been to aggrandize his family. He had first given his natural son *Peter Lewis Farnese* the city of *Camarino*, with the title of duke, which he afterwards exchanged for *Parma* and *Placentia*. This son of the pope's was one of the most profligate men in the world, and had pushed his brutality such a length, that his subjects conspired against him and killed him: upon which *Ferdinand Gonzagua*, who governed for the emperor in the duchy of *Milan*, seized *Placentia*. This duke left behind him three sons, *Alexander* the eldest, on whom his grandfather had bestowed a hat; *Octavio*, the second son, had married the emperor's daughter, who, notwithstanding, would not restore to him *Placentia*, or even consent that he should keep *Parma*. *Horatio*, the third son, had the duchy of *Castro*, and the king had consented that he should marry his natural daughter *Diana*. The pope, in order to adjust things as well as he could, had formed a plan of accommodation, by which *Octavio* was to quit *Parma*, and consent that it should be united to the dominions of the holy see, which he refused in so peremptory a manner, that, upon reading his letter, the old pontif fell into so high a passion, as brought on a fever, which carried him to his grave'. *Julius* the third had been chosen by the *French* faction, and the creatures of his predecessor, with whom he acted at first, but quickly entered into schemes for the emperor, and laboured to dispossess *Octavio Farnese* of *Parma*, as well as some other *Italian* princes, which threw them into the arms of the king, who declared his resolution to protect them. The pope, upon this, became very angry, and, under pretence that *Parma* was a fief belonging to the church, and that *Octavio Farnese* was a rebel, declared war against him, and demanded the assistance of the emperor to reduce him; the king, who had all along determined to support him, sent proper orders to the marshal *de Brisac*, who, upon *Gonzagua's* besieging *Parma*, gave the duke such effectual succours, as saved the place".

He renders
himself odious
by calling in
the Turks.

THE war being carried on in the name of the pope, and the emperor acting as his auxiliary, *Julius* threatened the king with the censures of the church, more especially after the *Turks* entered into the war, and sent a powerful fleet into the *Mediterranean*, where they threatened the island of *Malta*, ruined that of *Gozo*, and made descents upon *Sicily*. *Charles* the fifth also made loud complaints, that, for granting succours to the holy see, the *French* king had committed hostilities against him, and, after the example of his father, had called in the *Turks*. *Henry* vindicated himself, by shewing that the emperor had given the *Turks* sufficient provocation; and many of the *French* writers still insist upon this, and treat the emperor's complaints as calumnies; whereas, in truth, their own excuses are trivial, and can make no impression upon any that are not disposed to believe any-thing that can be alleged in favour of the *French* monarch; and what they urge as the strongest proof, that *Henry* did not call in the Infidels to his assistance, because the *French* ambassador on board the *Turkish* fleet interposed with effect, in favour of the order of *Malta*, is the fullest and clearest testimony to the contrary; since, if the king had not been in close alliance with the *Ottoman* Porte, his ambassador would not have been there, or, if he had, would not have been able to prescribe to a *Turkish* admiral, whom he should act against and whom not. This diversion had all the consequences that were expected from it; the emperor would not support the pope as he intended, and *Julius*, whose complaisance for the emperor rose entirely from the high opinion of his power, as soon as he found himself mistaken in that, began to lay aside his rough language, and consider how to get out of a quarrel which had already exhausted his finances".

Pope Julius
sues for peace.

THE king no sooner determined to enter into a war with the pope, than he very wisely resolved to prevent his enemies from drawing supplies out of his dominions, and, for that reason, forbid by an edict the sending of money to *Rome* on any pretence, which was almost as great a blow to *Julius* as the military operations of marshal *Brisac*, who made war with infinitely more prudence, better discipline, and more success, than any of the *French* generals had formerly done in this part of the world*. To qualify this, and to shew that, though he was an enemy to the pope, he was as zealous as ever for the church of *Rome*, the king published at *Chateaubriant*, a flaming edict against the Protestants'. The barony of *Montmorency* was erected into a duchy and peerage, in favour of the constable, who still continued at the head of affairs, and who, in the month of *October*, negociated, by the bishop of *Bayonne*, a league with the Protestant princes of the empire against *Charles*, by which it was stipulated, that the king should pay down two hundred and forty thousand crowns for the expences of the three first months of the war, and sixty thousand crowns towards the same expences every month after the war was declared, to be for restoring the liberties of *Germany*; neither party was to treat separately; and the king was to take into his possession, by way of

* THOM. CORM. Hist. Memoires de Francois. BOIVIN. DU VILLARS DUPL.

Recueil de M. LAMOIGNON. Commentar. de Statu Relig. et Reip.

THUANI. DU TIL. Pr. Henault.

* THOMÆ CORM. Hist. JACOBI THUANI. DUPL. LE GEND.

* BELCAR. JACOB. THUAN. DUPL. P. DANIEL. CHALONS.

† Lettres originales au

§ SLEIDAN Commentar. JACOBI

THUANI. DUPL. LE GEND.

† THOM. CORM. Hist. Pr. Henault.

a security for the just performance of this alliance, *Cambray*, or the cities of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and to hold them with the title of vicar of the empire². Pope *Julius*, to shew his strong desire of peace, sent, towards the close of the year, a legate to *Paris*, and the king who, during his quarrel, affected to support the rights of the *Gallican* church, not only obliged this legate to send his powers to be recognized by the parliament, but also to signify to that illustrious body in writing, that he was content to execute them according to the restrictions made by the parliament, and not otherwise³. The reader will discern from hence, that, as the interests of the court dictated, the parliament or the pontif prevailed.

At the very opening of the year, the king ratified his treaty with the *German* princes, and levied immense sums of money upon his subjects, by a variety of oppressive measures, that he might be enabled to execute it^b. *Maurice* elector of *Saxony*, and the rest of the allies, having received the stipulated subsidies, were quickly in motion, and pushed their enterprize with such vigour, that they were very near seizing the person of the emperor. As soon as *Henry* saw them embarked, the king gave orders for his army to advance towards the *Rhine*, which was one of the most numerous and best provided, that, to this time, *France* had set on foot. The queen was appointed regent in his absence; and, to give some satisfaction to the people, the admiral *Annebaut*, who had been lately recalled to court, was directed to assist her. At the king's entrance into *Lorraine* he was met by the duchess dowager, who was the emperor's niece, whom the king treated with great civility; but on his arrival at *Nancy*, he told her plainly, that, as it was a point of importance to have that country in the hands of a friend, he must endeavour to secure it for the future, by sending the young duke her son to be educated at *Paris*, and, for the present, by putting the administration into the hands of his uncle the count *de Vaudemont*^c. The cities of *Toul* and *Verdun* opened their gates, of which *Metz* made some scruple; but the constable took them so unprepared, that the citizens could not resist^d. The truth is, the princes of the house of *Lorraine* settled in *France*, that is, *Francis* duke of *Guise*, his brother *Claude*, to whom he had yielded the duchy of *Aumale*, and the two cardinals, one of whom was bishop of *Verdun*, forgetting the regard due to their family and to their country, promoted to their utmost the reduction of these places, by which the empire was deprived of its barrier, and the possession of *Lorraine* rendered thenceforwards precarious.

d THE king next extended his conquests into *Alsace*, taking every thing that had an appearance of strength between *Haguenau* and *Wissembourgh*: he made also an attempt upon *Strasburgh*, that he might have the command of the *Rhine*; but in this he failed; for the inhabitants, reflecting on the fate of *Metz*, had formed a garrison of nine thousand men, and were not either to be cheated or threatened out of their liberties^e. The confederate princes also, being desirous to stop his further progress, intreated him to be content, and not give occasion to his and their enemies to say, that the prince whom they stiled the protector, was become the oppressor of the liberties of *Germany*. The *Swiss*, who were no less apprehensive of his entering their territories, sent deputies to make him a compliment of the like nature, which he received very graciously, and took a resolution to retire, as if it had been in compliance with their request^f. This was a very high stroke of policy, and founded upon very different motives; he knew that the confederate princes were treating with the emperor; had a proper sense of the advantages already gained, which he resolved to keep; and found it necessary to provide for the safety of his own dominions; *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, governess of the *Low Countries*, having sent *Martin Rossen* into *Champagne*, where he committed most dreadful depredations^g. The king made a turn, however, thro' the duchy of *Luxemburgh*, where he took *Danvilliers*, *Ivry*, and *Montmedy*, and furnished *Robert de la Mark* with a body of forces, with which he recovered *Bouillon*, that had been taken from his grandfather by the emperor thirty-one years before. But, through the fatigue he suffered in this expedition, the king was seized with a fever, which almost brought him to the grave, at *Sedun*, which alarmed the nation much, and the favourites more^h.

In *Italy* the flame of war was stopped; the marshal *de Brisac*, though his army was far from being numerous, had seized the city of *Sienna*, and gained so many advantages, that the pope, who had concluded a truce with him for two years, inclined rather to his side; and the emperor, very wisely taking advantage of his having hitherto acted only as an auxiliary, desired to be included in that truce, which left the family of *Farnese* in possession of the duchy of *Parma*ⁱ. He knew that, whenever the circumstances of things in *Italy* would permit, he might revive this quarrel; and, being at present attentive only to the recovery of what had been taken from the empire, he was very desirous of being secure on this

^a LANCELOT VOESMS. Sieur de la POPELINIERE. SLEIDAN. Commentar. JACOBI THUANI. LE GEND. ^b THOMÆ. CORM. ^c Id. ibid. ^d Lettres originales au Recueil de M. LAMOIGNON. MEZ. P. DAN. ^e JACOBI THUANI, & al. ^f THOM. CORM. & auct. sup. citat. ^g JACOBI THUANI. DUPL. ^h P. DAN. Memoires de BRANT. ⁱ THOM. CORM. BELCAR. LE GEND. ^j DUPLEIX.

side, where, with the assistance of the *Turks*, he was apprehensive the *French* might make the conquest of the kingdom of *Naples*. *Henry* having carried his own point in *Italy*, readily consented to the truce, without consulting the interest of his Infidel allies. The princes of the empire acted precisely from the same motives; they had obtained all they could desire by the treaty of *Passau*, and therefore made no scruple of leaving their troops at the disposition of the emperor, *Albert* of *Brandenburgh* only excepted. That monarch, with twelve thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and a numerous train of artillery, came before *Metz*, towards the end of *October* ^k. The place was large, and so poorly fortified, that he might reasonably have hoped it would make but little resistance. The duke of *Guise* threw himself into it with two princes of his house, three princes of the blood, fifty noblemen of the first rank, five hundred gentlemen of quality on horseback, with their followers, and five thousand of the best infantry in *France*. While the siege lasted, *Albert* of *Brandenburgh*, having adjusted things with the emperor, surprized a good corps of troops, under the command of the duke d' *Aumale*, and put a great part of them to the sword; so that the garrison of *Metz* was equally deprived of succour, and of the hopes of any diversion in their favour ^l. The count de *Roeux* carried the war into *Picardy*, with all the circumstances of rage and fury imaginable, made himself master of *Noyon*, *Roye*, *Nesle*, *Chauny*, and burnt the royal palace of *Folembray*, which so alarmed the city of *Paris*, that the inhabitants demanded the king's leave to fortify on the side of *Picardy*, which he gave them, provided they did it at their own expence ^m. Thus the emperor had all the leisure and all the advantages he could desire in carrying on the siege. But the advanced season of the year, perpetual sallies from the place, the indefatigable attention of the duke of *Guise*, and his great military abilities, rendered all his attempts vain; so that, after lying before it two months, during which his army was lessened one third, he did not judge it expedient to proceed to an assault, though there were breaches on every side; but, on the contrary, finding the diseases and distresses to which his army was exposed multiply every day, he was constrained to decamp ⁿ. The duke of *Guise* might have destroyed great part of his forces in their retreat; but he generously caused them to be picked up in the roads and villages, and sent to the hospitals, being ashamed, after having defeated an imperial army, to stain the glory of his arms, with the blood of diseased and dying men. But the city of *Metz*, which has remained ever since in the hands of the *French*, has never recovered its former splendor, since, in order to his defence, the duke of *Guise* found himself obliged to demolish thirty convents and churches in and about the city, in some of which were the tombs of several of the kings of the *Carlovingian* race, whose remains were, with the formality of a solemn procession, removed.

The emperor takes and razes Terouenne and Hesdin, and the king attempts the siege of Cambray in vain.

THE relief of *Metz* was celebrated with all possible expressions of satisfaction and joy ^o, which was very natural, but ought certainly to have been accompanied with a reasonable regard to what might happen in the succeeding campaign. The emperor had been repulsed with loss; but *Charles* the fifth was not a prince capable of being discouraged by any disappointment. He used incredible diligence in recruiting his army, so that the next summer the count de *Roeux* invested *Terouenne*, with numerous forces: the place was strong, but very ill provided, and the garrison small. The *French* army was not able to take the field, though in the month of *June*; but *Andrew Mantalabert*, lord D' *Esse*, who had commanded with great reputation in *Scotland*, and who had saved *France* by the defence of *Landrecy* in the former reign, was ordered to throw himself into it, which he did, with a handful of brave men. He defended it with that intrepidity which was expected from him; sustained a storm of many hours, till at length he was killed in the breach ^p. *Francis de Montmorency*, son to the constable, next assumed the command; but being surprized at the operation of a mine, consented to treat, and, while the articles of capitulation were regulating, the *German* and *Flemish* soldiers surprized some weak posts, and, entering the town, put not only the garrison, but the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the sword. The *Spaniards*, with some difficulty, saved the principal officers; but the emperor carried his resentment so far, as to destroy the city to its very foundations, so that at present there is scarce any discernable marks of its ruins ^q. The count de *Roeux* being dead, the command of the imperial army fell to *Cæsar Ponce de Lalain*, lord of *Biencourt*: but the emperor, believing it would be more for his advantage to have his army commanded by a person of superior rank, replaced him by *Emanuel Philibert* prince of *Piedmont* ^r. His first enterprize was the siege of *Hesdin*, where the marshal de la *Mark* commanded, who was son-in-law to *Diana de Poitiers*. *Horatio Farnese*, duke of *Castro*, the solemnization of whose marriage with the king's natural daughter *Diana* had employed

^k Chronic. Bernens. SLEIDAN Commentar.

Sieur de SALIGNAC. SERRES.

THUANI. P. DAN. LE GEND.

France. BELCAR. STRADA de Bello Belgico. DUPL.

^r MAR. FER.

^l THOM. CORM. Hist. JACOB. THUANI. Lettres du

^m HILARION DE COSTE. Memoires de BRANT. MEZ.

^o DU TILL. P. DAN. CHALONS. Pr. Henault.

^p Annales de

^q JACOB. THUAN. DU TIL. MEZ. P. DAN.

- a the *French* court, while the emperor was forcing their barrier, threw himself into this place, with fifty persons of quality ; notwithstanding which the prince of *Piedmont* conducted his enterprize with so much diligence and vigour, that the marshal was forced to capitulate *. While they were treating, a priest throwing a granade at random, it fell into a mine, by which the castle was blown up, and the duke of *Cajtro*, and many other persons of distinction, buried in the ruins. The *German* troops, seeing this disorder, forced their passage into the town, and put the garrison, a few of the principal officers excepted, to the sword. *Henry* was marching to the relief of the place, at the head of a complete army, consisting of ten thousand excellent cavalry, and fifty-four thousand foot, with a train of a hundred pieces of cannon ; yet this mighty force performed nothing worth mentioning, except defeating a corps of *Flemish* cavalry, making the duke of *Arscot*, who commanded them, with about five hundred men, b prisoners, and killing about six hundred more, amongst whom was the prince of *Epinoy* ; for prince *Philibert* declined a battle, and prevented the siege of *Cambray*, which so chagrined the constable that he fell sick, and upon this the *French* army went into winter quarters ; at which the people murmured exceedingly, but without shaking the credit of the favourite †.

- THE truce in *Italy* was broke almost as soon as it was concluded ; for the emperor thought it practicable to recover *Sienna*, with the assistance of the duke of *Tuscany*, and the prince of *Salerno* persuaded the *French* that it was very possible for them to become masters of the king-
 c dom of *Naples*. These designs reciprocally defeated each other ; the *Turkish* fleet, com-
 manded by the corsair *Dragut*, and *Sinan Basba*, came time enough on the coasts of the king-
 dom of *Naples* to oblige the imperialists to raise the siege of *Sienna* ; but the prince of *Salerno*
 did not reach the fleet so early as to excite a revolt in *Naples*, which otherwise he would have
 done †. Monsieur de *Termes*, who had defended *Sienna*, made, with the assistance of the
Turkish and *French* fleet, which had defeated that of *Andrew Doria*, an attempt on *Corfica*,
 and reduced the whole island, except *Calvi* ; but, some difference arising between him and
Dragut, the *Turkish* fleet retired, and the *Genoese* recovered all except *Fiorenzo*, and the south
 part of the island. The marshal de *Brisac* took several places in *Piedmont*, and introduced a
 new method of making war, which has been but little imitated. The peasants were exempted
 on both sides from injuries, and people passed through the seat of war about their business,
 d with as much security as in time of full peace ‡. *Edward* the sixth of *England*, being in a
 very declining condition, and the *French* ministers having intelligence of the emperor's views,
Anthony de Noailles was sent over to assure the duke of *Northumberland* of the king's assistance,
 which served only to animate him to an enterprize, which had its conclusion on the scaffold *.
 On the twelfth of *December* this year, the duchess of *Vendosme* was delivered of *Henry*, first A.D. 1553.
 king of *Navarre*, and then of *France* †.

- POPE *Julius* thought it became him to endeavour, at least, the conclusion of a peace. But
 the emperor insisted on very high terms, which king *Henry* thought it dishonourable for him
 so much as to hear ; so that, instead of a treaty, the pope's propositions did not so much as
 produce a negotiation. What chiefly raised the emperor's spirits so much, was the conclusion
 e of the marriage between his son *Philip* and queen *Mary* of *England*, in spite of all the en-
 deavours of *France*, as well as contrary to the inclinations of the *English*. This, however,
 did not hinder *Henry* from sending Monsieur de *Noailles*, who had been employed to defeat
 her succession, to compliment queen *Mary* upon her marriage ‡. Cardinal *Pole*, in his
 passage through *France*, employed his eloquence with great sincerity to soften things be-
 tween both princes, but to little purpose, though the king testified great esteem for his
 person. The remembrance of what had passed the preceding year engaged *Henry* not
 only to guard against a surprize, but to labour all that was in his power to be in the field
 before the emperor ; having assembled, in different places, about sixty thousand men, he
 entered the dominions of that prince with three different armies ; the first commanded, un-
 f der himself, by the constable, the second by the duke of *Vendosme*, and the third by the mar-
 shal de *St. André* †. The constable having deceived the emperor's generals, came unexpectedly
 before *Marienburg*, a new town, to which queen *Mary* of *Hungary* had given her own name,
 and there he was joined by the other two armies ; the place being but indifferently provided,
 the governor and officers were made prisoners of war. The king was so much pleased with
 it, that he was resolved to keep it ; and, with this view, not only placed a garrison there,
 but also, to facilitate the correspondence with his own territories, fortified *Rocroi* ‡. In the
 beginning of *July*, the king took *Bovines* by assault ; and the duke de *Vendosme* reduced *Di-*
nant, though the castle was gallantly defended by a *Spanish* officer.

* Annales de France. STRADA de Bello Belgico.

† JACOB. THUAN. STRAD. de Bello Belgico. DU

TIL. MEZ. P. DAN.

‡ JACOB. THUAN. POPELINIERE, Memoires de Montluc. DUPL. P. DAN.

§ THOM. CORM. Hist. CHALONS. LE GEND.

* DU CHESNE. P. DAN. HOLIN.

† DUPL. MEZ.

‡ DU CHESNE. GODIVINI. Annales.

§ Lettres du Sieur du SALIGNAC. Annales de France. JACOB

THUANI. P. DAN.

§ Lettres du Sieur de SALIGNAC. DUPLEIX, MEZ.

Charles at the head of his army, has the worst in the action before Renty.

THE emperor having put himself at the head of his army, the king, who was very desirous of bringing him to a battle, wasted all the country, and razed *Maubrege*, *Bavay*, *Binch*, and *Mariemont*; the last but one of these was a village, surmounted by a beautiful castle, and *Mariemont* a pleasant country palace of the queen before-mentioned, which was the reason that the king burnt the one, and beat the other to pieces, as he likewise did the castle of *Roeux*, in resentment of the ravages committed by the queen's order by its late master, and particularly for demolishing his favourite palace of *Folembray*^c. There was an high antipathy between *Mary* and *Henry*, which, after venting itself in songs and lampoons, that were indecent, produced at length these acts of violence that were clearly inhuman. How much soever the emperor might be displeased at a war carried on in this manner, for which if any conduct could give cause, his own had afforded too much, he could not be brought to fight with any advantage. The king, therefore, having wasted the country about *Cambray*, passed through the country of *Artois*, and, towards the end of *July*, invested the castle of *Renty*, which, though but small, was very strong, and from whence the emperor's subjects made frequent excursions into the country of *Boulogne*^d. *Charles*, who had under him *Philibert* duke of *Savoy*, and *Ferdinand Gonzague*, advanced to its relief, and encamped so close to the *French* army, that there was only a narrow valley between them. On the 13th of *August*, there happened a smart action, in which the king distinguished himself personally at the head of the *Swiss*, and the duke of *Guise*, who is the favourite hero of the *French* writers gained a considerable advantage^e. The field of battle, strewed with two thousand dead bodies, a considerable number of standards and colours, and a few pieces of cannon, were the proofs of this victory, which, it is said, might have been more complete, if the constable had been more lively in his motions. It seems he remembered the battle of *Pavia*, and, with a superior army in his front, and a strong garrison in his rear, was unwilling to run any risk. What offends the *French* still more, he prevailed upon the king, a few days after, to raise the siege, and to retire before the emperor, which, they say, tarnished the lustre of this campaign. But a better judge than they thought otherwise; for when a great lord went to visit the emperor *Charles* in his retreat, and told him that he had adorned his gallery with the pictures of his military exploits, and particularly his last, which was the flight of the *French* from *Renty*, *Charles* answered gravely and gently, "Then you must set your painter to correct it; for instead of a flight it was a gallant and soldier-like retreat, in day-light, and in good order^f." After this the army went into winter-quarters, having added some places to the *French* territories, and much to the security of the frontiers.

The French defeated in Italy, and Sienna besieged.

ON the side of *Italy* a new scene opened. *Cosmo de Medicis*, duke of *Tuscany*, who had acted covertly as an auxiliary, or rather as a feudatory to the emperor, perceiving clearly that he ran as great hazard, without being able to reap so great advantage, as if he declared openly against the *French*, and exerted his whole force, first made a good bargain with the emperor, and then did what his interest would have prompted him to, if he had made no bargain at all. He set on foot a numerous army, the command of which he gave to the marquis *de Marignan*, who was desirous of being thought the duke's relation^g. The point he aimed at was to reduce *Sienna*, where *Peter Strozzi* commanded, an excellent officer, but unfortunate, because he was obstinate. The marquis besieged it in vain; he changed his siege into a blockade to as little purpose. *Strozzi*, leaving the command of the place to *Montluc*, marched with nine or ten thousand men into the duke's territories, and besieged *Marciano*. The marquis marched to the relief of the place, and the situation of the armies was much the same as between the *French* and the Imperialists at *Renty*^h. Want of water forced *Strozzi* to decamp; it was much against his will, and he sent a courier to *Montluc*, to demand his sentiments, whether it was best to retire by night or by day. *Montluc*, whose bravery was as little questioned as his abilities, answered, "That is best which is safest." But, notwithstanding this, *Strozzi* had his head so full of the point of honour, that he made his retreat before a superior army, in open day, and was thoroughly beaten for his pains, being dangerously wounded, and losing four thousand men, his baggage, and artillery. It was the news of this misfortune that induced the constable to raise the siege of *Renty*. The marshal *Strozzi* preserved, however, *Sienna* for this yearⁱ. *Monf. de Termes* kept his ground in *Corfica*, and the marshal *de Brisac* made himself master of *Joree* in four days. The *French* ambassador at *Rome* protested against the investiture which the pope gave to *Philip of Austria* of the kingdom of *Naples*. At the very close of the year, *Metz* was on the point of being surprized by a conspiracy, which was managed by the superior of the *Cordeliers*, and was discovered by the vigilance and penetration of the governor, who killed about twelve hundred of the garrison of

^c JACOB THUAN. Lettres du Sieur de SALIGNAC. BELCAR. P. DAN. RABUT. SERRES. MEZ.

DE VERA, vie del Carlos V. BRANT. DUPL. MEZ.

^d THOM. CORM. Hist. Memoires de TAVENNES. P. DAN.

^e JACOBI THUANI. Memoires de Montluc. P. DAN.

^f Annales de France, Memoires de Montluc.

^g Memoires de Francis de ANTON.

^h Memoires

a *Tbionville*, that was charged with the execution of this project^k, and had advanced into the neighbourhood of *Metz* with that view.

THE city of *Sienna*, the siege of which was continued through the winter, was defended with great courage and constancy by *Montluc*, who prevailed upon the inhabitants to resist both force and famine, and to venture a variety of deaths, from the sole hope of preserving their liberty. But the factions in the *French* councils hindered any relief from being sent to marshal *Strozzi*; for the queen, who had afterwards too much, had now so very little power, that she could not support her relation. At length, therefore, after a siege of eight months, *Sienna* was surrendered^l. *Montluc* was consulted in the capitulation, by which the liberty of the city was preserved, under the protection of the emperor, and the garrison was permitted to march out; but, notwithstanding this, *Montluc* refused to sign it. The marquis de *Maignan* was surprized; but *Montluc* persisted in his resolution; adding, that the republic had made a good capitulation, and he was willing to afford them the benefit of it, by quitting their city; but that he and his garrison would owe their safety to their swords, in case they should be attacked on their march. The marquis thought so good a defence excused this singularity of sentiment, and suffered *Montluc* to take his own way, who, at his return to *France*, received the king's order, which was then a great honour, and afterwards the staff of marshal of *France*^m. In *Piedmont*, the marshal de *Brisac* had meditated the relief of *Sienna*, with the small army that he commanded; but there was a faction against him too, so that the project he sent of this expedition to court was rejected. However, being at liberty in his government, he contrived and executed the surprize of *Casal*, on *Sbrove Tuesday*, when the officers of the imperial army were intent on the diversions that closed the carnival. Their general saved himself in the castle, but he was obliged to capitulate in a few daysⁿ. The duke of *Alba* was sent to command in his room: he took some places by storm, where he put the *Italian* soldiers to the sword, and sent the *French* to the gallies; but, the duke of *Aumale* arriving with a considerable reinforcement, he received several severe checks, and the campaign ended, as it began, on this side, to the advantage of the *French*.

IN the mean time cardinal *Pole* set on foot a new negociation for peace, to which the king seemed to listen with great cordiality; but this, the *French* writers fairly own, was owing to his apprehension of seeing the *English* embarked, as they afterwards were, in the *Spanish* quarrel. But the treaty, notwithstanding, came to nothing; for, though the coffers of both monarchs were exhausted, yet neither had any real desire of making peace. *Henry* resolved not to part with *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and yet he could not avow that resolution, for fear of provoking the princes and states of the empire. He seemed, therefore, willing to part with them, but then he peremptorily demanded the duchy of *Milan*, which the emperor refused, and, in as peremptory a manner, demanded *Burgundy*; so that *Pole*, seeing his good designs defeated, suffered the conferences to end, without testifying any thing more than a deep concern for the obstinacy of both princes^o. The campaign in the *Low Countries* shewed that they were not more unwilling to make peace than unable to make war. The imperialists intended to besiege *Marienburg*, or at least to have blockaded it; but the *French* found means to relieve it; and therefore, as the last effort of his military genius, *Charles* directed the constructing two fortresses for the security of his dominions, which were *Charlemont* and *Philipville*^p. On the other hand, the *French* were able to do nothing, not even to prevent *William* of *Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, from ravaging *Picardy*, after cutting a great part of the militia of the province to pieces. Thus ended the great operations of the year; but there happened besides several other events, of which it is absolutely necessary that we should take some notice, in order to preserve a perspicuous connection between the past and succeeding parts of this history.

THE emperor *Charles* the fifth, finding his faculties extremely exhausted, thought fit to resign his regal and hereditary dominions to his son, which he did gradually, and with all the circumstances of deliberation and dignity, which were conspicuous in the great actions of his life^q. This was far from being a matter of indifference to *France*, and yet the king could not publicly take any share in it. His ministers in *Germany*, however, used all their skill to prevent *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans* from resigning that dignity in favour of *Philip*, in which their endeavours were attended with success. The death of *Henry d'Albret* king of *Navarre*, was another interesting circumstance; for the king, either of his own motive, or prompted by some of his ministers, had a strong inclination to take the poor remains of that kingdom from *Anthony* duke of *Vendosme*, who had married the heiress, and to give him an equivalent in the heart of the kingdom. But *Anthony*, having either some intelligence or some sus-

^k Annales de France. BELCAR. P. DAN.

^m THOMÆ CORM. Hist. POPELINIÈRE. DUPLÉ X.

MEZ. P. DAN.

^p JACOBI THUAN. DUPLEIX. MEZ. CHALONS.

Sieur de la POPELINIÈRE. SLEIDAN. Commentar. THOMÆ CORM. Hist.

^l Memoires de Montluc. JACOB. THUAN. MEZ.

ⁿ Memoires de Montluc.

^o DU CHESNE.

^q LANCELOT VOESINS.

picion of it, made such haste into the principality of *Bearn*, as secured him peaceable possession, in which the king did not think it afterwards expedient to trouble him ^r. But, as a mark of his resentment, he detached *Languedoc* from his government of *Guienne*, and refused that of *Picardy* to his brother *Lewis* prince of *Conde*. On the death of pope *Julius* the third succeeded *Marcellus* the second, a man of exemplary virtue and rational piety. Pontiffs of this character are seldom long-lived. He possessed this dignity twenty-five days, and was succeeded in it by *John Peter Caraffa*, upwards of fourscore, who took the name of *Paul* the fourth, and laying aside that great shew of austerity and sanctity of manners by which he seemed to have merited the pontificate, assumed at once not only the state of a great prince, but of the prince of princes, which was the title he affected. He had two nephews, *John* and *Charles* : the former he made general of the forces of the church, and covered the head of the latter with a cardinal's hat. Pope *Paul* was scarce warm in his throne before he entered into a negociation with the king, for the recovery, as it was stiled, but in effect for the partition, of the kingdom of *Naples*, which proposal was well received at court, through the interest of the princes of *Lorraine*, the cardinal aspiring to the popedom, and the duke of *Guise* having a vehement desire to be viceroy of *Naples*, having also, as heir to the house of *Anjou*, a sort of title to the kingdom itself ^s. The better part of the council were against this project ; but their opposition was of little weight. The constable, indeed, was also against it, and might have opposed it with effect, but he contented himself with hinting at the bad consequences that might attend it, being willing to be quit of one who had so great a share as the duke of *Guise* evidently had in the king's favour. The cardinal of *Lorraine*, therefore, was sent to *Rome*, to put the last hand to this treaty, and directed to carry with him the cardinal *de Tournon*, who was but just returned from thence, who went, indeed, in obedience to the king's orders, but very plainly and honestly declared how much he disliked the commission, which did not hinder the treaty from being concluded in the month of *December* ^t, tho', for reasons of state respecting both parties, it was kept extremely secret, in order to save the pope from the emperor's immediate resentment, and to give time for engaging other allies.

A. D. 1555.

A truce between the emperor and the king ;

THE absence of the cardinal of *Lorraine*, left the king's ear more open to free council than it had been ; and some deputies of his, having conferred with some of the emperor's about the exchange of prisoners, the latter demanded if they had no instructions to agree to a truce, of which the court being informed, and cardinal *Pole* renewing his instances at the same time, the constable took this opportunity of procuring such instructions ^u. The pope, being acquainted with this by the cardinal *de Tournon*, refined a little too far upon it ; for in confidence that neither the emperor, nor his son the king of *Spain*, would leave *Piedmont*, part of *Tuscany*, and *Corfica*, in the hands of *France*, together with her conquests in the *Low Countries*, for any length of time, he dissembled his dislike of this proposition, and advised the king to accept the truce, which was accordingly concluded in the beginning of the month of *February*, at the abbey of *Vaucelles*, near *Cambray*, the emperor being exceedingly desirous to leave his son in peace ^w. The pope was greatly displeased, but not disconcerted, with this news ; he resolved immediately to send a cardinal legate to each of the monarchs, to congratulate them on the conclusion of the truce, and to exhort them, out of pity to their subjects, and charity to the rest of Christendom, to convert this truce into a solid and lasting peace. But the true intent of sending his nephew, cardinal *Caraffa*, to the court of *France*, was to prevail upon the king to break the truce, and to revive the war in *Italy* immediately ; the real motive to which was, that, according to the course of nature, he had not long to live, and he was desirous of seeing the house of *Caraffa* on a level with that of *Medicis*, or, at least, with that of *Farnese*. In the management of this negociation, cardinal *Caraffa* found some difficulty ; for the constable exclaimed warmly against the breach of the truce, as equally inconsistent with the kingdom's interest and the king's honour ^x.

but it is broke and the war renewed.

It was carried, notwithstanding, by the influence of the duke of *Guise*, supported by that of the queen, and, which was much more powerful, the solicitation of the duchess of *Valentinois*. The queen was desirous to see her cousin, marshal *Strozzi*, once more in command ; and the duke of *Aumale* having married a daughter of the duchess, that lady was entirely devoted to the house of *Lorraine* ^y. But the pope, to remove all obstacles, seized upon the king of *Spain*'s minister, charging him with being privy to a conspiracy against his government, and even against his person, declared his master to have forfeited his right to the kingdom of *Naples*, and threatened both him and his father with excommunication ^z. Upon these provocations, the duke of *Alva* had orders to enter the ecclesiastical state ; and the pope thereupon exclaimed that the truce was broke, which gave him a right to demand the support of *France*. The marshals *Strozzi* and *Montluc* were thereupon

^r THOMÆ CORM. JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEX.^s PALLAV. DU TILLÉT.^t MEZ. P. DAN.^u DUPLEX.^w Recueil de Traites par LEONARD.^x DU TILLÉT.^y Memoires de

Francois.

^z DUPLEX.

a sent to *Rome* with some forces, marshal *Brisac* began hostilities in *Piedmont*, and the duke of *Guise* prepared to pass the mountains with a puissant army ^a. In the mean time king *Philip*, by offering to restore *Placentia*, drew over the duke of *Parma*, and the rest of the princes of the house of *Farnese*, to his party; so that tho' the pope had promised for all the powers in *Italy*, none would enter into the league, and none remained attached to *France* but the duke of *Ferrara* ^b. It is however true, that the pope solicited the *Venetians* with all the zeal imaginable; and finding all intreaties would not prevail, threatened at length to bring in the *Turks* upon them, which proved also ineffectual.

At the very opening of the year, the duke of *Guise* entered *Italy* with an army of twenty thousand men; and, by the king's command, conferred with marshal *Brisac*, as to the conduct of the campaign. The marshal observed, that their master had two things in view, the relief of the pope, who was extremely pressed by the duke of *Alba*, and the recovery of the countries upon which he had a claim in *Italy*. He proposed the invasion of the duchy of *Milan*, as a measure which would answer both ends, since it would oblige the duke of *Alba* to retire out of the ecclesiastical state, and would certainly put the king's forces in possession of the best part of that duchy ^c. This proposition was so reasonable, that there was nothing to be said against it, and yet the duke of *Guise* had no inclination to follow it. He approved it very readily; but as it did not agree with his instructions, he desired that the marquis *de Villars* might be dispatched to court with the marshal's reasons, in order to receive the king's commands; but before he proposed this advice, he had dispatched a courier to the cardinal his brother. The marquis, at his arrival, stated the marshal's proposition to the council, where it was so strenuously supported by the constable and the marshal *de St. Andre*, that the king could not help applauding it. In the evening, however, the cardinal of *Lorraine*, the queen, and the duchess, so importuned the king, that they obtained express orders to the duke of *Guise* to march directly to *Rome*, and sent back his courier with them in the night. The marquis *de Villars* being informed of this in the morning, went to the king booted and spurred, desiring his dispatch, pursuant to the resolution taken in council, which gave *Henry* infinite disquiet; but he made the best excuse he could, acknowledged the marshal *de Brisac*'s capacity and zeal for his service, and sent him a small supply of money, which he had not obtained without ^d. We have reported this the more largely, as from this incident the reader may frame to himself a just idea of this monarch's conduct during his whole reign. When, in pursuance of these orders, the duke of *Guise* advanced into the papal territories, he was quickly convinced how ill he had taken his measures; and after being deceived over and over by cardinal *Caraffa*, he was plainly told, that, the pope being unable to fulfil his treaty, he must act as well as he could. But, tho' pope *Paul* could not furnish troops to his ally, he was very desirous of assisting *France* by his intrigues; and, with this view, set on foot a negociation with the duke of *Tuscany*, for the marriage of his son with *Elizabeth*, king *Henry*'s eldest daughter. *Cosmo de Medicis* received this proposition with great respect and complaisance, on which it was published at *Rome* that the marriage was concluded. King *Philip*, who knew the consequence of this alliance, offered the duke the cession of *Sienna*, and its territory, which was precisely what he desired, who thereupon excused himself as to the marriage, alleging himself to be highly honoured in the proposition which, however, it was unfit for so little a prince to accept. Thus the houses of *Medicis* and *Farnese* acquired by this war all they could desire, without being exposed either to danger or expence, while the duke of *Guise* found it absolutely impossible to penetrate into the kingdom of *Naples*; and while things were in this situation, came the news of the total defeat of the *French* army at *St. Quintin*, with express orders to the duke of *Guise* to return without delay ^e. By this means the pope was left entirely at the mercy of king *Philip*, who treated him with such moderation in respect to his personal interests, with such deference in regard to his political capacity, and with such profound marks of respect for his dignity, by ordering the duke of *Alba* to go in person, and make his submissions to the pontif, that he gained him entirely; in-
fomuch that he told the duke of *Guise*, at his audience of leave, that in this expedition he had done little for the king, less for the interests of the holy see, and nothing for his own reputation ^f. The marshal *de Brisac*, on the side of *Piedmont*, acted with the same vigilance and vivacity in this as in former campaigns, and with like success; but as the king's jealousy had sent him to this distant command, so his weakness and condescension deprived *France* of all the advantages which, by his great courage and conduct, he had obtained.

THE king, though he did not take the field this year, ran no small hazard of his life in his own palace; for one day as he was going to chapel, one *Caboche*, who had a small place in the secretary's office, drew his sword, and advancing hastily towards his majesty, cried out, "Stop, king! I have a command from God to put you to death." But the *Swiss* guards

The duk of Guise enters Italy, notwithstanding which the pope is reduced to make peace on the king of Spain's terms.

^a Memoires de BOIVIN.
de BOIVIN. P. DAN.

^b Memoires de Montluc.
^c JACOB. THUAN. SERRES.

^e JACOB THUAN.
^f JACOB. THUAN.

^d Memoires

seized

beat the
French at
St. Quintin.

seized and prevented him from executing his purpose : and afterwards, by judgment of the parliament, he was hanged ^a. In the beginning of *June*, the queen of *England* sent a herald at arms to denounce war, having at the same time given orders for embarking twelve thousand men, which were to serve in conjunction with the troops of king *Philip* in the *Low Countries* ^b. This alarmed the *French* court exceedingly, as it was a step they did not at all expect. The war in *Italy* had so occupied their councils, and so exhausted the king's treasures, that there were but few forces in the garrisons of *Picardy*, and scarce any in the field, when, in the month of *July*, the king of *Spain's* army assembled, by the march of troops on all sides, at *Givet*, where, when *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of *Savoy*, came to take upon him the command, they consisted of thirteen thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot. In his march the duke seemed resolved to besiege first *Marienburg*, and afterwards *Rocroi* ; but on a sudden, turning aside ^b in the beginning of the month of *August*, besieged *St. Quintin*, which at this time was the strongest place on the frontier of *Picardy* ; but having a very weak garrison, could not have made any great resistance. *Gaspar de Coligni*, admiral of *France* and governor of *Picardy*, with several persons of distinction, forced a passage into it, with five hundred horse and two hundred foot, where he disposed every thing in the best manner he could for an obstinate defence ^c. The constable, his uncle, had by this time drawn together an army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he resolved to throw a considerable body of infantry into the place. It was with this view that, on the 10th of *August*, which is regarded by the *Roman* church as the feast of *St. Lawrence*, he passed the river *Somme* ; and having surprized the enemy, *Dandelot*, the admiral's brother, found means to get in with five hundred foot. It is agreed ^c by all historians, that if the constable had made his retreat immediately after the succours entered, and before the duke of *Savoy* had recovered his surprize, which had obliged him to quit his own quarter, to retire to that of count *Egmont*, he might have done it with safety ; but he was so slow in his motions, and count *Egmont* pressed so hard upon his rear, that the persons who had the care of the artillery and baggage began to fly, which confusion was so well improved by that count, that at length the duke of *Savoy* came up, and charged with his whole army ; so that in the space of half an hour, the whole *French* army was routed, with the loss of three thousand six hundred killed, and at least as many taken, together with all the artillery, except two pieces of cannon, and the baggage entire ^d. But what was still more disastrous, as well as more dishonourable to the nation, was the number of great persons slain and taken prisoners ; amongst the former was the duke *D'Anguien*, the viscount *de Turenne*, with upwards of six hundred gentlemen of note ; the constable himself, the dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, the marshal *de St. André*, with upwards of three hundred other persons of distinction, were amongst the latter ^d.

Remarks on
the conduct of
both parties.

THE constable is exceedingly blamed for making such a retreat against the express advice of the marshal *de St. André*, and after the misfortune that had befallen *Strozzi*, for not sending away the baggage and artillery in time, of which he was put in mind by an old officer that served under him, to whom, when things were at a crisis, the constable said, " Tell me, good old man, what shall we do ? " " Really Sir, replied he, I cannot now, but two hours ago I did ; " and for not posting some infantry with fire arms in his rear, who might ^e have checked the enemy's cavalry, and saved the rest of the army at their expence. On the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* is as loudly blamed for not marching directly to *Paris*, which all agree he might have done ; but a *Spanish* writer wisely asked, could he as easily have come back ? Adding, that his father persuaded *Charles* the fifth to his expedition into *Provence*, where at their entrance they eat pheasants, but fed upon roots, and were glad of them when they came back ^m. But be this as it will, the duke of *Savoy* thought the advantage that might accrue from ravaging the flat country was not equivalent to the reduction of *St. Quintin*, and some other places on the frontier, from whence excursions might be made at pleasure ; and king *Philip* acquiescing in his reasons, the duke returned to his camp before the place, to which, soon after, the king resorted in person. The admiral *Coligni* ⁿ having, in the mean ^f time, received some fresh succours, laboured with incredible diligence to repair and strengthen the place ; on the other hand, the enemy changed their manner of attack, and proceeded by mining, till at length, all things being prepared, they renewed their firing, and, by the effects of their batteries and mines, having made five breaches, they prepared for a general assault, which, though he had no hopes of succour, and very little of repelling, the admiral resolved to sustain, which he did with incredible valour, till, through the cowardice of one officer, the *Spaniards* entered the place, of which *Coligni* being informed, he went with a very few persons of distinction, who were about him, to try whether any thing could be done, but was presently surrounded and taken prisoner. The place was then forced on every side, and

St. Quintin
taken by
assault.

^a Recueil des choses memorables avenues en France, depuis 1547, jusqu' au commencement de 1594, pag. 53. imprimé a Heden 1603, in 8°. ^b BELCAR. ^c Memoires de Tavannes. ^d Annales de France. ^e MEXERAY. ^f Memoires de Montluc. ^m DU TILLET.

- a the greatest part of the garrison put to the sword^o. Many have blamed the admiral for sacrificing so many brave men by his obstinacy; which is very strange, considering that the best informed writers agree, that his obstinate defence saved *France*, and fairly own, that, if but a thousand men had passed the *Oyse*, all its inhabitants were ready to abandon *Paris*: but a delay of three weeks gave people time to recover their spirits and their senses; the king came thither in person, the duke of *Nevers*, and the rest of the great officers who had escaped from the battle, drew together the scattered remains of the army, which was reinforced on all sides, fifty persons of quality undertook to defend each of them a town; and the great cities of the kingdom vied with each other in sending sums of money to the king, without being so much as asked; so that *Henry* had reason to confess the truth of the last words which his father pronounced, "Remember, son, the *French* are the best people in the world:" but, after all, it is very difficult to know what turn things would have taken, if it had not been for the interposition of the *Swiss*; for, while the king and all his ministers and generals were labouring to assemble such a force as might prevent the progress of the duke of *Savoy*, they were alarmed by an unexpected invasion, upon which, in all probability, the duke of *Savoy* depended for the plundering of *Paris*^p, after the reduction of *St. Quintin*. There was one *Nicholas de Pollweiler*, a gentleman of distinction in *Alsace*, who pretended to raise, upon his own credit, a body of troops to march into *Hungary* against the *Turks*; but when they were in motion, and by throwing out dark expressions, he had increased their numbers to about ten thousand men, he suddenly passed the *Rhine* at *Strasburgh*, and, notwithstanding the neutrality established for *Franche Comté*, penetrated as far as *Bresse*, intending to proceed to *Lyons*, where he had some intelligence; and this threw the kingdom into such a consternation, as must have disconcerted all *Henry's* designs, if the cantons of *Bern*, *Friburgh*, and *Soleure*, had not thrown garrisons into several places, and begun to march such a numerous body of troops, that *Pollweiler* thought fit to abandon his design, and to march precipitately into *Alsace*^q. The duke of *Savoy*, with the *Spanish* army, reduced, in the month of *September*, *Catelet*, *Ham*, *Noyon*, and *Chauni*, and probably would have proceeded further, if the *English*, *Progrès of the Duke of Savoy.* disgusted with the haughtiness of the great lords in the army, had not insisted upon going home, which they did, and a great body of *German* infantry, mutinying for want of pay, not only disbanded, but went the greatest part of them into the *French* service; so that when the duke of *Guise* arrived, and had received the fourteen thousand *Swiss*, which the king had raised with his subjects free gifts, he was in a condition to stop the duke of *Savoy's* progress; and, that he might do it the more effectually, he gave him the title of lieutenant-general of his armies, within and without the kingdom; and it was once proposed to have given him that of viceroy. Thus the miseries of *France* proved the source of the glory of the house of *Guise*^r; but at the same time that the king heaped these favours upon the duke, he did not forget his father's caution, not to raise the house of *Lorraine* too high, though he acted directly contrary to it; for he assured the constable that he acted merely from necessity; that he would never prejudice the authority of his office; that he retained the most sincere affection for his person, and would always pay the greatest respect to his advice; and in this, as it afterwards appeared, the king meant to keep his word^s.
- f THE duke of *Guise*, on the other hand, studied to augment his reputation, that he might at all times preserve his power, which was already as great as could be enjoyed by a subject; and it fell out very fortunately for him, that he discovered the admiral *Coligni*, being governor of *Picardy*, had formed a design of surprising *Calais* in the winter, had reduced the project he had formed for this purpose to writing, and had employed some of the most experienced officers who served under him, to examine every thing with the greatest care. The duke of *Guise*, having read this paper, and examined the officers who had been trusted with the secret, saw, that notwithstanding the great appearance of difficulty, there wanted in reality nothing but a little good conduct to make this enterprise secure; and, as things then stood, the constable and admiral being both prisoners, he had all things in his own power. He began, by ordering the privateers of *Normandy* and *Bretagne* to cruise in the channel, and more especially in the very streights of *Calais*; he then detached the duke of *Nevers* with a considerable army towards the country of *Luxemburgh*, which drew the attention of the *Spaniards* that way; and, when all things were ready, he procured an application from the people of *Boulogne*, for a body of troops to secure them against the incursions of the *Spaniards*; he sent a strong detachment at their request, which was followed by another, under colour of supporting them, and then followed himself, secure that his officers would follow his instructions; and thus, on the first day of the new year, *Calais* was invested. He immediately attacked *Fort St. Agatha*, which the garrison quitted, and retired into the fort of *Nieulai*, which, together with the *Risbank*, they attacked at the same time, granted good terms to the officer

^o BELCAR.

P. DAN.

^p Annales de France. MEZ.^q DUPLIX.^r Annales de France.^s DU TILLET.

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who commanded in the former, but obliged the garrison of the latter to surrender prisoners of war^a. By this means he opened a communication with the sea; and having received from on board the ships an immense quantity of hurdles, his infantry, by the help of these, passed the morasses that lie round the town. He then made a false attack at the water-gate, which drew the attention of the garrison, who fatigued themselves exceedingly in retrenching behind the breach; but when they had finished their work, he began to fire upon the castle, where the walls were very old, and had been neglected on account of the breadth of the ditch, which was also very deep when the tide was in; but a great breach being made, the duke caused it to be attacked in the night, and during the ebb, the soldiers passing almost up to the shoulders. The place was easily carried, though the governor made three vigorous attacks before the break of day, in order to dislodge them; but the *French*, though they lost a considerable number of men, kept their posts^b. The governor then saw that it was impracticable to defend the place any longer; and therefore made the best terms for himself that he could, which, however, were not very good; and thus, in eight days, the duke of *Guise* recovered a fortress, which cost the victorious *Edward* the third a whole year's siege, and which had been now two hundred and ten years in the possession of the *English*, without so much as a single attempt to retake it. There are very different accounts given of this matter. Some *English* historians say, that king *Philip* penetrated the design of the *French* upon this fortress, gave notice of it in *England*, and offered to take the defence of it upon himself; but that this, out of jealousy, was refused, it being believed to be only an artifice to get a place of such consequence into his own hands. The truth of the matter seems to be this; the strength of *Calais* consisted in its situation and outworks, which required a very numerous garrison; but this being attended with a very large expence, the best part of the troops there had been sent to join *Philip's* army; so that the governor had not above five hundred men, and there were not more than two hundred and fifty of the townsmen able to bear arms. As to ammunition, artillery, and provisions, the *French* found there abundance; but with so slender a garrison it was impossible to make a better defence; and, therefore, when the lord *Wentworth*, who was governor, and whom the *French* call lord *Dumfort*, was tried by his peers for the loss of this place, he was acquitted^c. The castle of *Guifnes* surrendered also, after a short, but a very sharp siege, and the garrison in that of *Hames*, tho' the situation rendered it impregnable, abandoned it; so that, by the end of *January*, the *English* had nothing left of what for so long a time they had^d possessed in *France*. The duke of *Guise* obliged all the *English* inhabitants to quit *Calais*, and bestowed the government of it upon *des Termes*, who was soon after made a marshal of *France*^e, in consideration of his eminent services in *Scotland* and *Italy*.

The marriage of the dauphin with Mary queen of Scots; the taking of Thionville, and the great defeat at Gravelines.

THE king, while this was doing in the field, held the states, as is generally said, or, as others stile them, an assembly, of the notables at *Paris*, in which the parliament entered as a distinct body, and took place between the nobles and the people. The king demanded from this assembly three millions of livres, which were very chearfully granted^f. The states sat but a week, and as soon as they separated, the king went with the Dauphin to visit the frontiers, and made a kind of triumphant entry into *Calais*. The house, or, as it began to be now stiled, the faction of *Lorrain*, was predominant; and to secure their authority, as well as in some measure to perpetuate it, they pressed the marriage of the Dauphin with queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, which was accordingly celebrated on the 24th of *April*^g; but the *Scots* ambassadors, who were sent over by the states to assist at the solemnity, having refused to acknowledge the Dauphin for their sovereign, are said to have paid dear for it, four of them dying with strong suspicions of poison, which threw a shade on that marriage, and verified the constable's prediction, that it would be fatal to both nations. But the cardinal of *Lorrain* and the duke of *Guise*, who were uncles to the queen, fortified their interest by it for the present. They procured, not long after, the king's permission for the duchess dowager of *Lorrain* to visit her son at *Peronne*: she brought with her the famous *Granvelle*, bishop of *Arras*, and the cardinal of *Lorrain* conducted thither the young prince. What the avowed motive of this interview might be, does not very clearly appear; but it is commonly, and with great probability, supposed to have been the source of all the subsequent miseries of *France*^h. *Granvelle* informed the cardinal, that *Dandelot*, the admiral's brother, and the constable's nephew, was a zealous protestant. The cardinal told this to the king at his return, who did not believe it. He questioned him, however, about it publicly, as he attended him at dinner, and asked particularly what he thought of the sacrifice of the mass? He answered firmly, that he thought it an impiety. The king, going to throw a plate at him, hurt the

^a Annales de France.

^x Annales de France.

^b JACOB THUAN.

^u Memoires du Francois de RABUTIN. DUPLEIX.

^y MEZERAY. P. DAN.

^z BELCAR.

^w HOLINSH.

^z THOM. CORMER.

a Dauphin who stepped in between them, and immediately sent *Dandelot* prisoner to the castle of *Melun*^c. The pope, when he heard of it, was very angry that the king did not cause him to be burnt. The king deprived him of his great office of colonel general of the infantry, notwithstanding the great services he had performed, and bestowed it upon *Montluc*, who was attached to the duke of *Guise*^d. He attended that prince at the siege of *Tbionville*, which, tho' a very strong place, was taken in seventeen days; but it cost the life of marshal *Strozzi*, whose baton was given to Monsieur *des Termes*^e. Orders were sent to that officer to march with a small body of troops into the enemy's country, with an assurance that he should be supported by the duke of *Guise*. Monsieur *de Termes* executed this command with all possible spirit and success; he took *Dunkirk* and *Bergue-Saint-Winock*, and penetrated as far as *Nieuport*. Hearing nothing of the duke of *Guise*, he was obliged to retreat, followed by count *Egmont*, with a superior army, who forced him to a battle on the sands near *Graveline*, on the 13th of *July*, where, being exposed to the fire of ten *English* men of war, his troops were soon broke, about a third killed, another third taken prisoners, himself and many persons of distinction^f. As for the rest, they were most of them knocked on the head by the peasants. The duke of *Guise* came in so good time with his army to cover the frontiers, that it highly raised his glory with the populace, tho' there wanted not those who suspected that marshal *de Termes*, with his forces, had been sacrificed with this view. Admiral *Clinton*, with a body of six thousand *English*, made a descent in *Bretagne*, and became masters of the town of *Conquet*; but they were quickly forced to reembark by the duke *d'Estampes*, who, after throwing great garrisons into *Brest* and *St. Maloes*, marched towards them with fifteen thousand foot, and seven thousand horse.

In *Italy* the *French* affairs declined extremely, and all the importunities of marshal *Brisac*, ^{The princes of the house of Lorraine quarrel with the dukes of Valentinois.} to obtain supplies, were fruitless; and the cardinal of *Lorraine*, to justify his own conduct in this manner, gave out that *Brisac* had raised a fortune to himself, by diverting the public money to his own use. The duchess of *Valentinois* upon this charge abandoned the marshal, for whom she had shewn so much esteem; and it was not without some difficulty that he obtained leave to come to court in order to vindicate himself, which he did so effectually, that he not only recovered his credit with the king, but grew also into his favour, which did not contribute to make his circumstances easier in *Piedmont*, since those who hated him for his abilities were now become jealous of him as their rival^g. For these reasons it was never put in his power to avail himself of the diversions made by the *Turkish* fleet on the coasts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which were afterwards victualled in *Provence*; so that they rendered the *French* exceedingly odious throughout *Christendom*, without rendering them any service. At the close of the summer, *Henry* and *Philip* both put themselves at the head of their respective armies, which were encamped very near each other, as if they intended to decide all their quarrels by a battle. But on a sudden things changed their face; for the princes of the house of *Lorraine* having taken the liberty to doubt whether a woman of seventy could pique herself on beauty, without being ridiculous, the duchess of *Valentinois*, in her turn, took the freedom of laying before the king the miseries of his subjects, and advised him to make use of the constable to set on foot a negotiation for peace^h. Upon this *Philip* gave that nobleman leave to go to the king's camp, where he was received by his master with all possible marks of esteem and tenderness. Yet a short truce was all that followed, *Philip* insisting peremptorily upon the restitution of *Calais*, as *Henry* did that *Navarre* should be restored to its sovereign; but in the mean time died *Charles* the fifth, and *Mary* of *England*, which rendered *Philip* less positive, and made way for the conferences of *Chateau Cambresis*, where the *English* and *Spanish* plenipotentiaries differing, they treated apartⁱ; at length each concluded a separate peace, notwithstanding the Dauphin, by the king's command, had assumed the arms of *England*, as if upon the death of queen *Mary* he had acquired a title to that crown, in right of his consort the queen of *Scots*; a circumstance useless to *France*, and fatal to her.

THE princes of the house of *Lorraine*, sensible that their favour was rather on the decline, pressed the marriage which had been promised between the duke, chief of their house, and the king's second daughter the princess *Claude*, which was accordingly celebrated in the month of *February*^k, while the negotiations for peace were yet depending. The duke of *Guise* and his brother, according to the maxims of their policy, affected to blame a treaty which was so visibly disadvantageous to *France*, since for *Hames*, *Catalet*, and *St. Quintin*, they rendered one hundred and ninety-eight fortified places to their enemies. But the constable had persuaded the king that, in order to become truly puissant, he did not stand in need of any accession of territory, but of a kingdom, where the people lived more at ease, had their

^c BELCARIUS.
BELCARIUS.
de Coligni.

^d DUPLEIX. P. DAN.

^e JACOB THUAN.

^k Annales de France. Memoires de RABUTIN.

^c Memoires de Montluc.

^h Memoires de RABUTIN.

^f Annales de France.

ⁱ Memoires de l'Amiral

lands better cultivated, and were addicted to industry and traffic. At the same time that he introduced these new maxims, he prevailed upon the king to discard two old ones, which, he convinced him, had been the one ruinous, and the other scandalous, to his predecessor; and so long as they continued to influence his councils, could not fail of producing the same effects: the first was the pretensions of the house of *Orleans* in *Italy*, which served only to exhaust the wealth and the force of the nation, and to exalt a number of new families in *Italy* to the rank and degree of princes; the other was the close alliance with the *Turks*, which had indeed made the *French* formidable; but had, however, made them hated by all the princes in *Europe*. These maxims once discarded, the quitting the places that were still in their hands in *Italy* was a thing natural, and in some measure, a thing political, which ought to have qualified the seeming inequality of the places rendered by the king, in comparison of those given up to *France* by the peace. But the true equivalent for all these places was the preserving *Calais* and its dependencies, and the three imperial cities of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, which were of infinitely more consequence to *France* than all that she relinquished. more especially when it is considered, that, by restoring his territories, the king had in view also the gaining the duke of *Savoy*, who was to marry the king's sister. At the beginning of *June* he came with the duke of *Alba* and the prince of *Orange*, and a train of one hundred persons of quality, to receive the princess *Elizabeth* for king *Philip*, and to espouse the princess *Margaret* himself. The first of these marriages being over¹, the duke would hold a tournament, in which himself, with the duke of *Guise*, the duke of *Nemours*, and the prince of *Ferrara*, were defendants; the first day he acquitted himself with great applause, as he likewise did on the second, which was the 30th of *June*; but in the evening he would break a lance with the count *de Montgomery*, the son of Monsieur *de Lorges*, captain of his guards, who was esteemed one of the strongest as well as one of the ablest knights in *France*: the count did all he could to avoid it, and the queen pressed the king not to enter the lists again; but he persisted in his first intention; and in this encounter *Montgomery* broke his lance in shivers up to his hand, one of the splinters of which (the king insisting that they should tilt with their vizors up) flew with great violence into his right eye, so that reeling from his horse he was caught by the dauphin and some other persons of quality^m. Some say that he lost all sense and the power of speech, and that he never recovered either; others affirm that he forgave the count of *Montgomery*, and forbid his being questioned. His surgeons, on the taking off the first dressing, had very little hopes of his recovery; the duke of *Savoy*, who foresaw the difficulties that would attend the restitution of his dominions, in case his marriage was deferred till the king's death, caused it to be represented to him; and it was thereupon celebrated on the 9th of *July*ⁿ, some say, in the king's chamber, others, in the church of *Notre Dame*: on the 10th the king died, in the forty-second year of his age^o, and in the 13th of his reign, exceedingly regretted by his subjects; for, with many faults, he had most of the qualities that endear a monarch in *France*; he was brave, liberal, and polite; and though he was not learned himself, yet he had a great affection and esteem for learned men, and more especially for poets. He died very unseasonably for *France*, since he was disposed to have laid aside the princes of *Lorraine*, to have lessened the taxes, and to have concerted other means of giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects^p (H).

AT

¹ J. DE SERRES, P. DAN. CORMER.

^m Memoires de BRANT. P JACOB. THUAN. DUPLÉIX, LE GENDRE.

ⁿ BELCAR. MEZ.

^o THOM.

(H) This great king, to whom the *French* writers, at least some of them, have given the surname of *Belliqueux*, or *Warlike*, was indeed of a martial disposition, and fortunate enough in some of his expeditions, particularly those against the *English*, by which he recovered *Calais* and its dependencies, and kept them by a well-timed negotiation. He was magnificent in his court, rather than in his buildings; he was not very nice in his dress, though it has been remarked, as an evidence of his finery, that he wore silk stockings (1). He had some tincture of learning, and was a patron to men of letters, more especially poets. He is blamed for suffering his court to sink into every kind of vice and luxury, under the specious titles of gallantry and politeness; so that he spent incomparably greater sums in gratifying his humour, and by an ill-timed liberality, than his father had done under all his necessities (2). He espoused, during the life-time of his father and his brother, *Katherine de Medicis*, daughter of *Laurence*, duke of *Bourbon*, born at *Florence*, April 13th, 1519, who, at the time of her marriage, though but fourteen,

was esteemed handsome. It is true, she was not a regular beauty, but very agreeable; and, having excellent parts, and a good education, made it her principal study to sustain the lustre of her charms, by the prudence and affability of her behaviour. Yet, notwithstanding this, and her being 19 years younger than his mistress, she never made any great impression on the king's heart, nor had much share in the management of affairs during his reign, at which though she was exceedingly chagrined, yet she knew how to dissimulate it, and spent her time chiefly in the education of her children, whose tempers she diligently studied, and acquired over them an ascendancy which she preserved to within a few years of her death (3). She was ten years before she had any children. She bore afterwards ten; *Francis*, dauphin, and king of *Scots* in right of his wife; *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, who died at two years of age; *Charles*, who succeeded his brother *Francis*; *Alexander*, whose name at his confirmation was changed to *Henry*, who succeeded *Charles*; and *Hercules*, who at confirmation assumed the name of *Francis*,

(1) Dupléix, Le Gendre.

(2) Catherine de Medicis.

(3) J. de Serres, Mézeray.

and

^a At the accession of *Francis* the second, he was not quite sixteen years of age, weak in his constitution, and no way remarkable for the forwardness of his capacity¹. His wife, *Mary* queen of *Scots*, was also very young, but had infinitely better parts, which had been cultivated with great care by her mother and by her uncles². In the eye of the law the king, however young or infirm, was of age, and at liberty to chuse his own council, those who in name were to govern under him; but who, in reality, were to govern both him and his kingdom. It was the full sense of this that excited those intrigues which gradually occasioned troubles that were of near seventy years continuance³ (I). The princes of the blood, who thought they had

Accession of Francis II. and the settlement of the administration in the Guises.

¹ J. DE SERRES. MEZ. P. DAN. DUPLEIX, MEZ.

² JACOB. THUAN.

³ Memoires de Michel de Castelnau,

and who was successively duke of *Alençon*, *Brabant*, and *Anjou*, a prince of whom we shall have occasion to say much hereafter, but whose character may be easily collected from the appellations given him by his mother and his brother *Henry*. The queen always called him her *Fils égare*, that is, her *light-headed son*; and *Henry* never mentioned him by any other title than *ce Scelerat*, *that villain*, and charged the king of *Navarre*, who was afterwards his successor, to put him to death, which was not in that monarch's nature (4). Her daughters were also five, *Elizabeth* or *Isabella*, who was intended for *Edward* the sixth of *England*, demanded for the infant *Don Carlos*, and at length married to his father *Philip* the second: she died in child-bed, *October* the 3d, 1568. *Claude*, who espoused *Charles* the second, duke of *Lorraine*; she was the favourite daughter of the queen, who, it is thought, designed to place the crown of *France* on the head of her eldest son. In case she had survived *Henry* the third. *Margaret*, who was the first wife of *Henry*, king of *Navarre*. *Victoria* and *Joanna*, twins, who died in their cradles (5). Besides these, the king had several natural children. By a *Scots* lady, whose name was *Fleming*, he had *Henry d'Angoulême*, grand prior of *France*, and governor of *Provence*. By *Philippa*, who was a native of *Piedmont*, he had *Diana d'Angoulême*, who first espoused *Horatio Farnese*, and afterwards *Francis de Montmorency*, in order to which the law was made against clandestine marriages. By madame de *Sevigné* he had *Henry de St. Remy*. By the duchess of *Valentinois* he had no children (6). The manner of this monarch's death was so extraordinary, that an opinion very strongly prevailed of its being foretold by *Luke Gauric*, a famous astrologer. As this fallacious art was the grand foible of that age, even the most judicious of *French* historians has given into this tale, and reports, that *Katherine de Medicis* having caused the king's horoscope to be judged by the astrologer before mentioned, he predicted that the king would be killed in a duel by a wound received in his eye, for which he was extremely derided, till the king's misfortune verified his prediction (7). The first part of the story is very likely to be true, and part of the last; for the judgment of *Gauric* was, that if the king surmounted the dangers with which he was threatened in the 63d and 64th years of his age, he would live happily to the age of sixty-four years and nine months, in which he was mistaken full thirty years (8). *Henry* the second gave for his device a crescent, with this motto, *Duoc totum impicat orbem*; that is, till her orb shall become full, in honour of *Diana de Poitiers* (9). His body was interred with his ancestors at *St. Denis*, the constable de *Montmorency* having this charge left to him by those who excluded him from any share in affairs of state.

(I) As this short reign was remarkable only for faction and intrigue, it is absolutely requisite, in order to render the text intelligible, that we should give the reader, in this note, a succinct memoir of the state of the court. The house of *Guise* was equally numerous

and great, the duke having five brothers and two sisters. We shall speak of the ladies first. The eldest, *Mary*, had espoused first, *Lewis* duke of *Longueville*; and next, *James* the fifth, king of *Scotland*, whose dowager she then was, regent of that kingdom, and mother to the reigning queen of *France* (10). *Louisa*, who married *Charles de Croy*, prince of *Chimay* (11). The duke *Francis* was, in the opinion of all the writers of those times, one of the most accomplished men in *France*, gentle, modest, affable, liberal, an excellent officer, a finished courtier, polite without meanness, and sincere without offence; ambition was his only vice, and most think that, if it had not been for his brother, he would have kept this within bounds (12). *Charles*, cardinal of *Lorraine*, archbishop of *Rheims*, was a man of great natural parts, assisted by an excellent education, and an indefatigable spirit: he spoke eloquently, and wrote admirably; but his ambition was yet more boundless than his capacity; he was haughty and enterprising in prosperity; and had but a small share of that fortitude which his brother possessed in a supreme degree. He was no enemy to reformation, if it might have been done in his own way; and, it was suspected, would have brought in the confession of *Augsburgh*, in order to have governed, with the title of primate, the church of *France* (13). *Claude*, duke of *Aumale*, *Lewis* cardinal of *Guise*, the grand prior of *France*, and the marquis of *Elbeuf*, acted under their brethren, and rendered the family so much the more formidable by their adhering closely to each other (14). The princes of the blood were all of the house of *Bourbon*. The head of it, *Anthony*, king of *Navarre*, was a mild good-natured honest man, indolent, given to women, and less esteemed than he would have been from his loving his country sincerely, and having an inclination, if it had been possible to live in quiet (15). His brother *Lewis*, prince of *Condé*, did not resemble him in the least, except in his passion for women. He was a little man, and had nothing striking, either in his person or manners; his fortune was very narrow, not above six thousand livres a year; but he was brave, active, enterprising, eloquent when he took the pains to speak, and equally firm in council and in action (16). The duke of *Montpensier* was a gallant man, but a zealous papist, and strongly attached to the court. His brother, the prince of *Roche Guion*, followed his example, and never changed sides (17). The constable, *Anne de Montmorency*, was very justly reputed the wisest man in *France*. He remained firm in the old religion, through the persuasions of his wife, who continually put him in mind that he was the first Christian baron (18). He had five sons, of whom *Francis* the eldest was marshal of *France*; *Henry*, who took the name of *Damville*, was marshal likewise, and afterwards constable. His other sons were likewise powerful. *Gaspar de Coligni*, admiral of *France*, was nephew to the constable, and the great rival of the duke of *Guise*. He was a zealous protestant, and regulated his life by the principles of his religion; one of the

(4) Popeliniere, Brantome.

(5) Pr. Henault.

(6) Scip. Dupleix.

(7) Le Genere.

(8) J. de Serres.

(9) Thuan. Hist.

Popeliniere, P. Daniel, Mezeray.

(10) Buchan.

(11) P.

Puff. Introduction à l'Histoire des Maisons Souveraines, tom. i. p. 309.

(12) P. Daniel.

(13) J. de

Serres. (14) Brantome.

(15) Thuan. Davila.

(16) Thom. Comer.

(17) Castelnau,

(18) Scip. Dupleix.

had a right, from custom and the constitution, to be consulted in the conduct of affairs, were ^a excluded through jealousy of their great power, as if they were like to be less dangerous when offended, than when employed. The constable, his children, and nephews, who, from their credit in the last reign, were of themselves a party, met with the same treatment, the king declaring that he meant to confide the management of his affairs to the *Guises*, the duke having the direction of whatever regarded military affairs, and his brother the cardinal of *Lorraine* having the management of the finances, and the domestic oeconomy. Though this agreed with, it was not so much the effects of the king's choice, as of the two queens. The dowager was persuaded, if the princes were admitted into a share, they would soon possess themselves of the whole administration; and, looking upon it as their right, pay her nothing more than exterior respect; and, as for the constable, she hated him and his whole family. ^b On the other hand, the *Guises* sought her friendship, and, being the uncles of the young queen, could not be easily disgraced. Besides, she wanted support, and therefore she insisted only on one condition, which was, their abandoning the duchess of *Valentinois* to her resentment, which, without regard either to gratitude or their alliance, the duke of *Aumale* having married her daughter, they did^c. The marshal *St. André* adhered to the *Guises*; he was a voluptuous man, and immersed in debt, able to give a fair appearance to whatever measures he pursued, and who pursued this, because, neither in point of inclination or estate, it was not at all convenient for him to quit the court.

Assembly of
malcontents at
Vendosme;
the coronation
and the retreat
of the king of
Navarre.

WHEN this step was taken, it rendered many others necessary. The king was instructed to recommend repose and a retired life to the constable, who thereupon went to his noble seat at *Chantilly*: his office of master of the household was taken from him, and given to the duke of *Guise*; but, to make some small amends, his eldest son was declared marshal of *France*. The prince of *Condé* was sent into *Flanders*, with a ratification of the late peace, and the collar of the king's order to the king of *Spain*^a. In his absence the government of *Picardy*, which had been intended for him by the late king, was bestowed on the marshal *Brisac*, who, chagrined at the ill usage of his old friend, was amazed, but at the same time obliged by this act of justice, in those whom he had never considered in that light. The seals being taken from *Bertrandi*, now become a cardinal, were restored to the chancellor *Olivier*, which raised the reputation of the new ministry, and some other promotions were made with the like view^b. The constable, as soon as the late king was wounded, had written to *Anthony*, king of *Navarre*, first prince of the blood, to press his coming to court. In pursuance of this advice, ^d he was come as far as *Vendosme*, where he was met by the admiral *Coligni*, his two brothers *Dandelot* and the cardinal *de Chatillon*, with several other persons of great distinction, and at length joined by the prince of *Condé*, on his return from *Flanders*. There they deliberated on the state of affairs, and the ill usage they had met with; the prince *Dandelot* and some others were for having recourse to arms, under pretence that the king was in the hands of strangers; but his brother the king of *Navarre*, and the majority of that assembly, were for milder measures^e. Upon this the king was sent to court, where he was cajoled by the queen-mother, and but indifferently treated by the ministers, who shewed so little respect to his dignity, as a king and first prince of the blood, that, when he came to *St. Germain en Laye*, he ^c might have lain in the streets, if the marshal *de St. André*, out of pure politeness, had not offered him his apartments in the castle^f. However, he and the prince of *Condé* both assisted at the king's coronation on the 18th of *September*, at *Rheims*, which was performed by the cardinal of *Lorraine*, archbishop of that see^g. After this, the king of *Navarre* was invited to council, where a letter was read from the king of *Spain*, importing, that he had intelligence of some discontents in the kingdom, and offering whatever assistance could be desired for the support of the young king's authority. The queen-mother, perceiving that this wrought, as it was expected it would, upon the king of *Navarre*, desired that he would conduct her daughter the princess *Elizabeth* to the frontiers of *Spain*, which would afford him an opportunity of entering into a negociation for the recovery of his dominions, in which she promised him all ^f the assistance that was in her power^h. *Anthony* accepted this commission; and meeting with

^a JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.
moires de Boivin, Mez.

^u Memoires de Michel de Castelnau.
^y SERRES, DUPLEIX, ^z BELCAR.

^w DUPLEIX.
² DAVILA.

^x Me-

ablest statesmen and greatest captains of his time; and, though very unfortunate, yet this was so far from tarnishing, that it added lustre to his reputation (19). His second brother *Dandelot*, colonel general of the infantry of *France*, was a man of a warmer temper, but not at all less steady. He was imprisoned and disgraced in the reign of *Henry* the second for his religion, which he never dissembled, and which he bravely defended (20).

The third brother *Odet*, cardinal *de Chatillon*, and bishop of *Beauvais*, received the hat at seventeen, which did not hinder his becoming a zealous protestant. He married towards the end of his life, and took the title of count *de Beauvais*. He was naturally indolent; but, being once embarked in business, became an able negociator (21).

(19) *Vie de Coligni.*

(20) *Thuan. Hist. Popeliniere.*

(21) *Brantome.*

a the duke of *Alva* on the frontiers, he so charmed him with fair words and delusive promises, that he retired into *Bearn*, and quitted the party of the malecontents.

THE court seemed now so well settled, that they had nothing to fear, which, however, did not hinder them from concerting and carrying into execution every measure possible for their security; but, though this was the real view, they took care to conceal it, and to frame the edicts published in the king's name in such a manner, that they appeared to be calculated solely for the public good. They forbade the carrying of fire arms, or wearing such dresses as might conceal them, to prevent mischief and murder in the streets. They resumed lands alienated from the royal domain; they obliged all who had two or more places, to make choice of one, and to quit the rest. By these methods they provided for their own security, and for their own creatures. They likewise made a promotion of eighteen knights of the order at once, which, though it gratified many, exposed that honour, to which the first subjects had hitherto eagerly aspired, to a degree of contempt, from which it never recovered^b. But when, by these other arts, they had thoroughly established themselves, and procured a general submission, they began to discover another kind of spirit, which at once augmented the number of their enemies, and furnished with matter of complaint multitudes, especially of military persons out of employment, most of which repaired to court, some to solicit their arrears, and others to obtain relief. The cardinal of *Lorrain*, vexed with their applications, and not knowing how to content them, published an edict, by which they were commanded to retire in a very short space, on pain of being hanged without process. The king going for his health to *Blois*, they persuaded him, that, to tread in the same path, and fulfil the will of his deceased father, he should, by an edict, add a chamber to each of the parliaments in the kingdom for the prosecution of heretics; and from the fury with which they proceeded, and the punishment to which they condemned those who were convicted before them, they were stiled *Chambres Ardentes*, i. e. *Burning Chambers*^c. At *Paris*, the president *Minard*, who was remarkably violent, being killed in the streets, this was revenged upon *Jean du Bourg*, nephew to the chancellor of the same name, counsellor of the parliament of *Paris*, a man of invincible firmness and incorruptible probity, who had been condemned in the late reign for his religion, and was now hanged and burnt on the nineteenth of *December*, at the common place of execution, where he behaved with an intrepidity^d worthy of his own reputation, and of the cause of truth in which he suffered.

In consequence of these acts of violence a new spirit began to manifest itself throughout the kingdom; those who had embraced the reformed religion, and were very numerous, saw that it was absolutely impossible for them to serve God in the way which they thought was most acceptable to him, without exposing themselves to imprisonment, tortures, and death. The more considerate catholics, amongst whom were some prelates and many of the clergy, disapproved this furious conduct, and testified an inclination to conciliate mens minds by a just and reasonable reformation, under legal authority; the scandalous ignorance, and more scandalous vices of most of those ecclesiastics who drove on these furious measures, discrediting their cause, much more than the authority of the court could advance it. The admiral and his brothers were avowed protestants; the king of *Navarre*, and his brother the prince of *Condé*, were inclined to the reformed religion; and, therefore, in the first general assembly held at *Nantes*, at which were present one hundred and fifty deputies from the reformed in all the different provinces, it was resolved to take the only measure left for their own defence, that of putting themselves in arms; with which view the prince of *Condé* was chosen *Chef muet*, i. e. *the silent or concealed chief*, and *John du Barri*, Seigneur de la *Renaudie*, *Chef visible*, or the acting and avowed head of the protestants^e. This gentleman is on all hands allowed to have been a person of great parts and most determined resolution; but is reported to have been guilty of some irregularities in his youth, which might have been fatal to him, but for the favour of the duke of *Guise*. Subordinate chiefs were likewise chosen to direct the intended armament in different provinces; and *Renaudie* was sent over to *England* to solicit the countenance and pecuniary assistance of queen *Elizabeth*, in which his views were furthered by the imprudent conduct, or rather by the exorbitant ambition of the house of *Guise*, who, not content with the absolute direction of the two kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*, aspiring to the like dominion over *England*, kept up the claim of their niece to that crown, and endeavoured to suppress the reformed in *Scotland*, which constrained *Elizabeth*, for her own security, to assist both the *Scotch* and the *French* maleconteuts^f. The reformed in this kingdom, being once apprized of her sentiments, and those of the *German* princes in another assembly, resolved to surprise the court at *Blois*, to secure the persons of the king and of the *Guises*, or rather to rid themselves of the latter, to oblige the king to declare the prince of *Condé* lieutenant general of the realm, and, in short, to change the whole face of affairs^g. They fixed the 15th of

h A. D. 1559.

The assembly of the protestants.

^b Memoires de Castelnau, Mez.

^c JACOB. THUAN.

^d P. DANIEL.

^e Annales de

France. ^f CAMDEN'S Annals of Queen Elizabeth, BELCAR. P. DAN.

^g BELCAR. DUPLEIX.

March for this enterprize, for the execution of which, their forces were to defile, with all possible secrecy, in small numbers, under chiefs already appointed from every quarter. This was conducted with such profound secrecy, that the court had not the least intelligence of it, till *Renaudie*, having communicated the whole of it to *Peter Annelles*, an advocate of *Paris*, with whom he lodged, this man, either through fear or from some other motive, gave intelligence of it to the court^b, where at first the thing appeared so amazing, that it was scarce credited; but, upon closer inquiry, it was thought requisite to lose no time in providing for the king's security and their own; in order to which the duke of *Guise* was confirmed in his post of lieutenant general of the kingdom, and the court removed from the castle of *Amboise*, of which those embarked in this hazardous undertaking were apprizedⁱ; but, finding themselves so far advanced, resolved to proceed, more especially as the prince of *Condé* was actually with the king, and there were also many other persons about the court, of whose good intentions towards them they had, or persuaded themselves they had, reason to be assured. Thus both sides seemed to agree to put the king to a trial, in a manner that must of necessity throw the whole realm into convulsions.

Conspiracy of
Amboise de-
feated; cruel-
ties thereupon,
and narrow
escape of the
prince of
Condé.

It was foreseen by the duke of *Guise*, that respect to the king's name, and the influence of his own authority, would enable him to assemble troops enough to disappoint those who were embarked in this attack; and, by his great resolution, joined to his indefatigable diligence, and his superior skill in military affairs, it ended as he imagined it would. The count *de Sancerre* defeated the troops from *Bearn*; the duke *de Nemours* surprised the baron *de Castelneau*, and made him prisoner, with the greatest part of his officers; *Pardailian* fell upon *Renaudie* in a wood, defeated the troops that still remained with him, and, in a personal engagement, ran him twice through the body; his page also shot him through with a harquebus, notwithstanding which, that desperate man killed the page. His body was exposed upon a gibbet, and afterwards quartered; three of the chiefs who surrendered were tortured and put to death in the presence of the queen-dowager and of all the ladies of her court. One of them, whose name was *Villemonge*, having first washed his hands in the blood of one of his companions, held them up to heaven, and cried out, "Lord, revenge our cause." Upwards of twelve hundred were beheaded, hanged, or drowned in the river; the streets of *Amboise* literally swam with blood. The good old chancellor *Olivier*, after having laboured all he could to recommend milder measures, died of regret and horror, at the sight of cruelties, which it was not in his power to prevent^k. *La Bigne*, secretary to *la Renaudie*, was grievously tortured, in order to oblige him to accuse the prince of *Condé*, who was confined; but all that could be drawn from him was, that he had heard him reported to favour them. The prince, being admitted to speak for himself before the council, made his defence with great intrepidity and eloquence, closing his speech with observing, that, as there were only suspicions and insinuations against him, he could only offer to maintain his innocence with his sword, against any who should question it. The duke of *Guise*, observing the impression which his discourse had made on all the assembly, rose up, and, professing a belief of what the prince had said, offered to be his second^l. This was only the effects of a resolution taken to dissemble what they knew, in order to prevent the prince from putting himself immediately and openly at the head of the protestants, in case they spared his life, or of provoking the king of *Navarre*, with the constable, the admiral, and his brethren, to take the like step, if they put the prince of *Condé* to death. He very well understood this; so that, notwithstanding the feigned reconciliation which followed upon the compliment paid him by the duke of *Guise*, he was no sooner at liberty than he retired into *Bearn* to his brother^m.

Methods taken
to conciliate
all parties.

It required no great penetration to foresee, that what had passed might, instead of appeasing, excite fresh trouble; and therefore art was to achieve what had been begun by force: a relation of what had passed at *Amboise* was transmitted to the constable, with the king's express orders to communicate it to the parliament of *Paris*, which he did, with great compliments to the duke of *Guise*; but he took the liberty of dropping the most material part of the relation, which was, that the conspiracy reached the king's person, because he knew it was not true. The parliament complimented the court, and particularly the duke of *Guise*, to whom they gave the sounding title of *Preserver of his Country*ⁿ. Pieces of the same kind were transmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and the king wrote particularly to the two princes in *Navarre*, and to admiral *Coligni* in *Normandy*, to dispel any insurrections, and to keep things quiet. The queen-mother wrote to the latter, pressing him exceedingly to perform what the king expected, and to give her his advice on the present state of affairs, which he performed with great freedom. He told her, that, to restore the public tranquillity, two things were necessary; to remove the house of *Guise*, and to grant them liberty of conscience; after which, if she assumed the government intirely into her own hands, her prudence would teach her to

^b MEZERAY.

ⁱ SERRES, LE GENDRE.

^k L'Histoire du Tumulte d'Amboise.

^l Annales

de France, SERRES, DUPLEIX.

^m BELCAR, JACOB, THUAN.

ⁿ P. DANIEL.

- a preserve the peace which she had restored^o. *Katherine* saw it was impossible to take this advice, as things then stood; but, however, she did not dislike it. *Michael de l'Hospital*, the son of the constable *de Bourbon*'s physician, was raised by her favour to the high post of chancellor of *France*; he put the seal to the famous edict of *Romertin*, by which the decision and declaration of heresy was left to the bishops, and power given to the subaltern judges to punish without appeal; which, it is said, he would not have done, if it had not been to avoid introducing the inquisition^p. It was chiefly by his advice the resolution was taken to assemble the princes, the great lords, prelates, and ministers, which is, what the *French* call *Assemblée des Notables*, in the month of *August*, at *Fontainebleau*^q; and in the mean time a treaty was made with queen *Elizabeth*, by which their majesties quitted all pretensions to *England*, and abandoned their attempt to suppress the reformed religion in *Scotland*, where the death of the queen-mother had fallen out very unseasonably for their schemes; for she was a princess of great modesty and moderation, and, though strongly attached to the old religion, was very willing to take any measures, or to make any concessions that were requisite to preserve her daughter's authority^r.
- b

- UPON the departure of the court for *Fontainebleau*, the *Guises*, under colour of providing for the king's safety, but in which at the same time they had their own security chiefly in view, assigned him a new guard of two hundred musquetaires, commanded by *Anthony du Plessis Richlieu*, who had many bad, and but few good qualities, exclusive of determined courage. The assembly was opened on the 21st, when the constable with his sons, and the admiral with his brethren, appeared. The king was seated on his throne, with the two queens, and the princes, his brothers, by him, and the business of the assembly was opened by the duke of *Guise* and the cardinal of *Lorraine*^s. At the second sessions, the admiral presented the king a petition in favour of the Protestants, who about this time began to be stiled Hugonots. This was warmly opposed by the duke and the cardinal; but it was boldly seconded by *Montluc*, bishop of *Valens*, and *Charles de Marillac*, archbishop of *Vienne*, who inveighed bitterly against the general want of learning and of morals amongst the clergy; pressed a national council for regulating the disputes in religion; alleging, that since the flame appeared in all parts of the kingdom, it would be weakness to send for water from the *Tiber* to put it out, when the *Seine* was so near at hand. At length it was agreed that a general assembly of the states should be called in the beginning of the year, and that the prosecution of the Protestants should be stayed in the mean time^t. The reason why the court yielded to an assembly of the states, was, in hopes of drawing all the chiefs of the malcontents into the same place, and consequently of surprising them at once. It was with this view that they laboured assiduously, though with all possible secrecy, to strengthen their own hands, and, instead of *Meaux*, which had been the place first named, declared, in the king's name, that the states should be held at *Orleans*. Some attempts were in this space likewise made, by the adherents of the prince of *Condé*, to surprise *Lyons*, in which they were disappointed, by the king of *Navarre*'s sending a countermand, as soon as he was acquainted with it, for which the *French* blame his irresolution; whereas the truth seems to be, that he had no intent to rebel. Such was the dismal state of things in this nation!
- c
- d
- e

- WHILE the nation was in this suspense, and those, who had the welfare of *France* at heart, conceived great hopes that measures would be effectually taken in the states for procuring such a reform of abuses of all kinds, as might qualify that violent fermentation, which religious and factious disputes had occasioned, the *Guises* pursued inflexibly their own plan; and having disposed every thing in the best manner possible to keep the provinces in some degree of order, brought the young king to *Orleans*, with his new guards, and drew gradually, under a variety of pretences, considerable forces into the neighbourhood, and by degrees into the city. In the beginning of *October*, the king wrote to the king of *Navarre*, in very precise terms, to repair to the assembly, and to bring with him his brother the prince of *Condé*, to which, however, neither of them were much inclined^u. The marshal *de St. André* was thereupon sent to invite them, charged to give them the strongest assurances, and to pledge the king's royal word for their safety. The cardinal *de Bourbon*, an honest innocent man, was also prevailed upon to join his intreaties, and, as the memoirs of those times say, the mistresses of the king and prince were engaged by presents to join their endeavours, which at length had their effect, notwithstanding all possible pains were taken, by the true friends of the house of *Navarre*, to shew the king the danger into which he was on the point of plunging himself and his brother in their passage^w. They were met by the princess of *Condé*, who laboured to dissuade her husband from going farther; and the principal lords and gentlemen of the Hugonot party used their last efforts to engage the king of *Navarre* to put himself at their head, offering to furnish him
- f

^o Memoires de Castelnau, BELCARIUS.
^r DUPLEIX.
 moires de Castelnau.

^p JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.
^s J. DE SERRES, MEZ.

^q DAVILA, Memoires de
^u POPELINIERE, Me-

in a short time with twenty thousand men. The princes nevertheless proceeded, but were scarce within the walls of *Orleans*, before they found just reason to repent trusting to the promises that had been made them ^x. The prince of *Condé*, after having been very rudely used by the king, was sent to prison, and guards were set upon the king of *Navarre* ^y. Commissioners were named without delay for the trial of the prince; these were, the president *Christopher de Thou*, *Bartholomew Fayes*, and *James Viole*, counsellors of parliament, *Gilbert Bourdin*, and the attorney general, and *John du Tillet*, secretary to the parliament, assisted in their respective offices. The prince appealed to the king in his parliament of *Paris*, assisted by the peers, as his proper judges; the council declared this appeal void; the commissioners proceeded, and sentenced the prince of *Condé* to suffer death ^z. Mr. *de Thou* tells us, this sentence was not signed; but other writers assure us that it was, by all the privy council and knights of orders; only the chancellor and one of the counsellors of parliament desired time, and the count *de Sancerre*, when it was proposed to him, answered roundly, *I shall not sign at all* ^a. The next point was to involve the king of *Navarre*; and, as they had no evidence, the great historian before-mentioned reports, that a scheme was laid by marshal *St. André*, that the king should send for him, reproach him roughly with being a traitor, and, upon his answering with any vehemence, as it was likely he would, some posted near him for that purpose, on a sign given, were to plunge their daggers in his breast ^b. He was accordingly invited to this fatal interview, in which, though he answered with great spirit, yet it was with so much decency, and with such strong demonstrations of innocence, that, without making the appointed sign, he was dismissed, at which *Guise* was so provoked, that he was heard to say, in the corner of the room, *what a weak and cowardly prince* ^c! The historian does not affirm this, but says, he had it from good hands, and from those who committed it to writing at the time; so that there is a very high probability of its being true, more especially if we consider, that it is on all hands agreed, that the *Guises*, foreseeing the danger of setting him at liberty, after putting his brother to death, earnestly pressed the queen-mother to behead him likewise, without any process at all, alleging, that to free religion and government from danger, by taking off two heads, would be securing the public safety at a very easy price. Such was the spirit of these princes, and the politics of those times!

They are both delivered by the sudden and unexpected death of the king.

In this critical situation of things, when the continuance of the prince's life hung but by a thread, and that too as it were between the sheers, the young king having rejected rudely enough the princess's application for mercy, providence interposed. The king, rising early one morning to hunt, that he might avoid the sight of an execution, a diversity of which were the sole distinctions of his unhappy reign, fainted while they were combing his hair; and, when he came to himself, complained of an intolerable pain of the head. He had a fistula in one of his ears, which his physicians had considered as the symptom of an abscess; and, therefore, they quickly pronounced him in the utmost danger, which gave a new turn to affairs ^d. The duke of *Guise*, and the cardinal of *Lorraine*, very earnestly pressed the queen-mother to put the king of *Navarre*, as well as the prince of *Condé*, to death; to which she answered irresolutely, and with tears. At length, being importuned for a positive answer, she demanded a few hours to consider of it, in which space she consulted her oracle the chancellor, who, laying hold of this opportunity, set the thing in a true light. He told her, that, tho' she was a queen and the mother of kings, she was at the same time a woman and a stranger; that to put the king of *Navarre* to death without a trial, would be to render herself the execration of *France*, and at the same time make such a precedent, as, from the moment it was made, she would have the greatest reason to fear. Yet, that this was not more dangerous than to behead the prince of *Condé*, and leave the king of *Navarre* alive, who, the moment the king expired, must be set at liberty, and who would then have, not only the *Calvinists*, but all the nobility of *France* ready to espouse his interest and his resentment. But, if she took the contrary course, the *Guises*, having no support but her favour, must receive her commands with submission, at the same time that the princes would adhere to her from gratitude: that the safety of the monarchy depended on a reconciliation of these jarring interests, and, that gaining this absolute ascendancy would put that reconciliation in her power ^e. The queen, who saw the rectitude of this advice, pursued it with steadiness and dignity. She sent for the king of *Navarre*, and, after affirming that she had his life, as much as his brother's, in her power, she prescribed the terms, upon which they might both be saved, which consisted in his resignation of the regency in her favour, upon the ensuing minority, and a reconciliation with the *Guises*. The king came readily enough into the first, but shewed great reluctance as to the second; but at length was forced to comply. This reconciliation was made in the chamber of the dying king, who, to facilitate it, took all upon himself, professing, that whatever had

A. D. 1560.

^x JACOB. THUAN. SERRES.

^y Memoires de Castelnau.

^z POPELINIERE, MEZ. P. DAN.

^a Memoires de Castelnau.

^b JACOB. THUAN.

^c CHALONS.

^d DAVILA, Memoires de

Castelnau, SERRES.

^e JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.

been

a been done was by his orders, and without any instigation of the *Guises*, who, he affirmed, were constantly interceding for the princes^f. This was the last action of this unhappy monarch, who expired on the 5th of *December*, when he wanted somewhat less than two months of eighteen years, after a reign of a year and five months^g. He was stiled the king without vice, which, as *Mezeray* well observes, would have been a high character, if it had proceeded less from a want of capacity, than from a want of inclination^h. At the death of the king his father, the care of his body and his funeral was left to the constable, the queen-mother and the *Guises* having other things to mind; but the body of this poor prince was so totally abandoned, that if his governors, the *Sieurs de la Brosse* and *de Sansac* had not interposed, there had been no care taken of it at all. This extreme ingratitude in the *Guises* provoked some body to throw a note b upon his coffin, in which were these words, *Where then is Tannegui du Chastel? But he was a Frenchman!* alluding to that brave man, who, at the hazard of his life, and the expense of his fortune, caused the corpse of *Charles* the eighth to be magnificently interred, though he knew it would be considered as a crime by *Lewis* the eleventhⁱ. The Hugonots considered his death as a deliverance, and the manner of it as a judgment.

CHARLES, duke of *Orleans*, who at his baptism received the name of *Maximilian*, succeeded to the throne by the death of his brother, being between ten and eleven years of age^k. The constable who, on hearing of the king's illness, set out from *Chantilly*, was by this time in the neighbourhood of *Orleans*, to whom the queen-mother wrote in the most obliging terms, intreating him to make haste to resume the functions of his office, and to rest assured that she would do nothing but by his advice. The constable, whatever she might do, took her advice literally; and, as soon as he entered *Orleans*, sent for the officers of the new guards, told them they were in arms against their country, and that the person of the king was always safe when surrounded by his people; upon which they immediately dispersed. The queen-mother had the chief authority, and the power of regent, but without assuming the title, tho' given her by most historians. The king of *Navarre* had the title of the king's lieutenant general, and the prince of *Condé* was removed to *La Fere* under a guard, till he should be declared innocent^l. On the 13th of *December*, the states were opened^m. The speakers of the nobility and the commons inveighed bitterly against the negligence, luxury, and avarice of the clergy; the orator of the clergy, on the other hand, talked very high, demanded the abolition of the concordat, and the re-establishment of the pragmatic sanction. Some discourse there was of an inquiry into the state of the finances; king *Francis* the first having left near two millions in his coffers, and the crown being at this time near forty-two millions in debt. But there were so many of the great that would have been interested in the event of this inquiry, and the *Guises* were so likely to be little affected by it, that it was quickly stopped. Some good laws in respect to the administration of justice, a suspension of all religious persecution, the restitution of the old custom of electing bishops, and a general amnesty for what was passed, being enacted, the states were prorogued to *May*. The constable, duke of *Guise*, and the marshal *de St. André*, entered into a close alliance, and were stiled the TRIUMVIRATE: the queen-mother, upon this, leaned to the side of the king of *Navarre* and the princes. In the month of *March* c the prince of *Condé* was declared innocent by the council, and that declaration was confirmed by the parliamentⁿ. On *Easter-Day* the triumvirate communicated together, as a mark of the sincerity of their reconciliation; and on the 15th of *May* the king was crowned at *Rheims* by the cardinal of *Lorraine*^o. The admiral, who was a sincere protestant, perceiving how well the king of *Navarre* stood with the queen, and being persuaded they had nothing to fear from the chancellor, presented a new petition in favour of the Hugonots, which was referred to the consideration of the parliament, where the king, the queen, and most of the princes of the blood were personally present^p; and, after warm debates, it was decided, by the plurality of voices, that all offences in respect to religion should be referred to the ecclesiastical tribunals; all assemblies of the protestants, though without arms, were forbidden upon pain of death, f and all preaching or celebration of the sacraments, contrary to the usage of the church of *Rome*. Some said that *John du Tillet* was guilty of a fraud, in declaring the number of voices, and this edict was so little relished in the provinces, that the queen-mother, who seemed now wholly inclined to the reformed, softened it by another edict, dated from *St. Germain en Laye*^q. The queen dowager returned to *Scotland* in the month of *August*, soon after which the assembly of the states met again at *Pontoise*, where the clergy, to avert the storm that was rising against them, taxed themselves in a large sum to the king^r. In the month of *September* was held the famous colloquy, or conference, at *Poissy*, between the prelates and the ministers, in which the cardinal of *Lorraine* and *Theodore Beza* displayed their eloquence, notwithstanding

A. D. 1561.

^f DUPLEIX, MEZ.^g JACOB. TAVAN. SERRES, CHALONS.^h Abregé Chronologique de

l'Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 33.

ⁱ P. DANIEL.^k MEZ. LE GENDRE.^l JACOB.

THU N.

^m Annales de France, P. DAN.ⁿ Memoires de Castelnau.^o GODEFROI dans

le Ceremonial de France.

^p DUPLEIX.^q Memoires de Castelnau, P. DAN.^r SERRES,

MEZERAY.

which,

which, there was little or nothing done, except that the king of *Navarre*, under pretence that the ministers did not agree well amongst themselves, left the reformed, and joined himself to the triumvirate^a.

The duke of Guise occasions the first civil war.

THIS threw the queen on the prince of *Condé* and the admiral, though she laboured all she could to recover the king of *Navarre*; but the court of *Spain*, sometimes flattering him with the restitution of his dominions, sometimes offering the island of *Sardinia* as an equivalent, and the *Guises*, as a mark of their cordiality and respect, offering their niece, the queen of *Scots*, provided he would obtain a divorce from the court of *Rome*, against the queen of *Navarre*, as an obstinate heretic, he, who had never shewn much constancy before, remained firm where he was^b. The queen, to satisfy the admiral and the prince of *Condé*, called a new assembly of the states at *St. Germain*^c, where an edict was made that gave liberty of conscience to the Hugonots, till the points in dispute were settled by a general council; this, however, rather increased than abated the troubles, both parties making preparations for a war, and reciprocally consenting to quit the court, as if it had been with a view to make the administration less difficult to the queen, though at the bottom they had the same design. The prince of *Condé* had treated with the duke of *Wirtemberg* for succours, in support of the protestant cause; the duke of *Guise* having an interview with that prince at *Saverne*, persuaded him, that himself, his brother, and the moderate catholics, were not averse to the *Lutheran* religion, but that the Hugonots in *France* were obstinate *Calvinists*, and equally enemies to both, by which he drew him into a treaty of neutrality^d. In his return to *Paris*, passing through the little town of *Passy*, his followers insulted the Hugonots, who were at their devotions in a barn, proceeding by degrees from words to blows, though it is said that the duke laboured all he could to put an end to the fray, in which he was himself wounded in the face by a stone; there were about sixty of the Hugonots killed, and this gave a beginning to the civil war^e. The triumvirate, in conjunction with the king of *Navarre*, prevented the prince of *Condé* and the admiral in surprising the queen-mother and the king, whom they conducted from *Fontainebleau* to *Paris*^f. The Hugonots surprised *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Lyons*, *Poitiers*, *Tours*, *Aungiers*, *Angoulesme*, *Rouen*, *Dieppe*, *Havre de Grace*, and other places; and, having concluded a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*, put the last-mentioned place into her hands, by way of deposit, in consideration of a succour in men and money^g.

The battle of Dreux, in which the constable and the prince of Condé are both made prisoners.

ON the other hand, the marshal de *St. André* marched into *Poitou* with an army, and recovered *Poitiers*; and the king of *Navarre*, with the title of lieutenant-general of the realm, and having under him the constable and the duke of *Guise*, having first recovered *Bourges*, towards the close of the month of *September* he besieged *Rouen*. On the 15th of *October* the king of *Navarre* received a wound in the trenches, of which he died that day month; but this did not hinder the place from being taken by storm and plundered, or his making his entry into it through the breach in a litter^a. The loss of *Rouen* obliged the prince of *Condé* to direct his march towards *Normandy*, where, on the 19th of *December*, the two armies engaged near *Dreux*. That of the prince of *Condé* consisted of four thousand horse, and eight thousand foot; the admiral commanded the van, the prince was in the center, and *Dandelot* in the rear. The forces of the triumvirs consisted of three thousand gens d'arms, and thirteen thousand foot; the marshal *St. André* commanded the first line, the constable the second, and the duke of *Guise* and his friends, with the flower of the army, formed the third. The constable was so desirous of acquiring the sole honour of the victory, that he charged precipitately, and not being supported in time, either by the first or third line, was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner. The Hugonots beginning to plunder, the duke of *Guise*, having rallied the broken troops, charged them with such fury that they were quickly broken, and the prince of *Condé* wounded and taken; the marshal de *St. André*, pursuing too far, was surrounded and killed by the son of one *Bobigni*^b, whose confiscation he had begged. The admiral retired with the cavalry, and the remains of the prince of *Condé*'s army, in a manner that did him great honour. The triumvirs kept the field, but their loss was by much the greatest^c.

Siege of Orleans, death of the duke of Guise, and the first peace with the reformed.

The duke of *Guise* was now in possession of as great authority as ever he had enjoyed in the former reign; for the queen-mother, who had shewn herself partial in favour of the Hugonots, had lost much of her credit and authority, and but for the mildness of the king of *Navarre*'s temper, might have lost her life, having herself overheard the marshal de *St. André* affirm, in one of their consultations, that things would never go well till she was thrown into the river. But while this struggle for power, which in truth was the great object of the war, continued in *France*, the concerns of the monarchy suffered not a little. The duke of *Savoy* recovered^d

^a Discours des Actes de Poissy, contenant le commencement de l'assemblée, l'entrée, & issue du Colloque des Prelats de France & Ministres de l'Evangile, l'ordre y gardé ensemble, la Harangue du Roy Charles IX. DU-
PLEIX. ^c CAMDEN. ^e JACOB. THUAN. ^g POPELINIERE. ^h Memoires de
BRANT. ^f SERRES. ^d P. DAN. ⁱ Memoires de Castelnau. ^j POPELINIERE,
JACOB. THUAN.

a almost all the places that the *French* still held in *Piedmont*; and the emperor demanded, and might have regained, *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, if he had not suffered himself to be amused by a treaty of marriage. The duke of *Guise* saw this with chagrin, and therefore resolved to put as speedy an end to the war as possible; and with this view he besieged *Orleans*, where, on the 9th of *February*, he was shot in the back^c by *Poltrót de Meré*, who, being taken and put to the torture, charged the admiral, the prince of *Condé*, *Dandelot*, *Soubise*, and *Theodore Baza*, with having excited him to this action; but he afterwards acquitted the prince, *Soubise*, and *Dandelot*. He was carried to *Paris*, and drawn to pieces by wild horses. The queen sent for the marshal *Brisac* to continue the siege, but at the same time laboured assiduously to conclude a peace, in order to which she directed a conference to be held between the prince of b *Condé* and the constable, and, they not agreeing, she herself prescribed the terms. The protestants were to lay down their arms, restore the places which were in their possession, and to renounce their treaty with *England*: in return, they had a general pardon and liberty of conscience^d. As the great point aimed at was the recovery of *Havre de Grace*, war was declared against *England*; and the prince of *Condé*, whom the queen had gained by promising to make him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, distinguished himself in this siege against his old allies. The place was surrendered on the 28th of *July*, by means of a forged letter sent to the earl of *Warwick*^e. The king was declared major at thirteen years and a day old by the parliament of *Rouen*, notwithstanding the opposition given by that of *Paris*, which was at length forced to comply. The prince of *Condé* pressing the queen-mother for the performance of her promise, c and the Protestants taking great liberties with her character, which was none of the most regular, she became, out of spite, a most zealous Catholic, who, but a year before, had shewn her approbation of the Protestant doctrine, in a letter to Pope *Pius* the fourth^f. The widow A. D. 1563. and children of the duke of *Guise* demanded justice against the admiral, contrary to the dying commands of the duke, who forgave all that had any concern in his death, and earnestly recommended the extinction of all animosities amongst the great men of the kingdom. The admiral protested his innocence, and the king took the cause into his own hands. On the last day of the year died the marshal *de Brisac*, one of the bravest men, and one of the best officers in *France*^g.

THE queen-mother had now none to oppose or controul her; but the situation of public d affairs was such, that it required a vast capacity to comprehend and to conduct them. The Pope, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*, sent their ambassadors into *France*, to solicit certain points which they had much at heart. The former was desirous of having the decrees of the council of *Trent* admitted and recognized, and for this he depended much upon the cardinal of *Lorraine*: but, upon the review of them by the parliament, it was resolved, that, in respect to doctrine and point of faith, the council should be received, but not with respect to matters of discipline, because these were equally inconsistent with the rights of the *Gallican* church and the late edict of pacification. The latter, who in this also had the assistance of the former, laboured to engage the crown of *France* in a league for the utter extirpation of Protestants; but the queen, clearly perceiving that this was designed to revive the troubles in e *France*, in which both his Catholic majesty and the duke of *Savoy* had their separate interests at heart, she, in appearance at least, declined it. The negociation with *England* still subsisted, which had been begun soon after the reduction of *Havre de Grace*, and at length a peace was concluded, which was equally necessary to both kingdoms^h. The queen, under pretence of visiting his dominions, carried the king from place to place, and at length into *Lorraine*, where she proposed to have had an interview with the emperor, which was disappointed chiefly by the intrigues of king *Philip*. Thence the court went into *Burgundy*, and afterwards to *Lyons*, where a citadel was directed to be built. The Catholics were restless, and desirous of having recourse again to arms, through the instigations of the emissaries of *Spain* and the house of *Guise*; but the queen affected, for in truth it was but affectation, a spirit of equity and moderation. However, being arrived at *Roussillon*, a palace belonging to the counts of *Tournon*, f in *Dauphiné*, she there published an edict in the king's name, restraining the Protestants from the exercise of their religion, within ten leagues of the courtⁱ. About this time likewise the date of the year was fixed at the first of *January*, instead of *Easter*; and some other things were done, in appearance, for the public good, but which, at the bottom, tended to facilitate the queen's design, which was to conduct the ruin of the Protestants in such a manner, as not to endanger her own authority. She likewise found means to renew the alliance between the crown of *France* and the *Swiss* cantons, notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Philip* the second to prevent it. In appearance also, she entered into a closer correspondence with *England*.

The queen-mother at the head of affairs, and embarked in the most dangerous projects.

1564.

^c Memoires de Castelnau.
tious aux Memoires de Castelnau.
moi es de BRANT. P. DAN.
Annals of Elizabeth.
DUPELIX.

^d SERRES, DU TILLET.

^e POPELINIERE, Le Laboureur, Addi-

^f JACOB. THUAN. Memoires de Castelnau, DUPL. MEZ.

^g Me-

^h Memoire: de Castelnau, Recueil des Traites, par LEONARD, CAMDEN'S

ⁱ Memoires de l'Etat de la France sous Charles IX. P. LA PLACE, D'AVILA,

Conference at
Bayonne, in
which the ruin
of the Protest-
ants is re-
solved.

THE king spent the winter in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, having with him the young duke of *Guise*, and most of the chiefs of the Catholics, who were apparently in high favour. In the mean time an accident happened at *Paris*, which was very near reviving the war. The cardinal of *Lorraine* advanced into the neighbourhood of that city, attended by a considerable body of horse, well armed; the marshal *de Montmorency*, who was governor of the *Isle of France*, sent to him to disarm his attendants, of which he took no notice, but entered *Paris* with this martial equipage, but was met by the marshal with a body of troops, who disarmed his attendants, and killed in his presence one of his pages, who made some resistance. Both sides complained to the court, and, at the same time, made preparations of a warlike nature; but finding that the king would not decide in favour of either party, they were afraid to proceed farther^k. The court, after having visited *Bordeaux*, went to *Bayonne*, where the queen and her son had an interview with her daughter the queen of *Spain* and the duke of *Alva*^l. All possible precautions were taken to disguise and keep secret what passed in these conferences; but even these precautions, and this air of mystery, made it evident, that the queen-mother was not sincere in her professions, but had still an inclination to enter into the league for the destruction of the Protestants, and the event fully justified these conjectures. Immediately after this interview the king went into *Bearne*, where the queen of *Navarre* was obliged to restore to the Catholics their churches, and to admit of a mixed magistracy of both communions, tho' the bulk of her subjects were Protestants; and the same method was pursued in other provinces, as the king returned towards *Paris*^m.

Her intrigues
with the court
of Spain end
in a new civil
war.

IN the beginning of the ensuing year, the court summoned to *Moulins*, in the *Bourbonnois*, the deputies from the several parliaments and other sovereign courts throughout the kingdom, in order to take effectual measures for the re-establishment of justice; and accordingly the famous ordinance, bearing date from thence, was published, consisting of fourscore and six articlesⁿ. This was the effect of the chancellor's policy, who, finding his councils less regarded in matters of state, applied himself assiduously to those of his own profession, and, bending his whole endeavours to the public good, procured, in these times of confusion, more salutary laws to be made than in any other reign; and as he shewed the uprightness of his heart in contriving, so his comprehensive capacity, and at the same time his exquisite learning and eloquence, are rendered conspicuous to posterity, by the elegant manner in which they are penned. The reconciliation which was attempted here between the *Montmorencis* and the cardinal of *Lorraine*, and between the admiral and the house of *Guise*, had a happy issue in shew, without producing any good effect; for, notwithstanding the outward ceremonies of agreement and forgiveness, all parties retained their secret animosities, and a full resolution of gratifying them the first fair occasion that offered^o. This spirit of dissimulation went still higher; the king of *Spain* laboured to possess the court of *France* with an opinion that the great object of his policy was to extinguish heresy, and that in this his aim was to act in concert with the crown of *France*, though, at the same time, he laboured in *Germany*, in *Italy*, and in *Switzerland*, to lessen the influence and credit of this crown, and to prevent the success of those negotiations which the queen was carrying on. On the other hand, the queen-mother, who was not altogether ignorant of this, pretended to have a high jealousy of king *Philip's* proceedings, and spoke her sentiments of them, as it were in confidence, to the prince of *Condé* and the admiral; but, at the same time, she had quite other things in her mind: and, believing herself able to deal with the king of *Spain* in his own way, resolved to take in his assistance for the destruction of the Protestants. But as, in all great undertakings, money is the material article, she made a vast reform in the finances; and, contrary to the advice of the most zealous Catholics, disbanded a great part of the troops that had been kept on foot since the late troubles, not more with a view of retrenching expence, than to deceive the prince of *Condé* and the Hugonots^p. To pursue these dark politics more effectually, she sent an ecclesiastic to the court of *Spain*, to let king *Philip* into her plan, that he might not take umbrage at the advices he received from his ambassador in *France*, who could not but be alarmed at the countenance given by the queen to the prince of *Condé*, notwithstanding his open declarations that the measures taken by the *Spaniards* in *Italy* were to be suspected; and that an army ought to be raised to watch the motions of the duke of *Alva*. The constable, having laboured ineffectually to resign his charge to his son the marshal *de Montmorency*, gave way to a proposition made by the prince of *Condé*, to resign in his favour, which did not a little embarrass the court. However, the queen soon found an expedient to prevent this scheme from taking effect, which was by prompting her son *Henry* duke of *Anjou* to declare himself the prince of *Condé's* competitor, which he did with such airs of grandeur and superiority, that the prince was not a little mortified^q. The admiral, and his brother *Dandelot*, by degrees, penetrated thro'

^k POPELINIERE, *Memoires de Castelnau*, P. DAN.

LA PLACE, JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.

MEZ.

^p *Memoires de Castelnau*, J. THUAN. P. DAN.

^l J. DE SERRES, DUPLIX, MEZERAY.

ⁿ JACOB. THUAN. D'AVILA, J. DE SERRES.

^q *Memoires de ERANT*. DUPL.

^m P.

^o DUPL.

- a all these mysteries; and gave the prince to understand, that if he was upon ill terms with the king and his brother, he was upon much worse with the queen-mother; who, while she pretended to listen to his apprehensions of the Catholic king's designs, and, in consequence of them, as he imagined, had given orders for the levying of six thousand *Swiss*, she was in reality preparing to second that monarch's scheme, and would employ those troops in concert with him against the Protestants. The prince of *Orange* gave him the like intimations; and the king having discovered his resentment that the princes of *Germany* should interpose in favour of his Protestant subjects, and that their ministers had conferred with the prince, he was at length convinced, that he had been all along the dupe of the queen, and that himself and those of his religion had no other way to secure their safety than by putting themselves
- b without loss of time, in a posture of defence.

THE march of the duke of *Alva* into the *Low Countries* seemed to alarm the court extremely, and occasioned the forming of a flying camp in *Burgundy*, though in truth the queen-mother was preparing to act in concert with him, and the Hugonots were every day more and more curtailed in their privileges, as if it had been designed to provoke them to take arms, and thereby afford the court an opportunity of treating them with the same severity shewn by the duke of *Alva* to their brethren in the *Low Countries*. Indeed there want not some who say, that as the duke put to death the counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, for no other crime than their inviolable attachment to the liberties of their country, so the queen-mother was firmly resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity of seizing the prince of *Conde* and the admiral, confining the former as long as he lived, and bringing the latter to a scaffold. It is at least certain, that the prince and admiral believed themselves in the utmost danger, and thereupon formed the bold design of surprizing the whole royal family at *Monceaux in Brie*; and, with this view, orders were given privately to the chiefs of the party to assemble as many determined men as they could do with privacy, and to march them with all possible secrecy, at a certain day, to the little town of *Rosoy*, which was but a small distance from *Monceaux*, where the court had scarce any troops about them, though the six thousand *Swiss*, under the command of colonel *Psiffer*, were at no great distance. This design was conducted with so much address, that, but for an unforeseen accident, it had certainly succeeded. The count of *Castelnau* had been sent into *Flanders* to compliment the duke of *Alva* on the part of the king, and perhaps to concert some measures with him against the Protestants; the count was going to court to report the success of his commission, and, in his passage, fell in upon the road with some of the Hugonots, who were going to their rendezvous, and out of whom he picked their design. When he came to relate this at court, the constable treated it as a dream; but the queen-mother, more easily alarmed, caused such enquiry to be made, as put the fact beyond doubt. The court, upon this hurried away to *Meaux*, and the *Swiss* troops having orders to march thither, performed it in the night. On *Michaelmas* day the prince of *Conde*, the admiral, and their associates, assembled their forces, and found themselves in a condition of besieging *Meaux*, to which, if they had marched directly, and had not suffered themselves to be amused by a negotiation, they had done their business; and, as it was, the court was equally afraid of being invested in *Meaux*, or of marching from thence to *Paris* without cavalry. The latter was at last resolved, on the faith of colonel *Psiffer*, who undertook and performed this retreat of ten leagues, through an open country, continually exposed to the enemy's horse, by whom they were harassed all the way, the queen-mother, with the king and the rest of her children, being in the center of the battalion, and exceedingly exposed. The *Swiss* had a month's pay given them for this service, as if they had gained a battle.

A design formed by the prince of Conde and the admiral to surprize the court at Meaux.

Battle of St. Denis, in which the constable Montmorency is mortally wounded.

THUS the second civil war was begun; and the prince of *Conde*, far from being disconcerted by this disappointment, surprized the town of *St. Denis*, and set fire to twenty-four windmills that were just without the suburbs of *Paris*. The thing is in itself so strange, or rather incredible, that, if we had not the concurrent testimony of all the writers of those times, it could never gain belief, that, with scarce three thousand men, the prince kept this capital blocked up for near six weeks, and the people of *Paris* were at length so much distressed, that, by their clamours and reproaches, they wore out the patience of the constable; so that, on the tenth of *November*, he marched to attack them in the plain of *St. Denis*. His army consisted of three thousand men at arms and sixteen thousand foot, the prince of *Conde* had not above twelve hundred foot and fifteen hundred horse; yet he was so far from flying, that he began the action, which lasted about three hours, with the loss of some hundreds on each side, the Catholics keeping the field of battle, and the Hugonots, though

^r D'AVILA. POPELINIERE. P. DE LA PLACE.

^s DUPLEIX. MEZ.

Memoires de BRANT.

^u J. THUAN. POPELINIERE. P. DAN.

^x SERRES. DUPLEIX.

^y D'AVILA. Memoires de Castelnau. SERRES.

^w D'AVILA. CHALONS. LE GEND.

they

they had the greatest loss, had all the honour of the day^y. The constable, being abandoned by those about him, was mortally wounded by *Robert Stuart*; and, notwithstanding he was seventy-four years of age, he started from the ground, and, with the point of his sword, struck *Stuart* in the face, beat out three of his teeth, broke his jaw, and brought him to the ground^z. His son *Danville*, and the duke of *Aumale*, delivered the constable, and carried him to *Paris*, where he died two days after: the queen caused him to be buried with royal honours; but it was a point much disputed, whether she was better satisfied with the victory she had gained than with the death of this great man^a. On the 15th of *November* the prince of *Condé* and the admiral, with the remains of their forces, marched, into *Lorraine*, to meet the succours that were coming to them out of *Germany*, commanded by prince *Casimir*, the son of the elector *Palatine*, consisting of four thousand foot and six thousand horse: the queen-mother caused her son the duke of *Anjou* to be declared the king's lieutenant general, to avoid naming a constable, and sent him, with all the forces that could be assembled, to harass the prince's rear^b. In the mean time the flame of war spread itself thro' all the provinces, the reformed standing every-where upon their defence, and making themselves masters of all the places they were able; while the Papists, having the royal authority on their side, had recourse both to arms and to justice, destroying indiscriminately, by the forms of justice or by the sword, as many as they were able, to the great satisfaction of the *Spaniards*, who enjoyed this madness of their neighbour, as appeared clearly by the conduct of the duke of *Alva*, who, if he had sent, as the constable required, a little before the battle of *St. Denis*, a body of four or five thousand men, at the back of the Hugonot army, they must have been surrounded, and an end put to the war at once^c.

The queen consents to a truce, in order to ensnare the heads of the Protestants.

It is commonly believed, that, if it had not been for some ill conduct of the duke of *Anjou*, or rather of those who commanded the army at the head of which he was, the forces of the prince of *Condé* and the admiral might have been dispersed, whereas they had the good fortune to join the succours that came to them out of *Germany*, under the command of prince *Casimir*, at *Pont a Mousson*. There happened, upon this occasion, a very singular event; the prince had promised his *German* succours, a hundred thousand crowns as soon as they joined him, and they insisted upon the money, though there could not be any thing more miserable than the prince's army, who, for the most part, were without arms, without clothes, and without shoes; however, some little money they had amongst them, and they collected the whole, and gave it to these strangers^d. With these forces the prince traversed a great part of the kingdom, and at length besieged *Chartres*, in the beginning of *February*, which was very gallantly defended by *Monf. Lignieres*, knight of the order; but if the prince had turned the course of the river at last, as he did at first, the place must have surrendered. While the prince was employed in this siege^e, the negotiations were renewed, and, when the place was on the point of surrendering, the peace was concluded by the prince of *Condé*, against the advice of the admiral^f. The conditions were, That the edict of pacification should be renewed, free from all limitations of time, place, or person; that the king should take upon him the payment of prince *Casimir* and his *Germans*; and that all places should be restored. Both sides exclaimed against this peace, which neither intended to keep, and which was therefore stiled the feigned or the short peace; and yet they could not avoid making it; for, upon the surrender of *Chartres*, the king must have quitted *Paris*, and the queen-mother knew not what the consequences might have been of such a step. On the other hand, the prince saw troops marching in support of the Catholic cause from *Germany* and *Italy*, the Protestants, for the present, undone in the *Low Countries*, and himself in danger hourly of being abandoned or betrayed by the *Germans*, whom it was not in his power to pay, and who, for that reason, were very desirous of peace, that they might become the creditors of those in better circumstances; and the court were so much aware of this, that they borrowed 100,000 crowns from the republic of *Venice*, and 80,000 more of the dukes of *Florence*, *Sancerre*, and *Montauban*; several places of *Querci*, *Vivares*, *Dauphine*, and *Languedoc*, refused to return to their obedience; *Rochelle* shut their gates against the king's garrison, and became from that time the bulwark of the reformed.

An attempt to seize the P. of Condé and the admiral causes the third civil war.

THE queen-mother began now to form a kind of select council, who were first stiled the cabinet; these were the duke of *Anjou*, who from his childhood she bred up in arts and intrigues, the chancellor *Lewis la Lansac*, *John de Marvillieres*, bishop of *Orleans*, *Sebastien de l'Aubespine*, bishop of *Limoges*, *Henry de Mesme*, the president *Birague*, and the secretary *de Villeroy*. Amongst these, however, there were still some who stood in higher confidence, and whose sentiments she retailed to the rest as her own^g. The cabinet advised

^y Memoires de Castelnau. J. THUAN. Memoires de Tavaannes.

^z Memoires de BRANT. ^a DUPL. MEZ.

^b D'AVILA. P. DE LA PLACE. Memoires de Castelnau.

^c DUPL. JACOB. THUAN.

^d Memoires de BRANT. ^e POPELINIERE. Memoires de Castelnau. DUPL. MEZ.

^f Edit. du Roy, 25 Mars, 1568. J. DE SERRES. DU TIL. MEZ. LE GEND.

^g D'AVILA. DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN.

- a her to cause the forces to be so posted throughout the kingdom, as to keep such places as had not submitted in a manner blocked up, and to have such an eye on the chiefs of the Hugonots, as that they should not be able to break out again, or to surprize any great towns on the sudden; which advice the queen caused to be punctually carried into execution. But the counsel by which she was chiefly guided came from the cardinal of *Lorrain* and the president *Birague*, and it consisted in destroying privately, and under a variety of pretences, as many of the Hugonots as possible, and more especially such as had been most active; and in laying schemes for surprizing the prince and the admiral, whenever they happened to be in the same place. This fell out at *Nojars* in *Burgundy*, where the admiral came to pay the prince a visit, upon which the marshal *de Tavannes* received orders to block up the place, and to make them
- b both prisoners; but the troops could not be so suddenly put in motion as to prevent their having intelligence, and they immediately retired, or rather fled with the utmost expedition ^a to *Rochelle*, leaving an officer and a few horse to cover their rear, who, being beaten, was made prisoner, and sent up to court: an indisputable proof that the prince and admiral had not fled without cause, as the court would have had it believed. The queen was so incensed at this miscarriage, that, perceiving the chancellor less affected than she would have had him, she threw the blame upon him, and, having deprived him of the seals, gave them to the bishop of *Orleans*, though it afterwards appeared it was the marshal *Tavannes* himself who caused the prince to be advertised of his danger, as being unwilling to do what he thought would reflect upon his honour ¹. The prince of *Condé* was no sooner at
- c *Rochelle* than the whole force of the Protestants resorted thither; the queen of *Navarre* particularly, with her son the prince of *Bearn*, afterwards *Henry* the fourth, with all the forces of *Guienne*; those beyond the *Loire* were assembled and conducted by *Dandelot*, in spite of the king's troops, which were much superior to them in all respects; and queen *Elizabeth*, forgetting the ill usage she met with from that prince, and respecting only her own interest, and the protection of the Protestant cause, sent him a hundred thousand crowns, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition, which enabled him to march with his army to *Soissons*; and thus the third civil war broke out, within six months after the last peace ^b.

- d THE queen-mother suspended the progress of his arms by a negociation, and promised, *P. of Condé* in order to make him easy under the delay, to give him wherewithal to pay his troops; but as ^{slain in the} that would have been advantageous to him, and prejudicial to her own affairs, she avoided ^{battle of Jar-} it, by the usual expedient of breaking her word. The rigour of the winter being over, the duke of *Anjou* was in the field with a numerous army, whom the queen employed, tho' a child, that she might direct the troops as absolutely as she did the counsels of her son. This young general had about his person the marshal *Tavannes*, who had merited the baton by fifty years service, was equally prudent and brave, and withal of so bold a spirit, that he offered queen *Catherine de Medicis*, in her husband's time, to cut off the nose of *Diana de Poitiers*. He was the determined enemy of the Protestants, because, having once had a difference with the admiral, he gave him some hard language ¹. This marshal had the queen's
- e secret, and, in effect, commanded her son. Next to him was the marshal *de Cosse*, the younger brother of the famous marshal *de Brisac*, a gallant man, a good officer, but given to his bottle and his pleasures. There was also *Monf. de Biron*, who became afterwards a marshal of *France*, of whom it is unnecessary to say any more, than that, though a thorough good Protestant by inclination, he was a very good Catholic for the sake of preferment. By their advice the duke of *Anjou* laboured to engage the prince of *Condé*, before he was joined by a great corps of *German* succours that were marching to his relief, under the command of the duke of *Deux-Ponts*. This he effected on the 13th of *March*, at the little village of *Jarnac*, in the province of *Angoulesme*. This action was neither long nor bloody, there not being above fourteen hundred killed of the Hugonots, who were beat, and not
- f more than two hundred of the victors ^m. The prince of *Condé*, who had the misfortune to have his leg broke a little before the action began, endeavoured, for that reason, to decline it; but, being once engaged, behaved, notwithstanding his wound, like a hero, till having received several more, he was taken; but so weak, through loss of blood, that two gentlemen took him in their arms from his horse, and carried him to a bush, at some distance, where they sat him down; and soon after the baron *de Montesquieu*, captain of the guards to the duke of *Anjou*, riding up to the place where he was, came behind and shot him through the head ⁿ. This detestable action, though not avowed, yet not being punished by the

^a Memoires de Castelnau. Memoires de Tavannes. Memoires de BRANT.ⁱ JACOB. THUAN.

D'AVILA. DUPLEIX. Memoires de BRANT.

^h POPELINIERE. Memoires de Castelnau. CAMDEN'S

Annals of Queen Elizabeth. P. DANIEL.

¹ Memoires de Tavannes. DUPL. MEZ.^m POPE-

LINIERE. Memoires de Castelnau. D'AVILA. SERRES. DUP. MEZ.

ⁿ Memoires de BRANT.

duke, was generally ascribed to him (K). The prince's body being laid upon an ass, was carried to *Jarnac*, and some time after restored to his friends, and buried with the rest of his family at *Vendosme* °. The admiral, whose courage was superior to all difficulties, and whose presence of mind arose in proportion to the danger, made an excellent retreat; and, having put good garrisons, commanded by brave officers, into the places that were most exposed, retired into *Poitou*. *Jane* queen of *Navarre*, the honour of her sex and family, brought her son *Henry* prince of *Bearn*, and *Henry* prince of *Condé*, to the army, where they were acknowledged for generals, and a new oath taken to support them, till the affairs of the kingdom should be settled by a stable and solid peace ^p.

The admiral
defeated at
Moncontour,
and the Pro-
testant cause
reduced to the
last gasp.

In the month of *May* the duke of *Deux Ponts*, with his *Germans*, took *la Charite* by storm, and passed the *Loire*: he died soon after, and his forces joined the admiral, who, having now a formidable army, unluckily undertook the siege of *Poitiers* ^u. *Henry* duke of *Guise* threw himself into the place, with two thousand brave men, and gained as much reputation by defending it, as his father did by defending *Metz*. The duke of *Anjou*, in the beginning of *September*, besieged *Chatelleraud*, upon which the admiral raised the siege of *Poitiers*, burnt part of his baggage, having lost four thousand men, and much diminished his reputation. The parliament, to increase his embarrassment, declared him a rebel, and set a price of fifty thousand crowns on his head, and they did the like with respect to the vidame of *Chartres*, and the count de *Montgomery* ^r. At the close of the month the duke of *Anjou* gained some advantage at *St. Cler*, on which the admiral decamped without sound of trumpet. The *Germans* mutinied a few days after, and compelled him to fight on the 3d of *October*, at *Moncontour* ^s. The action began about eight in the morning and was over by ten. The *French* infantry in the *Hugonot* army behaved ill, and the *German* horse, being put in some disorder, retired. The admiral lost half his army, most of his baggage, and all his artillery, which was ascribed to the skilful disposition made by *Tavannes*. The whole force of the Protestants seemed now to be broken, but the spirit of the admiral remained entire. Wounded and defeated, he drew together the remains of his army, retired in good order, and neglected nothing that was practicable to recruit his troops ^t. The victorious army, instead of pushing him, besieged *St. John de Angeli*, in which *Piles*, an officer

° JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.

^p D'AVILA. Memoires de Tavannes. DUPL.

^u Memoires de

Castelnau. POPELINIERE.

^r Memoires de Castelnau. DUPL.

^s MEZ. P. DAN.

^t D'AVILA.

Memoires de Castelnau. SERRES. DUPLEIX.

(K) This great prince *Lewis de Bourbon*, who first bore the title of *Condé*, was the seventh son of *Charles* duke of *Vendosme*, and the youngest brother of *Francis* count of *Enghien*, who was suspected to have been murdered with the privy of *Catherine de Medicis*, when she was only dauphiness (1). We have before described his person, than which nothing could be conceived more remote from his mind, if the character given of him by a great historian be true, that there were few who equalled him in strength, in constancy, in wit, in address, in experience, in courtesy, in eloquence, or in liberality, for he had all these virtues together; and even his enemies allowed, that, taking the whole of his character into view, he was not excelled by any of the great men of that age (2). But he had also (and who has them not?) his follies and his faults. He was thought not very sincere in his religion; he was ambitious; he was too hasty in embracing, and had too great a facility in finding excuses for quitting his party, as appeared from his concluding a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*, and within less than a year drawing his sword against that general and those troops, who, at his own request, were sent to assist him (3). But his great foible was women. The queen-mother had about her abundance of pretty women who were styled her syrens, and, with their help, she extracted the secrets, and frequently influenced the conduct of those who were most averse to her. Mrs. *Limaël* was the syren who charmed the prince of *Condé*; who, proving with child by him, the queen publicly reprimanded

her, and turned her out of the court. But the unfortunate lady, deriving courage from her despair, told her, that however wicked and infamous her behaviour might be, it was the fruits of her advice, the effects of her command, and the transcript of her example (4). The notoriety of this amour broke the heart of his first consort, *Eleonora de Roy*, eldest daughter of the count de *Rouci*, one of the worthiest women in *France*. After her demise there were many ladies who aspired to the honour of sharing his bed, and amongst the rest *Margaret de Lufree*, the widow of the marshal de *St. Andre*, who made him a present of the fine castle and estate of *Valery*, which is still in the family (5). But, notwithstanding this, he married *Frances* the daughter of the marquis de *Rothelein* (6). By his first consort he had *Henry* prince of *Condé*; *Francis*, who was the first styled prince of *Conti*, and who was always deaf and dumb; *Charles* cardinal de *Bourbon*; and several other children, who died young: by his second he had three sons, of whom none survived but *Charles*, who became afterwards count de *Soissons* (7). We have mentioned in the text the high dispute that arose between *Henry* duke of *Anjou*, the king's brother, and this young prince, from whence the antipathy of the former is thought to have arisen, which occasioned that base assassination that deprived the latter of life, at the age of thirty-nine (8). Some pretend that he caused medals of gold to be struck, in which he assumed the title of *Lewis XIII.* (9).

(1) Thom. Corm. Hist. Memoires de Rabutin. Popelinere.

(2) Jacob. Thuani Hist. sui Temporis. lib. xiv.

(3) Camdeni Annales, p. 101, 102. Jacob. Thuani Hist. sui Temporis, lib. xxxv. Brantome, Vies des Grands Capitaines Francois, Discours, lxxx. Art. i.

(4) Memoires de l'Etat de France, sous Charles IX.

(5) Popelinere. Brantome. Le Gend.

(6) Thuani. Popelinere. Brantome. Le Gend.

(7) P. Buffere Hist.

des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe, p. 262. Le Gend.

(8) Thuani Hist. lib. xiv. c. 3.

(9) Le

Blanc, Traite Historique des Monnoies de France, p. 335. Brantome, ubi sup.

- a of the house of *Clermont*, commanded a garrison of two thousand men : the place was far from being strong, and very indifferently fortified ; but *Piles*, comprehending clearly that the preservation of the Protestants in *France* depended on the length of the siege, rejected all propositions, and defended it beyond conception. The king and the queen-mother came thither about the middle of *October*, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing the place taken by storm, and were afterwards content to hope it would be reduced by famine. The commander made no scruple of declaring that he could not trust to any capitulation, and at length, having nothing to eat, took the desperate resolution of forcing a passage, which was prevented by the interposition of *Monf. de Biron*, on whose word he accepted honourable terms, on the 2d of *December*, and then marched out with one hundred horse and eight hundred foot ^u. *Rochelle* was, all this time, blocked up by sea and land, and, at the close of the year, the Protestant cause in *France* seemed at the point of being overwhelmed, their forces being, in a manner, quite exhausted, at the same time that they were without any visible resource.

A. D. 1569.

In this perplexed and ruinous situation of their affairs, the sole circumstance in favour of the Protestants, if it deserves attention, was their having a few honest and able persons at the head of their councils, who had nothing in view but the public good, and, if that prospered, had all the satisfaction they desired. The queen of *Navarre*, instead of listening to the advantageous proposals, which, even now, were made her on the part of queen *Catherine de*

By an extraordinary turn of affairs they obtain a very advantageous peace.

- Medicis*, gave general answers, to keep the negotiations alive ; and, in the mean time, neglected nothing that might repair the losses, or bring new strength to the cause. *Sore*, a pirate of *Dieppe* (for the Protestants were obliged to have recourse to that way of living at the expence of their enemies), forced the blockade by sea, and once more opened the port of *Rochelle*. *Monf. la Noue*, one of the bravest and one of the wisest men amongst the Hugonots, undertook to extend their quarters ; and after having taken several places, gained a considerable advantage near *Luçon*, which left his party more at their ease, and facilitated their receiving recruits. The two young princes of *Bearn* and *Conde* undertook a perilous march, with all the horse and foot they could assemble, in order to join the count *de Montgomery*, who commanded in the territories of the queen of *Navarre*, which they performed ; and, by plundering the country about *Thoulouse*, quieted the *German* cavalry, who were become importunate for money ^w. They had done a great deal more, and would, in all probability, have become masters of *Bordeaux*, if the famous *Montluc* had not found means, by cutting down a mill, to break the bridge, which with infinite difficulty they had thrown over the *Gironne*, which constrained them to make a retreat that was no less difficult than their march, and which they likewise executed with equal ardour and address ^x. But, after all, it became absolutely necessary to have recourse once more to the *German* princes, and to traverse all *France* with their small remaining force, in order to join these succours. The admiral undertook this, one of the most difficult enterprizes he had ever attempted, and which he performed with equal abilities and success. The marshal *de Cossé*, during the indisposition of the duke of *Anjou*, commanded the king's army, and with it stopped the admiral at *Arnai-le-Duc* ^y in *Burgundy*. In the course of these expeditions, the Hugonot army had marched twelve hundred miles, pillaged above fifty, and ransomed a hundred places, traversed seven or eight provinces, passed a multitude of rivers, penetrated forests, and took their route through morasses that were thought impracticable ; and now with four thousand men, of whom there were not above twelve hundred foot, were, in the midst of an enemy's country, to fight an army of ten thousand regular troops, well provided, and who had a good train of artillery, though the Protestants had not a single piece of cannon. The marshal *de Cossé* is blamed for his behaviour, but it may be without cause. The admiral chose a field of battle upon a hill, on the sides of which there were several deep roads that covered his foot from cannon shot ; and his horse, composed of gentlemen, and commanded by
- f princes, beat those of the marshal, but without pursuing them, that they might not lose the advantage of ground, the only advantage they had ^z. At length they slipped him ; and, being unincumbered with baggage or artillery, made some equivocal motions, that looked as if they intended to block up *Paris* ; this constrained the marshal to dispose his forces in such a manner, as to cover that great city, and so alarmed the queen, who had all this time kept up a negotiation, in which the Protestants, for the credit of their cause, which at this juncture subsisted entirely upon credit, made very high demands, that she directed her plenipotentiaries to sign, as they did, the third peace, at *St. Germain en Laye*, on the 8th of *August* ².

^u Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Memoires de BRANTOME. J. THUAN. MEZ. ^w D'AVILA. PIERRE DE LA PLACE. P. DAN. ^x Memoires de Montluc. JACOBI THUANI. POPELINIERE. DUPL. ^y Memoires de BRANT. D'AVILA, SERRES CHALONS. ^z J. THUAN. DUPL. MEZ.

Charles IX.

by the suggestion of the queen-mother, affects to give a new turn to his conduct.

THIS peace consisted of forty-six articles, and was as favourable to the Protestants as if they had been victorious, in all the battles in which they had been defeated. The edicts in their favour were confirmed, those against them recalled; they were restored to all their charges, employments, and dignities, and had the following strong places acceded to them for two years; viz. *Rochelle, la Charite, Montauban, and Coignac*; the first kept the sea open for receiving succours from *England*, in case of a new war; the second preserved the passage of the *Loire*; the third was on the frontiers of *Languedoc* and *Querci*; and the fourth opened a passage into *Angoulmois*, where they had a greater strength than in any other province. The peace was hardly signed before both sides manifested a discontent, the Papists with great reason, the Protestants because they could not believe it sincere. The king appeared in another point of light than he had hitherto done. He certainly wanted not talents either for peace or war, though his education, or rather his want of education, had been such as did not qualify him for either. He affected very much to be a king; he was now about twenty; and, though passionate, in which he swore execrably, was commonly esteemed good-natured. He took the peace upon himself, and gave broad hints that he had made it in spite of the queen-mother, the *Spaniards*, and the *Guises*: he sent the marshal *de Cossé* to *Rochelle*, to settle every thing that was to be done in consequence of the peace; and his instructions were so clear, and his behaviour so honourable in the conduct of this commission, that the admiral, who had no opportunity of knowing him since a child, flattered himself, that things had taken a new turn, since the king undertook to govern himself; and, in all applications made to the court, the decisions were such as seemed to confirm these favourable opinions^a. The negotiation that had been depending nine years for the king's marriage, was at length terminated; and, on the 6th of *November*, he espoused at *Mezieres*, *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*, a princess of incomparable virtues, who, in the bloom of youth, had the sagacity of age, and maintained, in the midst of a voluptuous court, a purity of manners that would have done honour to a convent, without any tincture of affectation or austerity^b. The *Spanish* faction and the *Guises* knew not what to think of this sudden change of affairs, and were still more alarmed by the unexpected turn given to an event of their own procuring. Don *Sebastian* king of *Portugal* had demanded in marriage the princess *Margaret*, the king's sister, then about the age of seventeen; which marriage had been traversed by the *Spanish* minister, in complaisance, as that family understood it, to the house of *Guise*, but in reality for other reasons. Upon this the king intimated his design of marrying his sister to the prince of *Navarre*; and upon discovering an amour very far advanced between her and the duke of *Guise*, he sent for his bastard brother, *Henry d'Angoulême*, into his bed-chamber, and, shewing him two swords, said with many imprecations "Here is one to kill you, if you don't kill the duke of *Guise* with the other, before I come from hunting." The duke of *Guise* being informed of the king's resentment, and knowing the violence of his temper, retired from court, and not long after married a widow^c.

Seems to take the reins of government into his own hands, and to consult his true interests.

IT was apparent, from the new turn things took, in consequence of this extraordinary change of measure, that the peace and power of *France* might have been effectually established, if *Charles* the ninth had kept these royal and national points in view, and had honourably practised to that end those measures which, for the vilest of all purposes, he most basely dissembled. He likewise shewed such abilities upon this occasion that might have done him credit upon a better; and though it may be suspected, and perhaps proved, that he was entirely directed by the queen-mother, who had now put the seals into the hands of her own creature *Birague*, and was surrounded by her *Italian* council, yet if he had done what he pretended he had a mind to do, that is, dismissed all those who had been deep in the late troubles, recalled the chancellor, the *Montmorencys*, and some of the princes of the blood who were Catholics, the peace of the nation had been secured, and the lustre of the government restored. But this was far from being the case; he counterfeited good qualities which he never possessed; and, while he wore them, produced such a transient scene of prosperity, as must have influenced him, if there had been a spark of goodness in his nature, to have changed his conduct, and to have become the man he seemed; which was so visibly his interest, that even those who had a glimpse of his heart, and who were to be greater gainers thereby than himself, expected it^d. The regard he shewed to justice in points that came before him in the council, revived the respect due to it throughout the kingdom. His subjects admired, his neighbours courted and revered him; he renewed his treaties with *England*, with the princes of *Germany*, and the grand duke (for he began now to be so stiled)

^a Memoires de BRANT. DU TILL. P. DAN.^b JACOB. THUANI. MEZ. Memoires de BRANT.^c Hist. de MATTHIEU. Memoires de la Reine Marguerit. DUPL. P. DAN.^d Histoire de MATTH, J. THUAN. P. DAN.

- a of *Tuscany*. He avoided, with great dexterity, entering into the alliance against the *Turks*, because it was stiled the holy league, and he thought it might revive the fears of the Protestants. On this occasion he made one of those double-faced compliments which were peculiar to him, to the pope's nuncio: "Assure his holiness, said he, of my obedience; and "ah! that it were in my power to express my sentiments more clearly." He meditated his design continually, and, without disclosing it to any, threw out a multitude of expressions which were taken in one sense at the time, and which, when it was too late, were discerned to be capable of quite another. This shewed he had digested the maxims of his mother's politics thoroughly, and was capable of setting a good grace upon the blackest and most barbarous intention that ever entered the human breast. But we must forbear reflections, and content ourselves with relating events unparallelled in history, and of which, for the honour of humanity, we hope the like will never again disgrace any age or country; we do not say this to injure the *French* nation, for even the *French* historians say the same.

- He was informed that the admiral, who was equally sincere in religion and patriotism, was detaching troops to the assistance of the Protestants in the *Low Countries*, for which he very honestly gave the true reasons, that he was desirous of assisting his brethren to shake off the intolerable yoke they were under, and to employ those busy spirits against the *Spaniards*, that might otherwise have troubled the quiet of *France*. The king was not content to let him know that he approved and admired his conduct, but desired that he would send count *Lodovic* of *Nassau* to confer with him on certain points of importance, and, that this might be done with the more safety and secrecy, he should come *incognito*. He caressed count *Lodovic* in such a manner, entertained him so freely on the project he pretended to have formed of attacking *Spain* and conquering the *Low Countries*, and gave him such a mark of his sincerity, in restoring the principality of *Orange* to his brother, that he entirely gained the count, and sent him back so well satisfied to the admiral, that he removed all his scruples, and made him not only willing, but desirous, of going to court. The king did not fail to invite him, but it was in so easy and natural a way, that he might have excused himself, if he had been disposed. He came, however, in the month of *September*, to *Blois*, attended by fifty gentlemen. He was received with equal affection and respect; the king kissed him; called him father; and, when he embraced him, said, "We have you now fast; you must not think of getting from us when you please." He restored him, unasked, the pensions that had been granted in the former reigns; and made him a present besides of one hundred thousand livres. However, when he asked his majesty's leave to go to his house at *Chatillon*, he very readily granted it; adding, when he mentioned some improvements that were making there, "We know very well how fond you are of gardening," which alluded to the person's finding him in his vineyard, with a pruning knife in his hand, immediately before the expedition of *Meaux*, when the king was obliged to fly before him to *Paris*. After a month or five weeks stay, he sent for him back, under pretence that he wanted to consult him about his negotiations with *England*, and other affairs of importance. It was at this time that he talked so frankly and sensibly on the possibility of his subjects of the two communions living in charity to each other, and in duty to their prince, and the right he had, as sovereign of *Flanders*, to take the people under his protection, and of the deceitful usage he had met with from the *Spaniards*, that the admiral was perfectly charmed. He was infinitely more caressed than he had been before; and tho' he received the news of his brother the cardinal's being poisoned in *England*, yet the concern the king expressed, and the grant he made him of the revenues of his brother's benefices for a year, effaced the suspicions. Indeed the king dissembled so effectually, that the *Guises* and the furious ecclesiastics looked upon one another with amazement; the latter made no scruple of affirming, that the king was in the highway of becoming a heretic, and the former were not a little afraid, that a monarch, who was so complete a master of fraud and treachery, when he saw how much he had got by them, might turn these arts upon those who taught them.

THE treaty with *England* went on, to the great satisfaction of the Hugonots; and was at length, after much deliberation, concluded. The queen of *Navarre* came to the court at *Blois*, was met by the queen-mother and by the king, who caressed her excessively, called her his great aunt, and professed himself charmed with her politeness and wisdom. At night he asked his mother if he had not acted his part well; to which she returned, "That it was a good thing to set out right; but that things were brought about by patience and perseverance:" to which the king answered, "Let me alone; I'll bring them all into the

He overreaches the admiral, who attaches himself to him, and goes to court.

A. D. 1571.

Death of the queen of Navarre, which retards without preventing her son's marriage.

^a Memoires de BRANT.

^f Histoire de MATTH. DUPL. MEZ.

^z Memoires de BRANT. P. DAN.

^b Memoires de BRANT. D'AVILA. Histoire de MATTH.

ⁱ Vie de Gaspar de Coligni. THUAN.

^k Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. CAMDEN's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

^j J. DE

SERRES. DUPL. DU TILL. CAMDEN's Annals of Q. Elizabeth.

net ^m." Count *Lodovic of Nassau*, was, by this time, returned to court, in order to obtain a the performance of the king's promises, who not only made them good, but exceeded them, intimating, that he wanted nothing but the admiral's advice to enter into action against the *Spaniards*; and it was this that brought him the third time to court ⁿ. In the beginning of the month of *June* the queen of *Navarre* was taken ill, and died on the 10th ^o. It was the current opinion of those times, and many historians speak of it as a thing certain, that she was poisoned by one *Rene*, an *Italian* glover, by some perfumed goods which he sold her, by order of the queen-mother. It is, however, most likely, that this suspicion had no foundation. Her body was opened, in which an abscess was formed that must have been mortal; and probably it was from their persuasion of this, that the admiral, the prince of *Condé*, and the other great lords of the Hugonot party, not only remained at court, but were also b less inclined to listen to the intelligence sent them from all quarters of *France*, that the court meditated their destruction: which, as it was true, so a little reflection will suffice to shew, that the poisoning of the queen of *Navarre* at this juncture was inconsistent with their general scheme ^p. *Teligny*, who was one of the finest young gentlemen in *France*, and whose merit alone had recommended him to the marriage of the admiral's daughter, was become a kind of declared favourite with the king, who had most effectually deceived him, and made use of him to detain the admiral, who had a great opinion of his sagacity and penetration. A little before the marriage, *Langoiran*, who had served under him in the war, came to take his leave of the admiral, who asked him why he could leave *Paris* at that juncture? "Sir," said he, "these people are too fond of us, and I had much rather save myself c "with the fools, than stay here and have my throat cut with those who are wiser ^q." The death of the queen of *Navarre* caused the marriage of her son to be put off, who, notwithstanding, came to *Paris* at the time appointed, and was excessively caressed. On the 17th of *August* he was affianced to the princess *Margaret* by the cardinal of *Bourbon*, against the will of the princess, who refused to sign the contract, and who, the next day, would not speak when the marriage was celebrated: but the king her brother, standing behind, forced her to nod her head, which was taken for her consent ^r. This was on the *Monday*, which, with the *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, was spent in feasting, music, and dancing. On *Friday* the 22d of *August*, as the admiral was walking from the court to his lodgings, about eleven in the morning, he received a shot from a window in the street, which carried away d the second finger of his right hand, and wounded him grievously in the left arm. He said immediately, "This is the fruits of my reconciliation with the duke of *Guise* ^s." After dinner, the king went to make the admiral a visit, and, amongst others, made him this compliment, "You have received the wound, but it is I that suffer;" desiring, at the same time, that he would order his friends to quarter about his house, and promising to prohibit the Catholics from entering that quarter after it was night ^t. This satisfied the admiral of the king's sincerity, and hindered him from complying with the desires of his friends, who would have carried him away, and who were strong enough to have forced a passage out of *Paris* if they had attempted it.

The massacre of the Protestants resolved, and the execution committed to the D. of Guise.

In the evening the queen-mother held a cabinet council, to fix the execution of that plot c which she had meditated for so many years. The persons were *Henry* duke of *Anjou*, afterwards, king of *Poland* and of *France*, *Gonzagua* duke of *Nevers*, *Henry* of *Angoulesme*, grand prior of *France*, and bastard brother to the king, the marshal *de Tavannes*, and *Albert de Gondi*, count *de Rhetz*; there it was determined to massacre the Protestants in general; and it was with some difficulty that the duke *de Nevers* and marshal *Tavannes* got the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde* excepted, together ^u with the marshals *Montmorenci* and *Damville*, who were at first doomed to slaughter with the rest. The direction of the whole design, when the time of execution arrived, was confided to the duke of *Guise*, who took with him his uncle the duke of *Aumale* and the grand prior *Henry de Angoulesme*. The guards were appointed to be in arms, and the city officers were to dispose the militia to execute the f king's orders, of which the signal was the ringing of a bell near the *Louvre* ^v. Some say that, when the hour approached, which was that of midnight, the king grew indetermined; that he expressed his horror at the thought of shedding so much blood, that of his subjects, of men who came at his command, upon their confidence in his word, and particularly the admiral, whom he had detained so lately by his caresses: but that the queen-mother reproached him with his cowardice, made a frightful picture of his danger, flattered him with the hopes.

^m Histoire de MATTH. D'AVILA. Memoires de BRANT. Vie de Coligni. ⁿ Memoires de Sulli. Vie de Gasper de Coligni. Histoire de MATTHIEU. ^o D'AVILA. J. THUANI. DUP. Memoires de BRANTOME. ^p P. DAN. ^q D'AVILA. Memoires de BRANT. ^r Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. THUAN. P. DAN. ^s Histoire de MATTH. Vie de Gasper de Coligni. Memoires de BRANT. ^t Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. ^u Histoire de MATTH. Memoires de Tavannes. D'AVILA. P. DAN. ^v Vie de Gasper de Coligni. Memoires de Tavannes. DUP. MEZ.

a of ruling without controul, and having once wrung from him an order to give the signal, hastened it, for fear he should alter his mind, which it is also reported he did, when it was too late. These circumstances are not to be depended upon, because many writers visibly labour to excuse the young monarch at the expence of his mother, while others make it singly his act, affirming that, when it was proposed to take off a few of the heads, he cried out ^x, “ If any are to die, let there not be one left to reproach me with breach of faith.”

THE duke of *Guise*, and the chevalier *d'Angoulême*, accompanied by many persons of quality, and a detachment of the *Swiss* troops of the catholic religion, as soon as the signal was given, attacked the house of the admiral *Coligni*; who, as soon as he discerned from the noise what the matter was, rose out of bed, and, while they were forcing the doors, addressed himself, in a short pathetic prayer, to God, which was scarce finished, before *Esme*, the most forward of the assassins, entered the room, and asked if he was *Coligni*? To which he answered he was; adding, “ Young man, respect these grey hairs;” to which he answered by thrusting his sword through his body ^y. The duke of *Guise* and the chevalier, growing impatient below stairs, cried out to know if the business was done; and, being told it was, commanded that the body should be thrown out of the window. As soon as it fell on the ground, the chevalier, or, as some say, the duke of *Guise*, wiping the blood off the face with his handkerchief, as soon as he knew the face, kicked it with his foot ^z. The body was then abandoned to the fury of the populace, who after a series of cruel and insolent affronts, dragged it to the common gallows, to which it was chained by the feet, the head being cut off, and carried to the queen-mother, who, it is said, caused it to be embalmed and sent to *Rome* ^a. The king himself went to see it hang upon the gibbet, where, a fire being kindled under it, part was burnt, and the rest scorched. However, the miserable remains were, in the night, taken down, by the command of the marshal duke of *Montmorenci*, who caused them to be honourably interred at *Chantilly* ^b. In the very *Louvre*, the gentlemen belonging to the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé* were murdered under the king's eye; two of them, wounded and pursued by the assassins, fled into the bed-chamber of the queen of *Navarre*, and jumped upon her bed, beseeching her to save their lives; and as she went to ask this favour of the queen-mother, two more, under the like circumstances, rushed into the room, and threw themselves at her feet. The queen-mother came to the windows to enjoy these dreadful scenes; and the king, seeing the Hugonots, who were lodged on the other side of the river, flying, called for his long gun, and fired upon them ^c.

It is not within our province (and we consider it is as a felicity) to pursue the story of this tragical event through all its circumstances, which would require a work of considerable length; we shall only observe that, within the space of three or four days, several thousands were destroyed, by all the variety of cruel deaths that the most unbounded malice could invent. *Peter Ramus*, professor of philosophy and the mathematics, after being robbed of all he possessed, his belly being first ripped open, was thrown out of a window, the news of which so affrighted *Denis Lambin*, the king's professor, that, tho' a zealous Catholic, he died of terror ^d. The first two days the king denied it was done by his orders, and threw the whole blame upon the house of *Guise*; but, on the 28th of *August*, he went to the parliament, avowed it, was complimented upon it, and directed a process against the admiral, by which his memory was stigmatized as a traitor, and which was much worse, two honest and innocent gentlemen, of respectable characters, were executed as accomplices in a conspiracy against the life of the king, the princes his brothers, the queen-mother, and the king of *Navarre*, in order to set the crown on the head of the young prince of *Condé*, which never existed, but by owning of which they might have saved their lives; a proposition they rejected with contempt. They were executed by torch-light, and the king, the queen-mother (with the king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Condé* by force), were spectators of this horrid act; and they also assisted at the jubilee proclaimed to thank God for the success of a design that reflects dishonour on the Christian religion ^e, and indelible infamy on all who contrived, executed, or approved it.

ON the eve of *St. Bartholomew*, orders had been sent to the governors of provinces to fall themselves, and to let loose the people, upon the Protestants; and tho' an edict was published before the end of the week, assuring them of the king's protection, and that he by no means meant to exterminate them because of their religion, yet private orders were sent, of a nature directly contrary; in consequence of which the massacre, or as, in allusion to the *Sicilian* vespers, it was now stiled the matins of *Paris*, were repeated in *Meaux*, *Orleans*, *Troyes*,

^x Memoires de BRANTOME. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. P. DAN. ^y D'AVILA. DUPLEIX. MEZ. ^z THUAN. Memoires de l'Amiral de Coligni. ^a MATTH. Histoire de France. SERRES. LE GEND. ^b Memoires de l'Amiral de Coligni. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. ^c Memoire de Tavannes. Memoires de BRANT. ^d J. DE SERRES. ^e JACOB, THUAN. D'AVILA. LE GEND.

Angiers, Thoulouse, Rouen, and Lyons, so that, in the space of two months, thirty thousand ^a Protestants were butchered in cold blood, if that expression may be used, in speaking of people influenced by the most detestable passions ^f. *La Charite* on the *Loire*, one of the cautionary towns given to the Protestants, was surprized, and the inhabitants abandoned to the rage of their enemies. The other three were more upon their guard, and became thereby sanctuaries to such of their religion as took shelter in them. In some of the provinces, however, the governors gave but little countenance to the barbarities that were exercised; and in others they absolutely refused to execute them at all; alleging, that their swords were at the king's command against his enemies, but not against his subjects ^g. The king of *Navarre* was easily prevailed upon to abjure the Protestant religion, and to send an edict into his own dominions, forbidding the exercise of it; which, however, was not obeyed. The court had more trouble ^b with the prince of *Condé*, who shewed great firmness in his religion, though the king, who undertook his conversion, proposed the strongest argument in three words, *Mass, Death, or the Bastile* ^h. At length they brought his chaplain to abjure, and he persuaded his master to follow his example, as the prince of *Conti* and the count *de Soissons* did also. The people of *Rochelle* began to provide for their own defence; and the count *de Montgomery*, who made his escape out of *Paris* on the day of the massacre, went into *England* to solicit succours. ^c The court sent the famous *la Houe*, one of the best officers in *France*, and a zealous Protestant, to persuade the people of *Rochelle* to submit; but it was by his advice that they disposed every thing in such a manner as enabled them to make a great and glorious resistance; yet he did not betray his trust, but, at the same time that he fortified *Rochelle*, he advised the people to submit to their sovereign, provided they had a reasonable security given them for the peaceable enjoyment of their properties and their religion ⁱ.

Rochelle besieged.

WHEN it appeared that artifice would do nothing, and that the bloody matins of *St. Bartholomew* had actually cured the Protestants of their credulity, the court had recourse to force. *Biron* had orders to invest *Rochelle* by land, while *Strozzi* with a fleet, and the baron *de la Garde* with a squadron of galleys, blocked it up by sea ^k. In the mean time, other places having revolted, three armies were set on foot, the first, under the command of the marshal *Damville*, was employed to reduce *Sommiers*; which, after an obstinate resistance of two months, was effected; but it ruined the army, so that it was out of his power to take *Nismes*. Monsieur *Le Chastre*, with the second, besieged *Sancerre*, which, though neither strong nor ^d well fortified, held out eight months; during which time there perished two thousand people in the town through famine; and a father is said to have lived a week upon the body of his deceased daughter. At length the place submitted, but upon tolerable terms ^l. The third, commanded by the marquis *de Villars*, now made admiral, was sent into *Guienne*, and reduced the greatest part of that country. But the whole force of *France* was, in a manner, assembled before *Rochelle*, the siege of which was commanded by the duke of *Anjou*, accompanied by his brother the duke of *Alençon*, the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, the duke of *Montpensier*, all the princes of the house of *Guise*, the duke of *Nevers*, the marshal *de Cossé*, and the flower of the *French* nobility. It lasted eight months, during which the besieged sustained nine general and twenty particular assaults, in one of which the duke *d'Aumale* was slain ^m. The count *de Montgomery*, with a fleet from *England*, attempted to succour them, but in vain ⁿ; notwithstanding which disappointment, and Monsi. *La Noue's* quitting them, they still defended themselves with the same firmness; disposing all things with such prudence, that they enjoyed a good state of health, and a tolerable subsistence; while the army without was equally exposed to famine and diseases. The duke of *Anjou* himself had been killed by a musquet ball, if a gentleman, whose name was *de Vigne*, had not seen the man taking aim, and, pushing the duke aside, received it into his own body ^o. The news arriving that the duke of *Anjou* was elected king of *Poland*, notwithstanding he had three formidable rivals, a general attack was made, and this failing, the duke, who had already lost four-and-twenty thousand men, resolved to make an end of the affair by a peace. ^f The measures for this being concerted, the people of *Rochelle* surrendered, and intreated his highness to enter their town; which, as it had been agreed before-hand, he refused; the edicts of pacification were renewed, and the inhabitants of *Rochelle* promised to be good subjects for the future ^p. Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a peace which the court did not intend to keep, and to which the Protestants never trusted.

THE miseries of *France* were daily augmented by new disturbances; the king was grown excessively jealous of his brother the duke of *Anjou*, who had been always his mother's favourite, and who, by being continually at the head of the army, had at least as much

^f Memoires de l'Amiral de Coligni. DUPL. P. DAN. ^g SERRES. MEZ. ^h D'AVILA. Memoires de BRANT. P. DAN. ⁱ MATHIEU Histoire de France. JACOB. THUAN. ^k POPELINIERE D'AVILA. P. DAN. ^l JACOB. THUAN. J. DE SERRES. ^m MATTH. Histoire de France. POPELINIERE. MEZ. ⁿ CAMDEN'S Annals of Queen Elizabeth. ^o JACOB THUANI. DUPL. P. DAN. ^p SERRES.

^q CAMDEN'S Annals of Queen Elizabeth. ^r JACOB THUANI. DUPL. P. DAN. ^s SERRES.

- a authority as his brother. The king was therefore extremely well pleased at his election, and desired nothing so much as to see him fairly out of *France*. On the other hand, the duke of *Anjou*, who was made a king in a manner against his will, who loved an indolent and luxurious life, the conversation of several young men, whom he stiled his friends, and the rest of the world his flatterers, till, in process of time, they fell upon a worse appellation, and who was also vehemently enamoured of the princess of *Condé*, could not bear the thoughts of parting, notwithstanding the ambassadors from *Poland* pressed him every day; and the king told their mother, that the kingdom was not big enough to hold them both^a. The duke of *Guise* adhered to the duke of *Anjou*, and offered to support him if he had been inclined to stay, whether his brother would or not. But, besides this, there was another formidable and dangerous faction, stiled, *La Politiques*; these were indifferently of both religions, chiefly the more moderate Catholics, such as the *Montmorencis*, the marshal *de Cossé*, and Monsieur *de Biron*. At the head of these was the duke of *Alençon*, who had a mind to set aside one brother, and perhaps both. The king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Condé* had entered a little into his schemes, which went no farther in appearance than redressing the numberless disorders in the state, and excluding foreigners from the council. The Protestants, encouraged by this party, and knowing how little they had to expect either from the king or the duke of *Anjou*, began to form new demands, and such as they thought might afford them a real security; to procure which, they set on foot a general confederacy, that they might the better know, and the more easily exert, the force of their whole party; and the government was fallen so low, that, in little more than a twelvemonth, it was deliberated whether, yielding to necessity, they should not grant their own terms to those whom they had threatened to exterminate from the face of the earth. The king accompanied his brother towards the frontiers, not out of affection, but for fear he should fix himself, and raise a party in some of the distant provinces^b. In this journey, however, he was seized with a kind of slow malignant fever, which, from the beginning, had a very dangerous appearance: and with regard to which the queen-mother expressed herself strangely, when she took leave of the king of *Poland* in *Lorraine*. "Go," said she, "my son, enter into possession of your kingdom; but be assured that your stay there shall not be long^c." The government was now intirely in her hands, her creature *Birague* being chancellor, and scarce any but her *Italians* being intrusted with the secrets of the state; and these in effect were endeavouring to contrive means to pillage the people, and, instead of a regular and legal government, to establish an absolute tyranny, under the direction of an ambitious woman, and her insolent favourites.
- d

- THE courts of *France* and *England* continued still to dissemble with each other; in truth, because it was their interest. The queen-mother was afraid that *Elizabeth* would assist the Hugonots; and *Elizabeth* was still apprehensive of the *Spaniards* and the queen of *Scots*. In the mean time, the Hugonots perceiving, that, though the court had refused to grant their demands, yet they had not courage enough to arrest their deputies, resolved to proceed in their scheme of putting themselves, once for all, in a posture of defence, so as to treat for the future in the quality of a body politic, and not as subjects in arms against their prince. It was with this view that they formed a confederacy, into which, by the advice of Mons. *la Noue*, the people of *Rochelle* entered^d. On this they began to stir in other parts of *France*, and more especially in *Normandy*. The court directed three armies to be raised for carrying on this fifth civil war, and, in the mean time, the queen-mother earnestly pressed the treaty of marriage with queen *Elizabeth*, in favour of her third son the duke of *Alençon*, which, for the reasons before expressed, *Elizabeth* seemed to encourage, and even granted that young prince, who affected to be thought no enemy to the Protestants, a safe-conduct to come and visit her in her own dominions; which, though he solicited with warmth, yet, when he had got it, he did not use, being engaged at home in some intrigues of a very extraordinary nature. His friends openly solicited for him the post of lieutenant-general, as his brother had enjoyed it.
- f The king was averse to this demand, and the queen-mother much more so; but it could not well be refused^e. But, while this was in agitation, the Hugonots in arms in *Normandy* advanced a small corps of cavalry very near *St. Germain*, where the court then resided. The design of this was to have carried off the duke of *Alençon*, who had consented to it; but they came ten days too soon, so that he was not ready^f. It occasioned, however, a dreadful consternation; and the Catholics, affecting to believe that there was a design of returning the compliment of *St. Bartholomew*, retired in precipitation out of *Paris*; the queen-mother and her ladies amongst the rest; and the next day the king himself went to the castle of *Bois de Vincennes*, causing the duke of *Alençon* and the king of *Navarre* to be put under a guard, and treating this as a new conspiracy against his person^g. The marshals *Montmorency* and *Cossé*,

^a Histoire de MATTH. Memoires de BRANT. JACOBI THUANI.^b Hist. de MATTH.

nals of Queen Elizabeth.

moires de la Reine Marguerite.

^c JACOBI THUANI, P. DAN.^d JACOBI THUANI, DUPL.^e SERRES. DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN.^f SERRES, DUPL. MEZ. CAMDEN'S AN-^g MATTH. Histoire de France, Me-

repairing to court to justify themselves, were arrested and sent to the *Bastille*; the prince of *Condé*, and the other brothers of the marshal *Montmorency*, had shared the same fate, if the prince, who was then in his government of *Picardy*, had not very wisely retired to *Strasburgh*, where following once more the example of his chaplain, he declared his reconciliation to the church of *Rome* to have been forced and insincere, and, at his earnest request, was again admitted into communion with the Protestants at *Strasburgh*^y. At court, *La Moule*, who had betrayed his master the duke of *Alençon*, and who was a strange compound of superstition and debauchery, lost his head upon a scaffold, as did also the count *de Coconas*, a *Piedmontese*, who pretended not to any religion, but had been very active in the business of *St. Bartholomew*. *Tourtai*, a man of less consequence, was broke alive upon the wheel^z. The duke of *Alençon* made a mean confession, but the king of *Navarre* behaved with great spirit and resolution, and treated the queen-mother with a degree of freedom that put her very much out of countenance^a. He ascribed all the troubles of *France* to her arts, and affirmed she excited them to make herself necessary.

Miserable
death of
Charles IX.

In the mean time the queen-mother, who negled nothing that might facilitate her views in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, procured her son-in-law the duke of *Lorraine* to be invested with the title of the king's lieutenant-general; and having, under colour of this new conspiracy, brought most of those who were inclined, or at least, who had it most in their power, to oppose her, into danger, began to act more openly and boldly, and as if the sovereign power had been solely in her hands. The poor king *Charles* was gradually approaching death, under the most terrible agonies and tortures. He was little master of his own actions; and, though absolute power had been his aim, he was by this time very sensible that he had, in effect, no power at all. To recover it, he projected schemes of reformation; declared frequently and openly that he desired no more than legal authority; that affairs of order and justice should be left intirely to the parliaments; the direction of military affairs to the marshals; and that he would reserve to himself the care only of reforming his court, and relieving his people. Some add, that he expressed a resolution of removing from about him such as had advised the massacre. But it is very difficult to judge of the authorities on which these reports are founded; and, besides, he was so infamous for his dissimulation, that we know not what to think of these declarations, even supposing them to have been made: this is very certain, that his mother made him act a part to the very last. She had procured from him, some time, letters for the governors of provinces, and other officers civil and military, to obey her commands; but, not satisfied with this, a little before he died, she engaged him to give his orders to the chancellor *Birague*, her creature, to draw and seal a commission to her to be regent of the kingdom^b. The very morning that he died, he sent for the duke of *Alençon*, the king of *Navarre*, the cardinal *de Bourbon*, the chancellor, the secretary of state, and several other great persons, to whom he declared his brother the king of *Poland* his heir, and the queen-mother regent till his arrival, and sent his testament to the parliament to the like effect^c. After having thus performed all that the queen-mother had for him to do, he breathed his last on the 30th of *May*, which was *Whitsunday*, in the middle of the fourteenth year of his reign, and towards the close of the twenty-fourth year of his life^d. As a general rumour had prevailed, from expressions that fell from himself, that his was not a natural disease, his corpse was opened after his demise, and, upon inspection, it is said, there appeared no marks of poison, which refuted the suspicion that had fallen upon the duke of *Alençon*. Others allege, that he was taken off by one who understood the mysteries of that detestable art so well, as to remove enemies, without leaving grounds of discovery^e. But the common opinion of those times was, that his end was indeed out of the course of nature, but in consequence of the express judgment of God, for the cruelties he had exercised on his subjects, and blasphemously imputing this to a motive of religion (L).

THE

^y SERRES, DUPL. MEZ.

^z JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.

^a LE LABOUREUZ dans la Contin-

uation des Mémoires de Castelnau, LE GEND.

^b JACOBI THUANI, PAPIRIUS MASSO, in vit. Ca-

roli IX. P. DAN.

^c SERRES, DUPLEIX, Mémoires de BRANT.

^d MEZ. CHALONS.

^e JACOBI THUANI, Mémoires de BRANT.

(L) There are few princes whose memory have been more freely dealt with than that of *Charles* the ninth. We have been obliged in the text to mention some of his personal qualities; we shall avoid, as much as possible, any repetitions here. In his person he was tall, well made, robust, but stooped a little in his shoulders. He had a pale, or rather livid complexion, a sharp nose, and quick, or rather haggard eyes. He derived from nature great and good qualities, which were improved by his governor *Monf. Cisperre*, or, as *Brantome* calls him, *Sipierre*, and his preceptor *Monf. Amiot*, so long and so far as they were

allowed to manage him. He had an extensive capacity, a very retentive memory, much sagacity, a wonderful penetration, and great solidity in judgment. He spoke easily, pertinently, and with dignity. He loved learning and learned men, more especially poets, and was the patron of the great *Ronsard*. There is a saying of his, with respect to them, which has been deservedly remembered. "Princes," said he, "ought to deal with poets, as jockeys with their horses, keep them sleek, and in good case, but not let them grow fat." He had a very fine voice, sung well, and wrote verses himself. He also wrote a treatise upon hunting.

THE situation of the kingdom on the demise of *Charles* the ninth was equally new and strange; the queen-mother was in actual possession of the government, and, at the same time, universally hated, except by her own creatures, whom she had raised from nothing, and whom she supported against all the world. She shewed vast abilities upon this occasion; for though the slightest accident must have thrown all things into confusion, yet she acted with such dignity, so much order, and so great presence of mind, that every thing went on contrary to all probability^f. The chancellor engaged the parliament to send their compliments of condolence, and, at the same time, to desire that she would take the regency into her hands. She constrained the two princes who were prisoners to write, in conjunction with her, to the provinces,

An interregnum, during which the queen-mother is regent of the kingdom.

^f DUPLEIX. MEZ. LE GEND.

hunting, which has been since published. He had great personal courage, was very sober; for, having once drank a little too much wine, and being guilty of some extravagancies, he never tasted it after. He was also naturally modest, and not much inclined to women (1). Let us now see how a prince, with so many good qualities, came to make so bad a figure. He had two ill qualities that are seldom found united; he was a deep dissembler, and yet passionate to a degree of madness. He loved hunting immoderately; and, from delighting in the blood of beasts, came to spill that of men without concern. He seldom spoke without swearing, a vice which he caught from the count *de Rhetz*, his mother's instrument in corrupting his manners. He studied mankind early, and knew them well. He was as easily provoked as he was hard to be appeased. He had a violence in his temper which at once shewed itself, and was heightened by his diversions; for, besides his passion for hunting, he was a great lover of tennis, and would also work frequently at the forge, being an excellent gunsmith. His impetuosity appeared even in his dancing, with which he fatigued himself and his whole court. He had one amusement singular, and which spoke his character; he coined false money with his own hands, and was never so well pleased as when he cheated people (2). The debauchery of his, or rather of his mother's court, ruined his morals and his temper. The necessity he was under of managing opposite factions, taught him to disguise his sentiments, and his frequent disappointments inspired him with deep resentments. Hence it is said, and said with truth, that, at the age of twenty, he excelled *Tiberius* in address, and was not less cruel than *Nero* (3). After the massacre on the eve of *St. Bartholomew*, he had a fierceness in his look, and a colour in his cheeks, which he never had before. He slept little, and never sound. He waked frequently in agonies, and had soft music, with the voices of his pages, to compose him again to rest. He dissembled in his last moments, expressing great kindness towards his brother, whom he hated, and much respect to the queen-mother, whom he intended to have sent into *Poland*, to make a visit to her beloved son: but this was in some measure excusable, since it arose from his tenderness for his consort and daughter, who were to be left in their hands. He espoused *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian* the second, whose excellent character has been before mentioned. She passed the latter part of her life at *Vienna*; but she would never suffer any imposts to be laid on the inhabitants of the places settled upon her in jointure, or any judicial office to be sold (4). She refused *Philip* the second, who was very desirous of marrying her, and died *January* 2d, 1592, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. By her he had a daughter, *Mary Elizabeth*, to whom the queen of *England* was god-mother. This young princess died before she was six years old, but had so much of her father's spirit, that she took it very ill that her uncle king *Henry* did not visit her more frequently. The king had also a son by

Mary Touchet, who was not the daughter, as many writers report, of an apothecary, but of a gentleman of family, who had a considerable office at *Orleans*. His son by her was styled *Charles de Valois*, successively grand prior of *France*, count of *Auvergne*, and duke of *Angoulême*. We shall have occasion to mention this lady and her son more than once hereafter. Besides *Mary Touchet*, the king had at least two other mistresses that are known. One of them was a young lady of admirable beauty and heroic virtue, who never listened to the king's solicitations, who, notwithstanding, was so far from taking this amiss, that he visited her from esteem, and shewed her the highest marks of respect as long as he lived. Another mistress of his was the wife of *Charles de Gondi*, Seigneur de la Tour, master of his wardrobe, brother to the count de Rhetz, and to the bishop of *Paris*. The scandal of that time was, that the queen-mother told this man in confidence, the king had a mind to send him on a journey into the other world, that he might the more freely enjoy his wife; by which la Tour was induced to administer a dose to the king, and followed him in a few weeks after, by the like conveyance (5). Monsieur de Thou says nothing of this story; but he admits that, notwithstanding their public report to the contrary, the physicians who opened his body were convinced, from the mortifications in his stomach and intestines, that he died of a recent poison, having, by the vigour of his youth, and the natural strength of his constitution, got the better of his first disease. In his last agonies, his blood, being dissolved, exuded through all his pores. The chancellor Hospital framed a device for this monarch, which was a shield charged with the arms of *France*, surrounded with the collar of *St. Michael*, surmounted by a close crown, and placed between two columns, with this motto, *Pietate & Justitia*, i. e. "By Piety and Justice." It is strange that the king should cause a medal to be struck on the massacre of the Protestants, with his arms, as before mentioned, on one side, with the date 24 Augusti, 1572, and this inscription, *Pietas excitavit Justitiam*, that is, "His Piety excited his Justice." On the other he is seated on his throne, with a sword in his right hand, the hand of Justice in his left, with a group of heads under his feet, surrounded by these words, *Virtus in Rebelles*, i. e. "Courage in suppressing Rebels." It may not be amiss to remark, that a new star being seen soon after that bloody action, occasioned, according to the humour of that time, a great variety of conjectures. But that of *Beza*, who boldly ventured to foretell that the death of the bloody *Herod*, by whose order it was committed, was at no great distance, met with much censure at first; but, when it seemed to be verified by the king's fate, it was revered as prophetic (6). At the public dinner after his funeral, the parliament of *Paris* commanded *Amiet*, great almoner of *France*, to say grace to them, as representing the monarchy; but he retired, and hid himself, to avoid it. Something of the same kind happened at the funeral of *Lewis* the fourteenth (7).

(1) *Masso in vita Caroli IX. Thuan. P. Daniel Histoire de France, Brantome.*

(2) *Le Gendre Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 466.*

(3) *Brantome Grands Capitaines Francois, Discours lxxxviii.*

(4) *Jacob Thuan. Popelinier. J. de Serres.*

(5) *Brantome his Discourse on this good queen was preposterously printed amongst his Dames Galantes; in the late editions, it is the first article of the eighth Discourse of his Dames Illustres, St. Martha.*

(6) *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 25.*

(7) *Pr. Henault,*

Abregé de l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 381.

as if they acted intirely in concert. She removed from the *Bois de Vincennes* to the *Louvre*, a caused all the passages, except the great gate, to be walled up, and kept her son and her son-in-law not only under a guard, but in an apartment secured with strong grates^e. The two marshals were still in the *Bastile*, and the people of *Paris*, having shewn a malignant joy at their imprisonment, she trusted that fortrefs to the guard of the townsmen, and thereby secured both it and them. She sent an *Italian* ecclesiastic to *Rochelle*, to negotiate, or rather to purchase, a truce, while, in the mean time, she hired *Swiss* and *German* troops. The Protestants, by her permission, held an assembly at *Milhaud*, in *Rouvergne*, where they received letters from marshal *Damville* and the prince of *Condé*, in consequence of which they made a league with the former, in quality of governor of *Languedoc*, and declared the latter their chief protector, and captain-general; but at the same time limited his authority, by assigning him a council^h. The queen-mother was sufficiently displeased with their proceedings, though she dissembled it; and, on the 26th of *June*, under pretence of revenging the death of the king her husband, but, in reality, to strike a terror into her enemies of every party, she caused the unfortunate count of *Montgomery* to be publicly beheaded, after being cruelly tortured, though his life had been promised him when he surrenderedⁱ. She received letters patent from her son in *Poland*, which gave her a legal title to the regency; and, having sent the marshal *de Rbetz* to the frontiers of *Champagne*, to receive the foreign troops she had caused to be raised, she set out for *Lyons*, carrying the duke of *Alençon* and the king of *Navarre* with her, but leaving the two marshals close confined^k.

Henry III.
makes his escape from Poland, and returns through Germany and Italy into France.

HENRY the third, at the time of his accession, was in the twenty-third year of his age. He received the news of it at *Cracow* in a fortnight, and, from that moment, resolved to make his escape, which, however, he dissembled with great address, and prevented the *Poles* from taking those violent measures which they first intended, of seizing all the *French*, and putting them to death without mercy, in case the king left them^l. He quitted the court, however, in the night, within a week after he had the news, and was followed by *Bellevue*, the *French* minister, so briskly, that he joined him in the emperor's territories, where he was overtaken by the lord high chamberlain, to whom he made his excuses, presented him a diamond ring of great value, and intreated him to be kind to the *French* he had left behind in *Poland*^m. He was extremely well received by the emperor *Maximilian* the second, with whom he staid a week at *Vienna*, and his imperial majesty behaved towards him in a manner not very common amongst princes; he pointed out to him the errors committed in the reigns of his father and brothers, advised him to regain the confidence of his subjects, to grant the Protestants reasonable terms, and to observe them punctually. He gave him a good escorte, and caused him to be accompanied by his two sons into the territories of the republic of *Venice*ⁿ. He was received there with all possible marks of respect; the republic gave him the same advice, and he was so exceedingly pleased with his entertainment, that he called the time he spent there the nine enchanted days ever after^o. He proceeded from thence to *Turin*, where he was exceedingly careffed by the duke and duchess of *Savoy*; but he paid a little too dear for this entertainment, since he was persuaded to part with *Pignerol*, and two or three other places which he held in *Piedmont*. There he conferred with marshal *Damville*, who seemed to stand high in his favour; but, upon the coming of some of the emissaries of the queen-mother, he intended to have seized him, if the duke of *Savoy*, upon whose faith he came, had not sent him away with a strong escorte. The marshal, however, was so much frightened, that, as he returned into *Languedoc*, he made a vow that he would never see the king more, except in a picture. About the latter end of *August* he set out for *Lyons*, accompanied, as he had been from *Venice*, by the duke of *Savoy*, and escorted by a small army, composed of his troops, a circumstance of a very new and extraordinary nature, that a *French* monarch should stand in need of the protection of the duke of *Savoy*, in order to pass with safety through part of his own kingdom; and yet, in spite of this precaution, the Protestants, who were in arms, carried off a part of his baggage, which alarmed and incensed him exceedingly. On the sixth of *September* he arrived safely in the last-mentioned city, having been met at a considerable distance by the duke of *Alençon* and the king of *Navarre*, and, when he drew near the place, by the queen-mother^p.

Affects the character of a wise and great prince.

HENRY, at his first return to *France*, seemed inclined to mind his own affairs, and to live and reign like a king. He received the duke of *Alençon* and the king of *Navarre* but very coldly, yet heard their excuses and apologies civilly, and at length gave them their liberty. He gave the bâton to the famous *Montluc*, for the service he had rendered his predecessors, for

^e Journal des choses memorables advenues durant tout le Regne de Henry III. JACOBI THUANI, P. DAN.
^h J. DE SERRES, DUPLEIX, MEZ. ⁱ Journal des choses memorables advenues durant tout le Regne de Henry III. DUPLEIX, P. DAN. LE GEND. ^k JACOBI THUANI, MEZ. ^l DUPL. P. DAN.
^m JACOBI THUANI, P. DAN. ⁿ DUPL. MEZERAY. ^o JACOBI THUANI, P. DAN. ^p Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. DUPLEIX, P. DANIEL.

- a his age and infirmities disabled him from doing much more¹. The king made a regular partition of his time, and took every method to make the world believe, that he intended to be a man of business. He was still amorous of the princess of *Condé*, and spoke to the queen-mother of the means of obtaining a divorce; but, while he flattered himself with these notions, the princess died suddenly at *Paris*, as the duchess of *Savoy* had done a little before at *Turin*². In spite of all the good advice he had received at *Vienna* and *Venice*, the king positively determined to continue the war against the Hugonots, and to continue it with vigour. Marshal *Damville*, upon this, threw off the mask, assembled the states of *Languedoc*, and informed the world that he had put himself at the head of a confederacy, for restoring vigour to the laws, tranquillity to the state, and driving foreigners out of the court and the kingdom³: the king went from *Lyons* to *Avignon*, where he first gave a specimen of that strange temper which rendered him contemptible and ridiculous; for, not content with assisting at the solemn processions, he put himself at the head of a band of penitents, and the complaisance of the cardinal of *Lorraine*, who made one of the number, cost him his life; some say, by the cold he got by marching at midnight with his legs half-bare, though others affirm that he was poisoned: he was certainly a very great man, admired and idolized by the Catholics, abhorred and dreaded by the Hugonots. The queen-mother, according to her custom, spoke of him sometimes as if he had united the two different characters of saint and statesman; at others, as the curse of *France*, and the real author of so many years troubles⁴; in which, without doubt, she had as large a share as the cardinal.
- b In a very short time, the king broke through all his good resolutions that he ever made. He spent the greatest part of his time with his young favourites, to whom his subjects gave the ignominious name of his minions; and with the ladies, by whose charms and address the queen-mother thought to govern him, as she had others, who managed the duke of *Alençon* and the king of *Navarre* in the same manner⁵. The time for his coronation being fixed, he was surprisèd on the road with a discovery which he little expected. *Forvagues*, one of his brother's favourites, was introduced to him in the night, in the disguise of a peasant, and, throwing himself at his feet, declared there was a conspiracy against his life. *Henry* was amazed, but his mother made light of it. However, he sent one of his pages, whose name was *Barat*, properly instructed, to the place of rendezvous of the conspirators, who, at his return, reported that no less than two hundred determined men were embarked in this cruel design⁶. The king sent for the duke of *Alençon*, and threatened him, but, on his falling upon his knees, and confessing all, he was pardoned; those who embarked in this bloody attempt quitted the kingdom in a body⁷. On the 13th of *February* the king was crowned at *Rheims*, by the cardinal of *Guise*, but in such confusion, that the *Te Deum* was forgot. He complained, when the crown was set upon his head, that it hurt him, and it had like to have fallen. The next day he espoused *Louisa*, daughter to the count *de Vaudemont*, of the house of *Lorraine*⁸. The war with the Protestants went on with indifferent success; but *Montbrun*, who had surprisèd the king's baggage, being made prisoner in an action, lost his head by the sentence of the parliament of *Grenoble*. His party replaced him by the famous Monsieur *de Lesdiguières*⁹. In consequence of a negociation that had been set on foot, the confederates, by their deputies, presented a remonstrance, consisting of ninety-two articles, in which they demanded an assembly of the states, a reduction of the taxes to what they were in the reign of *Lewis* the twelfth, the punishment of atheists, blasphemers, and magicians, and the total suppression of those infamous debauches, which could not fail to bring the heavy judgments of God upon the nation. The king was exceedingly provoked, and dismissed the deputies with a rough answer¹⁰. The new method was practisèd to quiet marshal *Damville*, that is, he was poisoned, but had the good fortune to recover. However, on the rumour of his death, the queen-mother extorted an order for *Souvrai*, one of the king's favourites, to dispatch the marshals *Montmorency* and *Coffe*. *Souvrai* was the only man of probity the king had about him. He made no scruple of accepting the order, that he might delay the execution. As soon as it was known that *Damville* was alive, the queen-mother caused it to be superseded; and *Souvrai* perswaded the king that the only way to make the marshals forget what was past, was to set them at liberty, which was accordingly done¹¹. In the month of *August*, the king was seized with a dreadful pain in the head, which produced an ulcer in his ear; he made no doubt but that he was poisoned, and it was upon this occasion that he sent for the king of *Navarre* into his bed-chamber, conjured him to dispatch that villain, meaning his brother, and thereby secure the crown to himself. *Henry* of *Navarre* consoled him in the most tender

A. D. 1574.

A conspiracy against the life of the king, which he narrowly escapes.

¹ MATTHIEU Histoire de France, Commentaires de Montluc.
pour l'Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 44.

² SERRES, MEZ.

³ JACOB. THUAN. DUPL. Memoires

⁴ LE LABOUREUR dans la Continuation des Memoires de Castelnau.

⁵ COBI THUAN, DUPLEIX.

⁶ SERRES, MEZ. P. DAN.

⁷ Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III.

⁸ MATTH. Histoire de France.

⁹ DUPLEIX Memoires de BRANT.

¹⁰ POPELINIERE, DUPLEIX,

¹¹ P. DANIEL.

¹² JACOB. THUAN.

manner, but at the same time told him, he would not purchase all the crowns upon earth by so detestable an action^c. The king recovered not long after; but the duke of *Alençon* found his situation so uneasy, that, upon the 15th of *September*, deceiving those who were appointed to keep their eyes on him, he retired to *Dreux*, where he was presently surrounded by many of the nobility. A body of *Germans* entered the kingdom soon after, who were attacked and defeated by the duke of *Guise*, who in this battle received a wound in the face, from whence he had the surname of *Balafre*^d. The queen-mother, notwithstanding this success, was very desirous of bringing about a peace, in which she had the assistance of marshal *Montmorency*; but the Protestants were so suspicious of her, and even of the duke of *Alençon*, that all she could obtain was a truce for six months; and even this upon hard terms, the king agreeing to pay a fresh body of *German* troops, whom the prince of *Condé* had hired, allowing the duke of *Alençon* guards, and promising to disband his own troops; and the following six places were given as cautionary towns to the Protestants, *Angoulême*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges*, *La Charité*, and *Mesnières*; but because the governors of *Angoulême* and *Bourges* absolutely refused to evacuate those places, the confederates were content with *St. John de Angeli* and *Coignac*. This truce, negotiated by the queen-mother in person, was proclaimed on the 23d of *December*^e.

The war ended
by a peace
with the Pro-
testants.

FROM the time the duke of *Alençon* had quitted the court, the king, and even the queen-mother, was firmly persuaded, that the king of *Navarre* had no connections with him, and were only in pain about the prince of *Condé*, who refused to accept the truce. In the beginning of the month of *February* they had the mortification to find themselves mistaken; the king of *Navarre*, under the pretence of hunting, withdrew, and took his precautions so well, that he arrived safely in his government of *Guienne*, where he presently declared that he had been forced to abjure his religion, and that, in his heart, he never had any other than the reformed, in which he was brought up^f. This alarmed the court exceedingly; more especially when they understood that the prince of *Condé* had joined the *Germans*, and that the duke of *Alençon*, having put himself at the head of that army, found it consist of thirty-five thousand men. The duke of *Mayenne*, in the room of his brother the duke of *Guise*, who was not yet recovered, commanded that of the crown, which consisted but of eighteen thousand men. The queen-mother, according to her old system, negotiated on all sides, and at length, with the help of the marshal *de Montmorency*, concluded a peace about the middle of *May*, the terms of which were digested into the famous edict of pacification, which consisted of no less than sixty-three articles^g. By these liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion, were granted to the reformed, without any other restriction than that they should not preach within two leagues of *Paris*, or any other place where the court was: party-chambers were erected in every parliament, to consist of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, before whom all suits were to be tried; the judgments against the admiral, and in general all who had fallen by the sword of war or of justice, were reversed; eight cautionary places were given to the Protestants; and as in general, so in particular, every body was contented to the full of his demands, except the king of *Navarre*. This edict, that seemed to promise, at least a temporary calm, produced greater mischiefs than hitherto had fallen upon *France*.

Beginning of
the league by
the Guisan
faction.

THE *Guises* took this opportunity to introduce a measure that had been long before concerted in favour of his father by his uncle the cardinal of *Lorraine*, and this was the famous Catholic league, which was first signed by *James d'Humieres* in *Picardy*, soon after by the count *de Lude*, governor of *Poitou*, and, in a very short space of time, by all the angry Catholics in the kingdom^h. The king was mentioned in it with respect; but he could not help seeing that it struck at the very root of his authority; for as his Protestant subjects had already their chiefs, so the Catholics were, for the future, to depend upon the chief of the league; and were, by the very words of it, to execute whatever he commanded, for the good of the cause, against any, without exception of persons. The king, to avoid the effects of this, by the advice of his council, declared himself head of the league, notwithstanding it derogated from what he had done, and was directly calculated to annul the edict of pacificationⁱ. Besides, the Pope and the king of *Spain* were its protectors; so that nothing could be more unworthy of him, as a monarch, than the part he was obliged to take. To speak the truth, he was already but one king amongst many, and some of them pretty considerable; his brother had the countries of *Anjou*, *Tourain*, and *Berri*, with an additional pension of one hundred thousand crowns. The prince of *Condé* was to have his government of *Picardy*, and the strong fortress of *Peronne*; till he was put in possession of this he seized *Brouage*, and re-

^c MATT. Histoire de France, P. DAN.

^d Memoires pour l'Histoire de France, JACOBI THUANI.

^e J. DE SERRES, DUPL.

^f MATT. Histoire de France, JACOBI THUANI.

^g Memoires du Duc de

Nevers, D'AVILA, D'AUBIGNE, Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, DUPL.

^h LE LABOUREUZ dans la

Continuation des Memoires de Castelnau, JAC. THUAN. MEZ. P. DAN.

ⁱ MATT. Journal de Bodin,

Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, LE GEND.

- a remained in arms. The king of *Navarre* kept his own territories in *Guienne*. Marshal *Damville* acted as sovereign in *Languedoc*: and, what grated the *French* most of all, prince *Casimir* was to have *Chateau Thierri* erected into a principality, a company of one hundred men at arms, a numerous body of *German* cavalry, which he was to furnish, a pension of twelve thousand crowns, besides seven hundred thousand in ready money; and, till all this could be given him, he lived at free quarters in the bishoprick of *Langres*, where he destroyed the country without mercy^k. In the beginning of *November* the states met at *Blois*, where the king made them a very good speech, in which lay his talent, and his chancellor *Birague* a very bad one. Before the close of the year they cancelled the edict of pacification, and sent their deputies to the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, and marshal *Damville*, to invite them to the assembly, but without effect; as for the duke of *Anjou*, he was reconciled to the court already, and, it was strongly suspected, did nothing but by his mother's advice, all the time he seemed to be against it^l. A. D. 1576.

- THE year opened with the states absolute declaration against any toleration or indulgence to the Protestants, the king's avowing himself the head of the holy league, as they affected to call it, sending it into the provinces, with his recommendation, to be subscribed, and, at the same time, renewing the war against the Hugonots, and all with a view of procuring money, which, at their close, the states positively refused. The duke of *Anjou* at the head of the army, having under him the duke of *Guise* and the duke of *Aumale*, took some places, and particularly *La Charite*, and, upon the whole, the Catholics had the advantage in most parts of the kingdom. This was chiefly owing to the misunderstanding that subsisted amongst their chiefs. The people of *Rochelle* were jealous of the prince of *Condé*; the king of *Navarre* did not act with vigour; marshal *Damville* laboured to keep his own principality, and was even suspected of some understanding with the court, which put the Protestants upon seizing *Montpellier*, and some other places in his government. Very happily for them, the like feuds ran as high, or higher, at court, where the king was excessively jealous of the duke of *Anjou*, and at the same time more afraid of the duke of *Guise*^m. The duke of *Montpensier*, more than half a malcontent, took this opportunity to propose a peace, which was preceded by a truce, in the month of *September*. At length it was concluded in the succeeding month, and signed by the king at *Poitiers*, and by the king of *Navarre* at *Bergerac*ⁿ. By this treaty the edict of pacification was again revived, with some restrictions, at which the warmer Hugonots were highly provoked; but the prince of *Condé*, who understood their affairs, and his own situation better, was so extremely pleased with it, that he caused it to be proclaimed by torch-light at *St. John de Angeli*, for fear of any accident that might happen by deferring it till next morning^o. All this time the luxury of the court continued, and, if possible, increased; of which it may not be amiss to give two instances: the first was that of the *Italian* comedians^p, who, till then, had never been in *France*. Their buffooneries were mixed with such indecencies, that, notwithstanding they produced the king's letters patent, the parliament forbade them to exhibit their performances under severe penalties; but the king, tho' otherwise a very mutable prince, was so delighted with them, that he, by repeated letters of jussion, forced the parliament to give way. The other, the behaviour of *Monf. Villequiere*, one of *Henry's* favourites, who finding, by a letter of his wife's, that she was with child by another man, who had poisoned his wife, and solicited her to poison him, stabbed her and her maid at her toilet, in the king's palace, and in a room not far from his, notwithstanding which he had his pardon as soon as he asked it; which occasioned a report that, though free enough of her favours to others, she had refused them to the king^q. A. D. 1577.

- ANIMOSITY still subsisted between the Papists and Protestants, and frequent enterprizes were made by each party, notwithstanding the peace. The disturbances at court rose higher than ever; the bravoos of the duke of *Guise* were continually quarrelling with, and sometimes killing the king's minions, to whom, as he was prodigal while living, he caused them, when dead, to be interred with all the pomp of princes, but he durst not revenge them^r. The duke of *Anjou* had his favourites likewise, in whose disputes with the minions he took such a share, that at length he retired again from court, which raised an apprehension of fresh disturbances. The queen-mother interposed; and, to save *France*, she directed her views to *England* and *Flanders*, though he did not behave to her either with the tenderness of a son, or the respect due to her as a queen^s. She made afterwards a tour to *Nerac*, where the king of *Navarre* kept his court, under colour of carrying her daughter back to her husband, but, in reality, with an intention to gain that prince if possible, or at least to adjust disputes, so as to prevent a new war^t. In order to which she carried with her some of her fyrens, and continued there many months; but it is reported that the queen of *Navarre* made such an impression on

^k JACOB. THUAN. MATTH. P. DAN.^l Journal de BODIN.^m POPELINIERE, DUPLEIX, MEZ.ⁿ JACOBI THUANI.^o MATTH. DUPLEIX.^p Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 24.^q JACOBI THUANI, Journal du Regne du Roi Henry III. p. 24, 25.^r MEZERAY, P. DAN.^s THUAN.^t Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, D'AUBIGNY.

the heart of a grave magistrate, who had the ear of her mother, that turned the stream of a advantage in favour of the king her husband. The marshal *de Bellegarde*, who, at his return from *Poland*, stood high in the king's favour, yet held it but for a little time, had seized the marquisate of *Saluces*, and held it in spite of the court, being supported by the duke of *Savoy* ^a and the king of *Spain*; and the queen-mother knew no better way to gain him, than by confirming him in the government which he had usurped. In the absence of his mother the king continued his indolent luxurious course of life; and, studying nothing so much as how to pillage his people, he sent at once twenty-two edicts *burdeaux*, that is, according to our manner of speaking, money-bills, to his senate, of which the parliament thought fit to register only two; but the king forced them afterwards to give their sanction to some of the rest that were the least oppressive. The chancellor *Birague* being honoured with a cap from *Rome*, the king gave the seals to *Chiverny*, who was the creature of his predecessor. As miserable as *France* was at this time, the *Low Countries* were still more so, having no less than four or five A. D. 1578. princes who aspired to the government, each at the head of armies; and, to increase those miseries, the Catholics called in the duke of *Anjou*, who, as it might be expected from his turbulent temper, accepted their invitation, and thereby augmented that confusion he came to suppress ^w.

The court
again resolves
on war.

ON the first day of the new year the king executed a design which he had long had in his mind, and which was the most worthy of his whole reign. The order of *St. Michael* had been long declining in credit (as all orders do on being bestowed on very unworthy persons), was at length fallen so low, that the ensigns of it were called, in derision, collars for all beasts. Without suppressing this the king erected that of the *Holy Ghost* ^x, limiting the number to one hundred, and uniting the mastership in perpetuity to the crown of *France*. His view in this, for the statutes of the order were drawn with great skill and care, was to attach a considerable number of the nobility closely to his person, to detach some of those who had entered into the league, it being provided, by the institution of the order, that no knight should accept salary, pension, or honour, from any other prince than the king; and, lastly, to draw back some of the Hugonot nobility to the old religion, none but Catholics being capable of this new order. In the mean time, through the address, as we observed, of the queen of *Navarre*, not out of love either to her husband, or his religion, but out of hatred to the king her brother, the conferences at *Nerac* ended entirely to the advantage of the Protestants, towards the close of the month of *February*, three new places being granted them in *Guienne*, which they were to hold till the month of *August*, and eleven in *Languedoc*, which they were to retain till the month of *October* ^y. The queen-mother continued her tour into the remoter provinces, having a particular desire to confer with marshal *Bellegarde*, who was closely united with *Lefdiguieres* and the duke of *Savoy*, and, as it was suspected, to the king of *Spain*. The marshal made some difficulty of passing the mountains; but the queen having prevailed upon the duke of *Savoy* to accompany him, he could not refuse. She received his excuses very graciously, promised him all that he could desire, and sent him away perfectly satisfied; but some thought the queen's earnestness about this interview was sufficiently explained by his death, which happened six days after his return into his government, which, however, was given to his son; and because he was a youth, *Negarette de la Valette*, afterwards duke of *Epernon*, was appointed to assist him. She likewise cajoled the marshal *Damville*, known henceforward by the title of *Montmorency*, his elder brother dying, not without suspicion of poison, as in these times great men seldom died a natural death. At her return to the court, the queen found a new set of favourites, but the king in his old disposition. The duke of *Anjou* passed the seas in *August*, to pay his addresses to queen *Elizabeth*, whom his minister *Mons. Siniere* had strongly preposessed in his favour, in which he stood very high himself, by means of some bold truths he had told her of some of her ministers ^a. The queen treated the duke in such a manner, that she sent him away thoroughly persuaded the possession of the *Low Countries* would procure him her person and her crown. After taking so much pains to make peace, the queen-mother, towards the close of the year, relapsed into a desire of making war; at least, so it seemed to all *France*, by marshal *Montmorency's* demanding from the king of *Navarre* cautionary towns, which he did in a peremptory strain, and which the king, with equal firmness, refused to deliver. He had already taken his measures with the prince of *Condé* and *Lefdiguieres*; the former, at the close of *November*, surprised *La Fere* in *Picardy*, and immediately after went in person into *Germany*, to negotiate a supply of troops from the Protestant princes ^b.

1579.

The king of
Navarre sur-
prises Cahors.

IN the last war the Protestants thought the king of *Navarre* inactive; from the late treaty of *Nerac* they began to have a good opinion of his head; but having seen little or nothing

^a GUICHENON Hist. de la Maison de Savoye, Memoires de BRANT. ^w Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. STRADA de Bello Belgico. ^x JACOB THUAN. LE LABOUREUX dans la Continuation des Memoires de Castelnau, Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. P. DANIEL. ^y Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, DUPLEIX, MEZ. ^a JACOB. THUAN. DUPL. CAMDEN's Annals of Q. Elizabeth. ^b SERRES, DUPL. P. DAN.

a of his conduct as a soldier, they concluded that he had been too hasty in having again recourse to arms. They had some colour, though no reason, for this; for out of sixty places, in which the king, the prince of *Condé*, and *Lesdiguières*, had intelligence, they were not able to surprise above three, and the Hugonots, judging by the event, censured a conduct which they did not comprehend. The king of *Navarre* was extremely hurt by the manifest tokens of coldness he received, which bordered nearly upon contempt. He proposed in his council of war the surprising *Cabors* the capital of *Querci*, a place strongly situated, well fortified, with a numerous garrison commanded by *Verins*, esteemed one of the ablest, as well as one of the bravest officers in *France*. His council unanimously dissuaded him from attempting a thing which, for the reasons they assigned, seemed to be impossible. He answered calmly, that, b supported by men so brave as he knew them to be, there was nothing impossible. It happened, the night he made his attack, there was a most dreadful storm. He forced the gate of the bridge next the country by a petard, the first time that it had been practised in *France*, and, having cut in pieces the guard on the bridge, forced the gate of the city in the same manner, the thunder hindering the inhabitants from distinguishing the report of the petard^c. *Verins*, however, made an obstinate defence, disputing the ground inch by inch; so that it was five whole days before he was beat out of the place, the king being at the head of the foot, who forced the last and strongest intrenchment in person^d. This event had a great effect; it gained him a place of very great consequence, and it established his character with respect to firmness and conduct; but it was followed by a great disappointment: he had quarrelled with the admiral *Villars*, who was the king's lieutenant in *Guienne*, and the queen-mother, at his own request, had bestowed that post on marshal *Biron*, who was the king's friend; but he soon gave him to understand, that he had no notion of friendship, when it came in competition with his duty; so that he was able to make no progress on that side^e.

In the mean time, the crown army, commanded by marshal *Matignon*, laid siege to *La Fère*, where the army was, in every respect, so well accommodated, that it was stiled the velvet siege. It was gallantly defended for six weeks, and surrendered, at the end of *August*, upon honourable terms. Some other actions passed of little importance; but the deputies from the states of the *Low Countries* having made an offer of their government to the duke of *Anjou*, he offered the king his brother his mediation for terminating the civil war, which the d king, who was now reconciled to him, readily accepted; and promised, in case he succeeded, to give him all the assistance possible, as well in regard to his marriage as his establishment. The duke had a conference on this subject with the king of *Navarre*, at the castle of *Flex*, on the *Dordonne*, in *Perigord*; where, after consulting the deputies of the Protestants, the terms proposed by the king were esteemed so moderate, that the treaty was very quickly concluded, by which the edict of *Poitiers*, as explained by the articles at *Nerac*, was confirmed, and the cautionary towns left in the hands of the Protestants for six years^f. The prince of *Condé* vehemently opposed this peace, on account of a treaty which he had made with the elector *Palatine*, in order to have brought a new army of *Germans* into the kingdom, to whom he had promised cautionary towns, till they should be paid the vast sums that he had offered e them. The Protestants could by no means digest the putting any of their strong places into the hands of foreigners; on the other hand, the preventing this irruption was the chief motive that determined the king to peace: so that both parties having an equal dislike to this measure, the king of *Navarre*, with the full content of the Hugonot deputies, ratified the peace towards the close of *November*, as the king likewise did a month afterwards, and caused it to be also ratified by the parliament of *Paris*^g. This placed the king of *Navarre* in a more conspicuous light than ever; and at the same time his consort merited no less, since it was by her skill and intrigues that her brother's affairs in the *Low Countries* had been brought into so good a condition, which however had, in all probability, never happened, if Don *John* of *Austria*'s death had not fallen out so opportunely for their designs, which death, though imputed by many to poison, was not laid to their charge. f

IMMEDIATELY after the conclusion of the peace, the monarch of *Navarre* acquainted the king, that tho' in appearance he was compelled by necessity to make it, yet, in reality, it was otherwise, since the king of *Spain* had offered him money and troops sufficient to conquer *Guienne*, and importuned him to accept them still. He also assured the court that he would take no share in the rash enterprize of the prince of *Condé*, who still persisted in refusing the peace; and he kept his promise so punctually, that the duke of *Mayenne* easily obliged *Lesdiguières*, and the rest of the malecontents, to accept the pacification^h. This behaviour was equally pleasing to the king and to the duke of *Anjou*, who now thought themselves sure of carrying their point in *England*, insomuch that a most splendid embassy, at the head of which was the prince Dauphin of *Auvergne*, son to the duke of *Montpensier*, was

The court and the Hugonots form alike disposed to peace

A. D. 1580.

The duke of Anjou enters the Low Countries, and raises the siege of Cambray.

^c D'AUBIGNY, MEZ.

^d JACOBI THUANI, DUPL. P. DAN.

^e D'AUBIGNY, MEZ. LE GEND.

^f JACOBI THUANI, STRADA, P. DANIEL.

^g DUPLEIX, MEZ.

^h Avant propos de la Chronologie Navennaise de VICTOR CAYET.

sent into *England* to demand the queen in marriage for the duke of *Anjou* ^a. They had a public audience in *April*, with all possible marks of grace and favour. The two great points of the marriage and the league seemed to be absolutely settled, in consequence of which the warm Protestants in *England* declaimed most vehemently against this scheme for bringing back popery, while in *France* the friends of the league insinuated, that both the treaty and the marriage were proofs that the king and his brother both had too great an inclination to heresy, notwithstanding the continual efforts made by the former of these princes, that he was not only a zealous Catholic, but a downright bigot ^k. The prince of *Parma*, who succeeded Don *John* of *Austria* in the government of the *Low Countries* for the crown of *Spain*, laid siege to *Cambray*, to the relief of which the duke of *Anjou* marched with a superior army, and having disengaged the place about the middle of *August*, removed the *Spanish* governor, who had sacrificed every thing for his service, and gave the command to *John de Balagny*, the son of *Montluc* bishop of *Valence*, which occasioned much discontent ^l; so that, finding his enterprize become daily more and more difficult, he resolved to pass over into *England*, in order to remove, by his presence, the obstacles raised to the alliance between the two crowns against *Spain*, which the king, his brother, insisted should be preceded by the marriage; whereas queen *Elizabeth* alleged the necessity of the treaty's being signed to satisfy her people on the conclusion of the marriage.

His journey to England, and the mysterious conduct of queen Elizabeth, in the affair of her marriage.

In the month of *November* the duke arrived at the *English* court, where he was received with all imaginable testimonies of affection and esteem ^m. The *French* historians say, that the queen went so far as to sign a contract of marriage with him, and to receive his, at the same time that she presented him with a ring, assuring him, that from this time she should consider herself as espoused ⁿ. Our writers mention the ring ^o, but are silent as to the contract; however, it is on all hands agreed, that she presently revoked all she had done, but without breaking off the treaty of marriage, which she pretended only to defer. It may, however, be very justly suspected, that the whole of this was a contrivance, to which very few, if any, were privy. Her affairs were then in a very critical situation; she knew very well the temper and genius of those with whom she treated; she knew it was her interest to over-reach them; and she believed that, all things considered, they would not be very willing, perhaps not very able, to resent it, when they found themselves over-reached. If the duke of *Anjou* was disappointed in this journey in the essential point, he found, at least, his account in it, from many collateral circumstances. The very reputation of it did him great credit. The queen gave it all the countenance in the *Low Countries* that he could desire; she furnished him with some troops; she supplied him at once with one hundred thousand crowns; she made a shew of detaining him at her court against his will, that his returning unmarried might be no prejudice to his affairs; she made him great presents, and she caused him to be honourably accompanied, and even by some of the first nobility of her kingdom ^p. Her conduct embarrassed all the politicians of her times, and has given at least as much trouble to the historians, who have attempted to explain it ever since. *Bodin*, chancellor to the duke, took the liberty of telling her one day, while his master remained at her court, that he was writing the characters of the most eminent persons of the age, and was desirous to know how he should do justice to her's; "In this particular, Mr. *Bodin*, replied she frankly, Do you know what the world will think of your memoirs, if you attempt to give any account of this business in them; trust me, they will be of opinion that the materials were communicated by a liar, and that they were put together by a fool ^q." This is a very singular circumstance, and we leave the reader to make his own reflections. The most penetrating of the *French* historians suspect, that the queen had chiefly in view the preventing the duke of *Anjou* from espousing a daughter of *Spain*, which would have been by no means acceptable, either to her or to the prince of *Orange*, who still suspected the influence of *Spanish* counsels at the *French* court.

A. D. 1581.

Affairs go but indifferently in the Low Countries.

At the return of the duke of *Anjou* into the *Low Countries*, the highest honours were paid him, as well out of respect to the queen of *England*, as of his own high birth, and the great service he had rendered the states ^r. To keep him steady in his enterprize, which was, in some measure, contrary to his temper, he was, in the month of *March*, solemnly installed at *Antwerp* marquis of the Holy Roman empire, and duke of *Brabant* ^s. Yet this solemnity, appointed to do him honour, occasioned his receiving an open affront. The prince of *Orange* being wounded in the face by *Jaureguay*, the servant of a broken banker, the populace, who strongly suspected the duke of *Anjou*, rose immediately in consequence of this accident,

^a Relation de l'Ambassade du Prince Dauphin dans les Memoires du Duc de Nevers, tom. i. Annals of Q. Elizabeth.

^k CAMDEN'S

^m Memoires du Duc de Nevers CAMD. Annals of

Q. Elizabeth. ⁿ This Contract, subscribed by the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Sussex, Bedford, and Leicester, and also by Hatton and Walsingham, is now in the Library of Monsieur Foucault, at Paris.

^o STRYPE'S Annals.

^p HOLINSH.

^q Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 141.

^r SIRADA.

^s JACOB THUAN. P. DAN.

a and disarmed all the *French* in their quarters. The prince took care, notwithstanding his wound, to restore the public tranquillity in a few hours; but the duke could not so soon forget it. He went afterwards to *Ghent*, and was there saluted earl of *Flanders*; but, with abundance of fine titles, he had little authority, the states reserving that, as was very natural, since they were fighting for freedom, and not for a change of masters¹. It was not easy, however, for their new duke to digest this; and besides, there were those about him who would not suffer him to remain quiet, even if he had been so inclined: they followed him with a design of making their fortunes; and it was necessary to this that he should have it in his power; for accomplishing of which they pointed out the means, and he was forward enough in undertaking to carry them into execution. But while he was meditating great things; a plot, thro' the sagacity and vigilance of the prince of *Orange*, was discovered against both their lives, and that of the king, the duke's brother. One *Salsedo*, the son of a *Spaniard*, who had raised a regiment at his own expence for the duke's service, was at the head of this design, in which one *Francis Bafa*, an *Italian*, and a banker, were also embarked. *Bafa*, in hopes of mercy, made some important discoveries; but soon after dispatched himself in a fit of despair². *Salsedo* talked of strange things, in hopes of being transferred to *Paris*, and having at least a chance to be rescued by the way. When he came there he made great discoveries, after being tortured, in the king's own hearing; but he denied them all before his death, being torn in pieces by four horses³. All that was published, was, that he had laid a scheme for betraying *Calais* and *Dunkirk* into the hands of the duke of *Parma*, and for destroying the prince of *Orange* and the duke of *Anjou*; but it is generally believed that he laid open the conspiracy of the *Guises*, which struck the king and the court with the greatest terror⁴. This year *Strozzi*, whom the queen-mother had lent with the fleet to the *Azores* islands, in support of Don *Antonio's* claim to the crown of *Portugal*, to which she herself had formed some pretensions, part of his squadron was taken, and those on board it treated with great severity by the *Spaniards*, under colour of their coming to assist the rebels⁵. As to the domestic affairs of *France*, the king seemed to be wholly occupied in aggrandizing his two great favourites, the dukes of *Joyeuse* and *Epernon*. Towards the close of the year the *Gregorian* calendar was introduced, by striking out the days between the 15th and 25th of *December*. The alliance was also renewed between the crown and the cantons of *Switzerland*, which was indeed an affair of consequence⁶.

A. D. 1532.

THE next year opened with a very strange scene. Tho' the crown of *France* pretended to take no share in the war in the *Low Countries*, yet it was a thing of notoriety that the king permitted his brother to levy troops in his territories, and the queen-mother and the queen of *England* furnished him with money to pay them. If *Philip* dissembled the knowledge of this, it was because his affairs were not in such a condition as would permit him to revenge them; but he had his intrigues, and it was not long before the effects of them made them clearly known. The duke of *Anjou*, after having maturely deliberated on the complaints made by his creatures, and the project proposed by them for their relief, resolved to make use of the *French* troops to surprize the towns where they were in garrison, and to begin with *Antwerp* himself. This enterprize, formed in the month of *January*, proved abortive, thro' the skill and courage of the prince of *Orange*; so that, after losing a great many brave men in the attack, and many more in a precipitate retreat, he was obliged to abandon the place he thought to surprize, and to retire to *Dunkirk*⁷. He entered next into a private negociation with the *Spaniards*, in which he offered to deliver up to them all the places he held, in case they would furnish him with money to pay his troops, and give him a small equivalent in the neighbourhood of *Cambray*. The duke of *Parma*, however, being slow in his proceedings, and the prince of *Orange* gaining intelligence of them, he, with his usual prudence, interposed, and, by accepting the king's mediation, disappointed the *Spaniards*, and procured them upon easier terms for the states⁸. The duke, finding that all his hopes in the *Low Countries* were lost, and his character blasted by the last ill-judged and ill-conducted event, retired full of chagrin into *France*, to the no small satisfaction both of the *Spaniards* and the states. Part of his forces, commanded by marshal *Biron*, being beaten by the duke of *Parma*, the small garrison he had in *Dunkirk* were obliged to surrender that important place, which augmented the general distaste, that was but already too great against that unhappy prince. His conduct, wild and extravagant as it was, altered the sentiments of the king, who, no longer jealous of the duke of *Anjou*, treated him with contempt⁹. Yet his own behaviour was not a degree better; for if the duke had wasted his revenue, and involved himself in immense debts by these strange expeditions, the king was precisely in the same situation; and, after having exhausted his own treasures, and harrassed his people to the last degree, he was scarce in a condition to defray the expences of his household. He had married the duke de

He attempts to seize Antwerp and other places.

¹ P. MATTHIEU. DUPLEIX. MEZ.² Memoires du Duc de Nevers.³ Journal d'Henry III.

P. 57, 58.

⁴ JACOB. THUAN. Journal d'Henry III. P. DAN.⁵ DUPLEIX.⁶ MEZ.⁷ P. MATTH. STRADA.⁸ JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.⁹ MEZERAY.

Joyeuse to the sister of his queen ; and, some say, had taken a strange resolution of dividing a his dominions between him and the duke of *Epernon*^d. On some project of this kind, it is said, he sent the former of these dukes to *Rome* ; and the queen of *Navarre* being suspected of having a hand in the stripping a courier of his letters, with a view to discover this secret, he turned her out of his court, where she came to make her mother a visit, with all possible marks of ignominy, and sent her under a guard to her husband, who, after such usage, refused to receive her, till he was compelled to it by marshal *Matignon*, at the head of a considerable army^e. The queen-mother had now lost her power, which was divided between the minions and the *Guises*, whom she hated alike, but caballed with them both ; while the king of *Spain* laboured to excite a new civil war, sometimes by making vast offers to the king of *Navarre*, sometimes by proposals which he made with the marshal *de Montmorency*, b with whom he actually concluded a treaty, by discovering which to the duke of *Guise*, he induced him to accept of his offers.

A. D. 1583. If we may credit some historians there was a kind of policy even in *Henry's* conduct, who, fearing the Protestants and hating the *Guises*, endeavoured, by elevating his minions, and bestowing no employments or favours but by their recommendation, to create a new power, or rather faction, in his dominions, entirely attached to himself. But assuredly, if this had been his real intention, he would have either saved himself, or have advised them to save ; whereas, in feasts, masques, funerals, processions, and donations^f, he wasted more millions than his predecessors had done in their wars, and had raised them by more acts of violence and extortion. Whereas, if he had taken the advice of honest men, and there wanted not such even in his reign, moderated his own expences, and shewn a true regard for justice and the ease of his people, he might have established such a strength as would have effectually awed the Hugonots and the *Guises*, more especially if his coffers had been full. A monarch, who is not poor, and who studies the interest of his subjects, is always safe. But *Henry*, who believed himself, from the perusal of *Italian* authors, and listening to *Italian* counsels, the most refined politician of that age, while he affected the state of an eastern emperor, and affected to shew himself rarely to the people, was suspected of incapacity ; shutting himself up with his young minions, gave too much countenance to the most infamous suggestions, and his endeavours to stifle these, by extravagant acts of a counterfeit devotion, afforded his enemies an opportunity to represent him as an atheist, and a prince of no religion^g. At all events his refined policy, instead of supporting, ruined him, by irritating both the factions that were already formed, but more especially that of the *Guises*, who finding that they were abhorred by the king, who laboured by every method possible to curtail their power and lessen their influence, began to revive those intrigues^h, for which their family had been ever decried from their very first entrance into *France* ; and, with a view of aggrandizing themselves, caballed with Monsieur the king's brother, and presumptive heir, who, since the ruin which he had brought on his own affairs in the *Low Countries*, had removed from place to place, like one disturbed and distracted in his mind, ashamed of what he had already done, and not knowing what to do next. In this disposition the *Guises* found him ; and, ravished with the hopes of being again trusted and placed at the head of a puissant faction, he threw himself at once into their hands, and seemed for a little while to be the creature of their will. But, from the natural inconstancy of his temper, or it may be from some better motive, he repaired, during the season of *Lent*, to his brother's court, where he was little expected, and falling upon his knees, told the king all that he knew, which procured him a very kind reception ; and, in all appearance, the brothers were then cordially and entirely reconciledⁱ. The duke, at his departure, returned to *Chateau-Thierry*, where he quickly fell into a very bad state of health, and, growing daily worse and worse, the queen, his mother, went to visit him, and finding him past hopes of recovery, carried away the most valuable of his effects^k. He died on the 10th of *June*, of a slow consumptive fever, attended with a cough, which occasioned a violent straining, so that by bursting a vein in his lungs, he was choaked with his own blood^l. An opinion prevailed however in *France*, and elsewhere, that he was poisoned ; and the attempt made upon queen *Elizabeth* by Dr. *Parry*, and the barbarous assassination of the prince of *Orange* in the same year, gave more credit to this report than perhaps it deserved^m.

THE death of Monsieur, whatever his character or disposition might be, was justly esteemed a very great misfortune to the nation, and the source of those troubles that followed, and of which he refused to be the author. It will be necessary to shew how this affair stood with respect to the house of *Guise*, what precautions were taken by the king against their designs, and how, notwithstanding these, they found the means of raising a civil war, and being abet-

^d P. DAN. ^e DUPLEIX. MEZ.

VERDIER Profodographie, tom. iii.

de la Maison de Guise contre le Roy & son

^k DUPLEIX.

ⁱ P. MATTH.

^f JACOB. THUAN. P. DANIEL. LE GENDRE.

^h Brief discours & veritable des principales conjurations de ceux de la Maison de Guise contre le Roy & son

Royaume, les Princes de son sang, & ses Estats.

^m CAMDEN's Annals.

^g DU

^l MEZ.

a ted therein by some of the greatest families in *France*. We cannot propose to enter into an exact detail, since the nature of our work requires only a representation, as succinct and sincere as possible. In the first great assembly held not far from *Nancy*, in the house of the Sieur *de Bassompierre*, were present, the duke of *Lorraine*, the dukes of *Guise*, *Mayenne*, the cardinal of *Guise*, several of their great confidants, and some agents from the court of *Spain*: they deliberated there on the means of engaging the people to take up arms; drew up a long state, as they might easily do, of the errors in government, and grievances with which the nation was oppressed; charged these upon the minions and their creatures in the first place, and in the next on the king's incapacity, from whom there was never any thing better to be expected. There was nothing said at this time of the fear of a heretic successor, because b the duke of *Anjou* was living, and they were in hopes of having him for their head; they were also silent as to religion, that they might not compel the Protestants to attach themselves unanimously to *Henry*, and that they might obtain the assistance of duke *Casimir*, who having more than once before rifled *France*, had no dislike to a new enterprize, provided it was not against the Protestants or the king of *Navarre*. The discovery first, and afterwards the death of the duke of *Anjou*, disconcerted a little, but did not discourage or dissipate the conspirators, who thought their affairs mended, since they had now the popular pretence of standing in fear of a heretic successor. What gave them most trouble was, to find a prince whom they might set at their head. The queen-mother had certainly views of altering the succession in favour of her grandson, the prince of *Lorraine*, and the duke, his father, c was for having him declared chief; but the duke of *Guise*, who intended to be the head, *The Guise faction resolve to support Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, as presumptive heir to the crown.* in effect, preferred his own interests to those of his house; and therefore supported *Charles*, cardinal of *Bourbon*, an old weak man, who had for many years entertained a notion of his right to the crown, grounded on this pretence, that as it passed to the branch of *Bourbon* by descent, he was one degree nearer than his nephew; and, besides, had shewn himself, perhaps from this motive, not only a warm and active, but a zealous, and even a furious Papistⁿ.

THE king was not uninformed of all these consultations and contrivances, and it is even said that he talked very roundly to the cardinal upon the subject. But he thought it necessary to go farther; he had married his favourite the duke *de Joyeuse* into the house of d *Lorraine*; and, therefore, he made choice of the duke of *Epernon* to execute a commission of importance to the king of *Navarre*, which consisted in acquainting him with the designs of the *Guises*, to give him the strongest assurances of his own kind intentions, and at the same time to exhort him to return to the Catholic church, as the most effectual means of securing his succession. The duke discharged his trust with great fidelity, and urged all the arguments that could be drawn from prudence and policy, but without success. The king of *Navarre*, however, gave him a very gracious reception, testified a great sense of the king's goodness and high confidence in his justice, but excused himself as to the point of religion, but with temper and moderation^o. *Plessis-Mornay*, who stood very high in this prince's favour, thought to render him a great service in making his sentiments on this e subject public, which he expressed in his own manner, ascribing to his master great zeal for the Protestant religion, which cured indeed the Protestant ministers of their apprehensions of the duke of *Epernon's* visit, but at the same time afforded the *Guises* an opportunity of decrying both princes, *Henry* of *Navarre* as an obstinate heretic, and *Henry* of *France* as a favourer of heresy^p. At his return the duke of *Epernon* formed a design of securing the duke of *Guise*, who thereupon retired into *Champagne*, fully determined to have recourse to arms, the rather, because the king of *Navarre* had reconciled the marshal *de Montmorency* to his master, at the very time he was on the point of attacking him in his government^q. The king, as if he had resumed his understanding, in the month of *November* published an edict, forbidding all leagues and associations under pain of high treason, f cancelled sixty-six edicts that had been verified in parliament for imposing taxes, reduced the tailles seven hundred thousand livres, shewed himself in public, and did many things to render himself popular^r. On the other hand, the *Guises* entered into a treaty with *Spain*, by which they undertook to acknowledge the cardinal of *Bourbon* for king, on the demise of *Henry* the third, to cause the council of *Trent* to be received, and to restore *Cambray* to his Catholic majesty, upon condition that he furnished fifty thousand crowns, or, as some say, pistoles a month, for carrying on the war against the Hugonots. This treaty, which was negociated with great secrecy *A. D. 1584.* at *Joinville*, was concluded the very last day of this year^s. *The king takes divers popular steps, while the Guises engage in a treaty with the king of Spain.*

It was of great consequence to the *Guises* and their faction to have the approbation of the pope, to whom they sent father *Claude Mathieu* so often, that he acquired the name of the

^a P: MATTH. Journal d'Henry III. P. DAN. ^o Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, par Mr. GERARD, tom. i. p. 72. MATTHIEU. ^p Memoirs du Plessis Mornai. ^q Memoires du Duc d'Espéron. JACOB.

^r Memoires du THUAN. Duc de Nevers, tom. ix. ^s DUPL. P. DAN.

They publish a
manifesto in
the name of the
cardinal de
Bourbon, and
take arms
against the
king.

Peace con-
cluded.

Council of
sixteen esta-
blished at
Paris.

courier of *Rome*. The answers he brought were not so full as they expected. The pontif approved taking up arms in support of the Catholic cause : but condemned any attempt upon the person of the king¹. The states of the *Low Countries*, finding their affairs growing daily worse and worse, offered their sovereignty to *Henry* the third, without restriction or reserve, which he thought fit to decline² : but, because he had admitted the deputies into his presence, notwithstanding all the efforts of the *Spanish* ambassador to prevent it, the emissaries of the Catholic king forced the duke of *Guise* and his party to declare before they had assembled a proper strength. All they could do was to carry the cardinal of *Bourbon* to *Peronne* ; and being there in safety, they published a manifesto in his name, as first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir of the crown, in which they made a most dreadful picture of the state of public affairs ; and, by a mixture of truth and falsehood, exposed the king's conduct in such a manner as was most likely to render him both odious and contemptible to his subjects³. The duke of *Guise* took the field with between four and five thousand men, with which he surprized *Verdun*, but failed in a design upon *Metz*, thro' the care of the duke of *Epernon*⁴. An attempt was made upon *Bordeaux*, which was rendered abortive by marshal *Matignon*, who secured that city for the king. *Marseilles* was seized by the league, but recovered next day by the royalists, who ventured to try, condemn, and execute the principal conspirators. This was supported by an arret of the parliament of *Aix*, which declared all who took up arms without the king's authority disturbers of the public peace, notwithstanding which, the city and citadel of *Lyons* was surprized by the faction⁵. If the king had followed the advice of marshal *d'Aumont*, had put himself in arms, and shewn a spirit worthy of a monarch, he might easily have dispersed the forces of the league, and obliged the duke of *Guise* to quit the kingdom. But the queen-mother had, in a great measure, regained her influence, as appeared by the king's publishing a feeble apology for his own conduct, at the close of which he invited his subjects, now in arms, to return to their duty, promising them pardon, and, which was more extraordinary, favour⁶. She went afterwards to *Rheims*, to meet the duke of *Guise* and the cardinal of *Bourbon*, received from them an insolent memorial, in which they demanded that the king should oblige the Protestants to restore the cautionary towns they held, renounce the protection at *Geneva*, give them a multitude of strong places, money to pay their troops, and annul all the edicts that had been given in favour of the Protestants. In the beginning of *July* a peace was concluded upon these terms ; and on the eighteenth of the same month an edict was published to confirm it⁷. A deputation soon after was sent, at the desire of the leaguers, to invite the king of *Navarre* to return to the Catholic church. The intention of *Henry* the third was to gain time, whereas the *Guises* aimed at rendering that prince more and more odious, and consequently more irreconcilable to the Papists. Marshal *Montmorency* declared himself head of a third party, composed of such as should remain firm to the constitution in church and state⁸.

THE edict, which gave the royal sanction to the peace, was dated from *Nemours* ; and when the king of *Navarre* first read it, it threw him into so great a consternation, that leaning his head upon his arm for some time, buried in thought, he found afterwards that the mustachio on that side of his lip was turned white, a circumstance which the historian, who records it, affirms he received from the mouth of the king himself⁹. How much soever it affected his mind, it did not in the least abate his courage, or hinder his acting with equal prudence and spirit upon every occasion. As for the unfortunate *Henry* the third, he went to *Paris* to demand a kind of benevolence from his subjects for carrying on a war, which, in his heart, he disapproved. His capital was, properly speaking no longer his ; a burgher, whose name was *Rocheblon*, had framed a scheme of a particular league in that city ; and, that he might keep up a correspondence amongst his party, and know the strength of it the better, he fixed an intercourse with sixteen persons in the different parts of *Paris*, which expedient was so highly approved by the duke of *Guise*, that, in a little time, they assumed the title of, the council of sixteen ; became formidable to the king and kingdom ; and, so long as history lasts, their memories will be odious to the sober and rational part of mankind¹⁰. By these new rulers, or, at least, by those under their influence, a considerable sum was raised for the service of the Holy league, for suppressing heresy, hypocrisy, and tyranny ; the first was levelled against the king of *Navarre*, and the two last against *Henry* the third. *Sixtus* the fifth, who by this time was raised to the pontifical throne on the demise of *Gregory* the thirteenth, disapproved his predecessor's conduct, who had countenanced the league, and struck out one more extraordinary of his own. He pitied the cardinal of *Bourbon* as a weak, honest, infatuated man, and treated his associates as they

¹ Memoires du Duc de Nevers P. DAN.

² STRADA.

³ JACOB. THUAN.

⁴ Memoires du

Duc d'Espenon. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 178.

⁵ Memoires de BRANT. DUPL.

⁶ CHID-

nologie Novenaire de VICTOR CAYET.

⁷ Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 181, 182.

⁸ JACOB.

THUAN. DUPLEIX. MEZ,

⁹ P. MATTH.

¹⁰ Memoires de la Ligue.

- a deserved: he foresaw and foretold all the mischiefs that afterwards happened; and, as if he meant to fulfil his own prophecy, he gave the duke of *Nevers* a bull, by which he excommunicated such as took up arms against the king; and in the beginning of *September* published another, by which he not only excommunicated the king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Condé*, but in the most haughty manner, and with the most contemptuous language, declared them fallen from their dignities, and incapable of any kind of succession^e. This bull made a prodigious noise, but was far from having all the effect that it was supposed it must produce. The wiser and better sort of Catholics, more especially such as were versed in the history and the laws of their country, looked upon this in a proper light, and as a most unbounded stretch of papal authority, which induced numbers to repair to marshal *Montmorency*, as the Protestants every where resorted to the king of *Navarre*, the prince of *Condé*, and Mr. *de Lesdiguières*^f. It was indeed time; for, on the fifteenth of *October*, the king, by an edict, commanded all his subjects to return to the old religion in fourteen days, on pain of forfeiting their goods and chattels, which was rigorously^g executed. The king of *Navarre* made reprisals in his dominions, published his appeal from the pope's bull to the peers of *France*, in what regarded the state; to a general council in reference to religion, to which he summoned the pope, on pain of being taken for Anti-Christ; and this appeal he caused to be posted up in the most public places of *Rome*. The war began now on all sides, with no considerable advantage to either party, except that the prince of *Condé* miscarried in an attempt to relieve *Angiers*, was forced to disperse his troops, and, with some difficulty, made his escape into *England*^h.

The king of Navarre excommunicated by the pope; and resisted the violence against the Protestants.

A. D. 1585.

- As soon as the season would permit, the king had five armies in the field, the generals of which commanded according to their own notions, and with different views; the duke of *Mayenne*, with the most numerous, acted in *Guienne*, with the sincerest intention of extirpating the Hugonots, and, if possible, destroying the king of *Navarre*. Marshal *Matignon* commanded another in the neighbourhood of *Bordeaux*; his design was to serve his master, and he apprehended that the best way to do this was to spill as little of his subjects blood as possible. He went, when invited, to the assistance of the duke of *Mayenne*, but they quickly quarrelled to such a degree, that neither of them did much; and the former, by affecting to hunt the king of *Navarre*, who had not the force requisite to oppose a royal army, ruined his own. Once indeed, through the king's imprudence in visiting a mistress, he was very near becoming master of his person, but, either by a brisk march, or through the connivance of one of the duke's officers, the king made his escapeⁱ; the duke of *Epernon* commanded the third in *Provence* and *Dauphine*, where he acted solely for the king's service, and kept both the Protestants and the leaguers in^k awe; the duke of *Guise* was with a small army in *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, with which he did more than all the rest; *Foyeuse* ruined a good corps of troops he had, in reducing several small fortresses not worth taking, by which the king was convinced that he had deserted his service to make his court to the league. The duke of *Mayenne* returned from the army, making loud complaints that he was ill supplied, that his projects were rejected, and that his troops were dissipated for want of pay. The king upon this went to the parliament, and held his court of justice in the month of *June*, where he forced them to register twenty-six oppressive edicts; but at the same time caused the people to be informed, that the money was not for his service, or the edicts of his contrivance; but that they were indebted for the necessity, and for the means of supplying it to the league^l: the prince of *Condé*, having received a powerful supply from the queen of *England*, carried on the war in *Xaintonge* with vigour and success; the king of *Navarre* went thither, and to please the *Rochellers*, exposed himself very much in an enterprize, which, if he had thoroughly considered, would not certainly have appeared worthy of the pains he took, and the hazard he ran. It was against *Brouage*, not with an intent of becoming master of it, but in order to spoil the port, which interfered with the commerce of *Rochele*, which he accomplished^m.
- f The prince of *Condé* gained another great advantage by his marrying a princess of the house of *la Trimouille*, by which he gained the duke, her brother, tho' their father had been the head of the league in *Poitou*, to the Protestant religion, and to the support of that cause in which he was embarkedⁿ. Marshal *Biron* was sent to restore affairs on this side, which he did very effectually, for the Protestants suffered him to take several places where he had cantoned his troops, and kept the leaguers at a distance. An accident happened about this time at *Aix*, which deserves notice. The chevalier d'*Angoulesme*, grand prior of *France*, had long hated *Altoviti*, an *Italian* gentleman in the king's service, and seeing him in a house over-against that in which he was, crossed the way, ran up, and, with many injurious expressions, ran him through the body. *Altoviti*, finding himself mortally wounded, drew his dagger,

The king holds a bed of justice.

^e Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 186, 187.

^h P. DAN.

ⁱ CAYET.

^l Memoires de la Ligue.

^m D'AUBIGNE.

^f JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEIX. MEZ.

^g P. MATTH.

^k Memoires du Duc de Epernon, JACOB. THUAN.

ⁿ DUPLEIX.

closed with him, and struck him into the belly ; of these wounds they both died in a few ^a hours. The chevalier was of the council that contrived, and was himself one of the busiest actors in the bloody scene of *St. Bartholomew* ^o : the king gave the government of *France* to the duke of *Epernon*, and the post of grand prior to his nephew, the natural son of *Charles* the ninth ^p.

THE powers of the north, and the chief of the *German* princes of the Protestant religion, in consequence of the king of *Navarre*'s solicitations, who, at the breaking out of the war, had sent *Pardaillan* to solicit assistance, sent a solemn embassy to intreat the king to restore his Protestant subjects to his favour, and to leave them in possession of the liberties that had been formerly granted them by the edicts of pacification. The king delayed their audience as long as he could, and sent them away at last with a rough answer, importing, that as he did not meddle with their religious differences, he knew not what pretence they had to interfere between him and his subjects ^q. This was done to gratify the league. In the mean time the king, who forelaw that this would bring new troubles upon his subjects, employed his mother, who had a passion for negociating, to treat with the king of *Navarre*. She carried with her the duke of *Nevers* and marshal *Biron*, to assist her with their counsels ; and she also had in her train abundance of young beauties, who did not serve her so effectually as in times ^r past. The king of *Navarre* had a due sense of the importance of this conjuncture, and the prince of *Condé* was lately married. She had no power to grant a toleration ; they would not so much as hear of a peace without ; so that the conferences ended in a truce for a few months ^s. On this occasion the baron *de Rosni*, the king of *Navarre*'s minister, coming to court, *Henry* ^c the third told him, he would consent to his master's taking twenty thousand *Swiss* into his pay, provided that, at a proper time, he would suffer them to pass into his service against the league ^t. The marshal *de Montmorency* continued supreme in *Languedoc*, at the head of the politiques. His situation was the most extraordinary that perhaps the world ever saw ; the king understood and approved his conduct, though, in appearance, a revolt. He was highly considered by the king of *Navarre*, who depended upon him, in case of the king's death : he drew immense subsidies from the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy*, had great regards paid him at *Rome*, because he stiled the Protestants heretics, at the same time that he made no scruple of treating the leaguers like rebels ^u.

THE troubles of the queen of *Scots* were finished in the beginning of this year by a violent ^d death on a scaffold. Her being descended by the mother's side from the house of *Guise* was the source of all her misfortunes. The king sent over *Bellievre* to solicit for her, which he did at least in public ; but the adherence to the league in those days, and some private memoirs since, have insinuated, that the king and his mother were not displeased with her death ; and perhaps, hinted to queen *Elizabeth*, that it was the only way to enjoy peace ^w. The duke of *Mayenne*, under colour of chagrin, remained at *Paris*, where, in conjunction with the sixteen, he took every measure to render the king odious, and to impute to him solely the miseries the nation endured : at length he went so far as to concert with them the means of drawing him thither, securing his person, and sending him prisoner to the duke of *Guise*, all which the king discovered and disappointed, but did not think it prudent to punish, being ^e content to tell the duke of *Mayenne*, who found it necessary to shift his quarters when he came to take his leave, that he did ill to abandon the good leaguers of *Paris* ^x. The army of the protestant league, under the nominal command of duke *Casimir*, was assembling in *Alsace*, and though it is no where said to have been above twenty thousand men, he struck the whole kingdom of *France* with terror. The king took the best measures he could to render this invasion fruitless, while the emissaries of the league constantly gave out that they were invited by him, and that he acted in concert with them ^y. The duke of *Guise*, who had an interview with him at *Meaux*, uttered all the suspicions, and all the scurrilities of his party to his face ; which the king supported and answered with great patience ^z. At length he determined to form three armies ; the command of the first he gave to the duke of *Guise*, the second to the duke of *Epernon*, the third he reserved for himself ; and these were so disposed, that the duke of *Guise* was to act in conjunction with the troops of the duke of *Lorraine* ; the duke of *Epernon* was to prevent their taking any strong places in their march ; the king, with the best army of the three, undertook to hinder their passing the *Loire* ^a.

ALTHOUGH he brought them upon himself, and was therefore the less to be pitied, yet the king's circumstances at this time were very hard. If the protestant army passed the *Loire*, and joined the king of *Navarre*, he was afraid of lying at the mercy of the Hugonots ;

Truce for a few months between the leaguers and the king of Navarre. Remarkable situation of the marshal de Montmorency.

The army of the Protestant league assembles in Alsace.

^o HON. BOUCHE Hist. de Provence, l. x.

P. DAN. tom. i c. 21.

de BRANTOME. tom. ix. p. 227.

^r J. THUAN. CAYET. MEZ.

^u P. DAN. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 213, 214.

^x JACOB THUAN. DUPLEIX. MEZ.

^a Memoires du Duc d'Espernon. DUPLEIX.

^p Memoires du Duc de Espernon.

^s DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

^q CAYET.

^t Memoires de Sully,

^w CAMDEN. Memoires

^y Memoires de la Ligue.

^z P. DAN.

- a on the other hand, if they were beaten and destroyed, he was in no less danger from the league. In so critical a situation, his behaviour shewed how much he had been to blame; ever since the crown had been placed upon his head. He took his measures in his cabinet with much prudence, he acted in the field with spirit, he managed every incident with great dexterity, and extricated himself from these embarrassments, better than even his best friends expected. Besides the armies, the destination of which we have already mentioned, the king formed another, under the marshal *Joyeuse*, which was to act against the king of *Navarre*, in order to prevent his marching to join his allies ^b. At the beginning of *August* the *Germans* passed the *Rhine*, wasted *Lorraine* with an army of thirty-five thousand men, for it was grown to this by the addition of the *Swiss*, the *French* troops, and those of the duke of *Bouillon*.
- b The duke *de Joyeuse*, who was superior in number to the army of the king of *Navarre*, surrounded by a multitude of nobility, who thought that nothing could resist them, and that no punishment was too great for those that did, marched directly towards the king, who had under him the prince of *Condé* and the count of *Soissons*. On the 20th of *October* the two armies engaged at *Coutras*, where the king gained a complete victory; the duke *de Joyeuse*, with four hundred gentlemen, being slain upon the spot, with near five thousand private men. This was the first victory the protestants ever gained, and it was solely attributed to the king of *Navarre*, who commanded like a great general, and fought like a gallant soldier ^c. But he made no use of this important victory; for, instead of marching to meet his allies, he dispersed his troops, and went to visit his mistress, for which a great writer could find no other excuse, than suggesting it was the last fault he committed of that kind ^d. It was however fatal to his confederates, who, after two disastrous disputes with the duke of *Guise*, finding it impossible to pass the king's army, began to listen to the proposals that were made them. In *November* the *Swiss* accepted four hundred thousand crowns, and retired; and in *December* the *German* horse made a treaty of the like kind ^e. The leaguers of *Paris* magnified the duke of *Guise*'s success, which, in reality, was due to the king's precaution. The use they made of his exaggerated reputation, was to procure from a secret assembly of the young doctors of the *Sorbonne*, a resolution, that princes, who behaved otherwise than they ought, might be removed from the government, as a tutor, who is suspected, may by the civil law be deprived of the administration of his pupil's effects. The king being informed of this, sent for them to the *Louvre*, where he reprimanded them severely, and threatened to leave them to the justice of his parliament; but impunity encouraged them more than any sense of shame could disturb them from this public reproof ^f.

The king of Navarre obtains a complete victory over the duke de Joyeuse, at Coutras.

Resolution of the Sorbonne, with respect to bad princes. A.D. 1587.

- WE come now to that important year in which the troubles of *France* came to their first crisis. The death of the duke of *Bouillon*, who left an only daughter under the tutelage of the king of *Navarre* and other princes of the blood, but under the immediate care of the famous Mr. *de la Noue*, attracted the attention of the house of *Lorraine*, who, from the vicinity and importance of her estates, were determined to annex them to their own ^g. This occasioned their drawing the duke of *Guise* and his principal partizans, where they consulted of that enterprize, as well as of the affairs of *France*. In respect to the latter, they determined on an insolent memorial, consisting of eleven articles, in which they prescribed to the king, upon what terms they were content to leave him that title. In the first place, he was to declare himself openly for the league; next, he was to receive the council of *Trent*; he was also to establish the inquisition in all the great cities in *France*; no quarter was to be given to any heretic prisoner, unless he renounced his religion; the king was to remove all his own friends, and to replace them by those in whom they could confide. The rest were of the same nature or worse ^h. The king could not help shewing some emotion at reading them, but quickly recovered himself, and promised to consider them ⁱ. The duke of *Guise* came to *Soissons*, and from thence transmitted his instructions to the sixteen, who, by his orders, provided arms and every thing necessary for a general revolt; to facilitate which, he sent many officers and gentlemen, on whose courage he could depend, to disperse themselves through the city. The king had a faithful spy, whose name was *Poulain*, from whom he received exact intelligence of every step they took, and of every place in which they met. He might have seized the whole sixteen at once, and intended it, but suffered himself to be dissuaded from it by the queen-mother and *Villequier*, who betrayed him ^k. He did worse; for he sent for the president *de Neuilly*, who was one of the sixteen, reprimanded him for his seditious practices, and threatened to put him and his associates to death, which rendered them in a manner desperate ^l. But the king thought he sufficiently provided for his safety, by

The faction of the Guises behave with great insolence to the king.

^b D'AUBIGNE.

^c P. MATTHIEU.

^d D'AUBIGNE. *Memoires de Sulli*.

^e *Memoires*

de la Ligue. P. MATTH. DUPL.

^f CAYET Preface, tom i. *Journal d'Henry III*.

^g JACOB.

THUAN.

^h MEZ. P. MATTHIEU.

ⁱ DUPL. P. D.A.N.

^k THUAN. CAYET. P. MATTH.

^l D'AUBIGNE. JACOB. THUAN.

forbidding the duke of *Guise* to come to *Paris*. His sister, the duchess of *Moutpensier*,^a laid a scheme for seizing the king as he went to take the air, and sending him to *Soissons*, which had certainly taken effect, if *Poulain* had not given the king notice of it, a few hours before it was put in execution^m.

On the 9th of *May* the duke of *Guise*, contrary to the king's express command, came to *Paris*, and desired the queen-mother to introduce him to the king. The king consented to it the next day, with a full intention to have had him stabbed in his presence, from which he was dissuaded by his mother and *Villequier*ⁿ. As the duke went to the *Louvre*, he was attended by persons of all ranks, who cried aloud, "Long live the duke of *Guise*, the defender of the church, the protector of the Catholic religion, and the Saviour of *Paris*." He returned safe from this audience: but he read so much of the king's disposition in his eyes, that he was sufficiently sensible of his danger^o. The same day the king ordered all strangers to depart *Paris*; but finding he was not obeyed, he ordered four thousand *Swiss*, and two thousand *French* infantry to enter the city next morning, which they did; but, not having orders to fire, the scholars of the university and the populace quickly barricaded the streets, and, by taking themselves to arms, obliged a great part of the guards to submit, and, in a manner, blocked the king up in the *Louvre*^p. The duke of *Guise* amused the queen-mother all the time, who went to his lodging on foot to persuade him to withdraw, till he understood in what posture things were; and then he told her roundly, that he would not abandon the good people of *Paris* to the king and his evil counsellors. This happened on the 12th of *May*, stiled from thence, by the *French*, the day of the barricades^q. The next morning the queen-mother came to the duke again to make propositions of peace, and entertained him till a person came and whispered him that the king had made his escape, upon which he cried out, "Madam, you have amused and undone me!" The king, at the time he quitted *Paris*, which he did with great difficulty and danger, said, with an air of indignation, looking back upon it, I will never enter those walls again, but thro' a breach. In the height of this confusion, the duke of *Guise* sent a person of distinction to the *English* minister, Sir *Edward Stafford*, to offer him a safe-guard. Sir *Edward* received the person very politely; told him, if he had been there in a private capacity, he should have accepted the duke's offer with gratitude and thanks; but in the character of the queen's ambassador in the capital of the *French* dominions, he would accept of no safe-guard, but from the king. He added, that he would make a true report to his mistress of what his eyes had seen; for which behaviour he is highly and justly commended by the *French* writers^r. The duke, to shew his great power, soon restored the tranquility of *Paris*, and, to maintain it, changed all the magistrates whom he suspected, seized the *Bastile*, and disposed of every thing at pleasure.

THE king retired first to *Chartres*, taking no sleep in his passage, but in his boots; from thence he published a manifesto, to inform his subjects of what had passed at *Paris*, which was followed by manifestoes on the part of the *Guises*, on which several great towns and provinces declared, some on one side, and some on the other^s. The queen-mother followed the king to *Chartres*, attended by the deputies from *Paris*, who came to demand pardon for what had passed; the parliament also sent a deputation, and were well received by the king, who told them at their departure, that he was content to pardon the people of *Paris*; but that they would do well to change their conduct, and not oblige him to withdraw his presence, his courts of justice, and other marks of favour, with which his predecessors had honoured them, and to which they owed that affluence they had so much^t abused. The parliament did their duty in this respect with so much dignity and spirit, that it made a very strong impression on the *Parisians*, which the duke of *Guise* perceiving, resolved to finish the treaty of peace without^u delay. The king was gone to *Rouen*, where the accommodation was quickly concluded, in ten articles, that differed little from the eleven which had been before sent him from *Nancy*; the last of them contained a general amnesty for what was^v passed. The appearance of the grand *Spanish* armada on the coast of *Bretagne* contributed not a little to influence the king's resolutions. On the 18th of *June*, the edict of pacification was published, and a general assembly of the states called to meet in the *September* following at *Blois*^y. On the 4th of *July* appeared a new edict for the re-union of all the king's subjects to the Catholic religion; and the king having now, in all probability, taken his final determination, tho' some think he was ever governed by events, and took no measure but expedients, changed his conduct entirely, received into high favour the chiefs of the league. He made no scruple of declaring the cardinal of *Bourbon* first prince of the blood, constituted the duke of *Guise*

The king is obliged to fly from Paris.

An accommodation effected between him and the *Guises*.

^m MEZ. P. DAN.

ⁿ D'AVILA.

^o J. DE SERRES,

^p D'AUBIGNE. CAYET.

^q Journal d'Henry III.

^r CAYET. P. MATTHIEU. D'AVILA.

^s DUPLEIX. P. DAN.

^t Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 289.

^u JACOB. THUAN.

^v DUPLEIX. MEZ.

^y CAYET.

^y JACOB. THUAN.

- a lieutenant-general of his armies throughout the kingdom, with powers little, if at all, inferior to those of the constable². What gave still greater satisfaction was, his taking the government of *Normandy* from the duke of *Epernon*, and giving it to the duke of *Montpensier*, the former being at the same time dismissed the court³. From *Rouen* the king went back again to *Chartres*, without taking *Paris* in his way, tho' he was extremely pressed to it. The duke of *Guise* followed him to *Chartres*⁴, and was received with such high marks of favour, that people in general looked upon the reconciliation as sincere, more especially as the king spoke of nothing but the security of the Catholic religion, and the conversion or extermination of his Protestant subjects. The queen-mother was remarkably kind to the duke of *Guise*, which was supposed to proceed from her desire of transferring the crown to her grandson the marquis of *Pontamousson*. But, from whatever it proceeded, the duke of *Guise* seemed to be entirely satisfied, and received from her so many and so strong marks of confidence, that he relied upon her entirely⁵.

- At this time it is very difficult to form a just notion of the state of *France*, where, from the number of governors and want of obedience, there was, in effect, thro' the greatest part of the realm, no government at all. The king himself was of so mutable, so irresolute a temper, so much in the hands of his mother and her creatures, or they took upon them to use his name and authority with so little ceremony, tho' without his knowledge, that they made him act, at least in appearance, against his own interest, and for the destruction of his best friends. It was under some delusion of this sort, that the queen-mother and *Villeroy*, who hated the duke of *Epernon*, sent the king's orders to the chief magistrate of *Angoulême*, to drive out the duke *de Epernon*, who had seized that place for his service. In consequence of this command, however obtained, a bold attempt was made to murder the duke, which he prevented by his intrepid behaviour, and afterwards defended the castle with a few of his domestics, where they were thirty hours without food, 'till he was relieved⁶. His brother, the duke *de la Valette*, seeing what turn things were like to take, made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with *Lesdiguières*, as if they had been sovereigns⁷. The marshal *de Montmorency* was really so in his government, where he levied money and troops as he thought fit, and by doing strict justice, and living in a princely manner upon his own fortune, he maintained the public tranquillity and every thing in exact order⁸. The duke of *Savoy*, after offering his assistance to the king, the duke *de Guise*, and Mr. *de Lesdiguières*, provided he might have the marquisate of *Saluces* for his pains, finding his offers rejected on every side, made himself master of the best part of that country, and amongst the rest, of the strong fortress of *Carmagnoles*⁹, in which were four hundred pieces of cannon, with military stores sufficient to have enabled the king to reduce his rebellious subjects, if they had been properly employed. As for *Paris*, it was entirely devoted to the duke of *Guise*, who put it under the direction of the sixteen¹⁰, supported by an infinite number of his friends, that is, of such as were desirous of rising at any rate; for, in conjunctures like this, such as have nothing to lose are in the fairest way of making their fortunes. The king, stript of his friends, surrounded by his enemies, without force, and without allies, had occasion enough, though little opportunity, to contemplate his ruined condition, and that labyrinth of difficulties into which his indolence and his luxury had brought him. He gathered, however, courage (a sure proof he had parts) from the prospect of danger.

- On the first of *September* the king arrived at *Blois*, where the first step he took was very extraordinary, which was sending orders to the chancellor *Chiverni*, *Bellievre*, sur-intendant of the finances, *Brulart*, *Villeroy*, and *Pinart*, secretary of state, to retire to their houses, and meddle no farther with public affairs¹¹. The seals were given to *Montholon*, an advocate of *Paris*, a zealous Catholic, a man of honour, but very inexpert in affairs of state¹². From this time the queen-mother lost the confidence of her son, he was ashamed of the concessions he had made, he was provoked by the pope's letter (*Sixtus* the fifth was now on the papal throne) to the duke of *Guise*, and the cardinal *de Bourbon*, in which he styled them *Maccabees*; and he was well informed of the true design of the league, which was to thrust him into a convent, and to place the duke of *Guise*, or some other prince of the house of *Lorraine*, upon the throne. He likewise knew that the queen-mother was embarked or at least not unacquainted with these projects, in hopes of having the government under the name of the young prince *Henry* of *Lorraine*, her grandson¹³. The meeting of the states was very full, the clergy were represented by one hundred thirty-four deputies, amongst which were four archbishops, and twenty-one bishops; they chose for their speakers the cardinals of *Bourbon* and

² Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 301, 302.THUAN. ³ Serres. P. DAN.⁴ Memoires du Duc d'Espéron.⁵ JACOB.

du Condestable de Lesdiguières, par LOUIS VIDEL, liv. iii. c. iv. p. 163, 166.

⁶ Histoire⁷ GUICHENON, J. DE SERRES. P. DAN.⁸ Histoire de la Ligue, par MAIMBOURG. DU TILLET.⁹ CAYET. JACOB. THUAN.¹⁰ DUPL. DU TILLET.¹¹ P. MATTHIEU, P. DANIEL.

de Guise ; those of the nobility were one hundred and eighty, their speakers were the count *de Brisac*, and the baron *de Magnac* ; the deputies of the third estate were one hundred ninety-one, and at their head was *La Chapelle Marteau*, provost of the merchants at *Paris*, all of them zealous leaguers, which sufficiently shewed the complexion of the ^m assembly.

Opens the assembly of the states with a bold speech.

THE king opened the states on the 16th of *October*, with a very wise and weighty speech, which he delivered with much grace and dignity ; he professed himself a zealous Catholic, assured them of his willingness to contribute to the utmost of his power to secure and to promote the established religion, and advised the making it a fundamental law, that none but Catholics should be capable of the succession : he added, that, in his judgment, as all leagues and alliances with foreign princes, under pretence of religion, were needless, so in their nature and consequences, when without the consent of the sovereign, they were acts of high treason : “ I know, said he, that some great men have given their countenance to things of this kind ; but, from my accustomed clemency, I am willing to overlook what is past ⁿ.” The duke of *Guise* and the cardinal changed colour at these words, and they obliged the king to soften his harangue before it was printed. He was likewise compelled to swear to the edict of re-union, and to confirm his reconciliation with the duke of *Guise*, by receiving with him, at the same altar, the same host ^o. Notwithstanding this, he quickly discerned that his own safety and the duke’s views were utterly incompatible. He discovered, though he made a shew of the contrary, that the duke held secret intelligence with the duke of *Savoy* ; he found that he had a superior interest in the states, who pressed to have the king of *Navarre*, by name, declared incapable of the succession ; he perceived that they were bent upon limiting his authority ; and some of the princes of the house of *Lorraine* declared to him privately, that they disapproved the duke of *Guise*’s conduct and designs. But what moved him most was, an insolent speech of the duchess dowager of *Montpensier*, sister to the duke, who, shewing a pair of gold scissars which she wore at her girdle, said, the best use she could make of them was, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to sit on the *French* throne, in order to qualify him for a monastery, while a worthier person mounted it in his stead, capable of repairing the losses which religion and the state had suffered through the cowardice of his predecessor ^p. He determined, therefore, to rid himself of the duke, some way or other.

Concerts with a few faithful friends the means for carrying his design into execution.

In this sad perplexity he summoned a council of his friends, and a better picture of his condition cannot be given than the naming them. They were no more than marshal *D’Aumont*, *Nicholas d’Angennes*, *Sieur de Rambouillet*, and *Beauvas Nangis*. These were all he could trust with his distress ; and to them he explained the apprehensions he was under from the duke of *Guise*, and the new project that prince had formed of forcing him, by means of the states, to make him constable ^q. They desired a day to consider of it, and by the king’s command, at their next meeting, *Lewis d’Angennes*, the brother of *Nicholas*, was present. Marshal *D’Aumont* advised the arresting the princes of the house of *Lorraine*, and forming their process. All the rest were clear that this was impossible. The king himself said, the stag would be too strong for the toils. It was then resolved to put him to death ; and the king would have confided the execution to *Crillon*, who commanded his guards ; but he answered, “ That his rank and services rendered him unfit to be hangman ;” adding, “ I will draw my sword fairly upon the duke ; and if he does not kill me, I will kill him, as becomes your majesty’s servant ^r.” The king did not take this at all amiss ; he then addressed himself to *Loignac*, the first gentleman of his bed-chamber, who accepted it without difficulty. The king had about him a guard of *Gascons*, recommended by the duke *de Epemon*, which, from their number, were stiled the *forty-five* ^s, all determined men, who hated the duke of *Guise* personally, because, under colour of saving, he was for dismissing them. Out of these the king chose nine for the execution. He was also forced to intrust his secret with *Ornano Bonnivet*, *La Grange-Montigni*, and *D’Entraques*, to whom he gave his orders. *Larchant*, who commanded the company of guards on duty, was directed to summon the duke to council, in the evening of the 22d of *December* ; and after he had delivered his message from the king, that the council was to be held early the next morning, that all pressing affairs might be dispatched before *Christmas*, he pressed him, as from himself, for the pay of his men, who, he said, were so distressed, that they were on the point of disbanding. The duke giving him fair words, he desired leave to communicate them to his troop, and that he might be permitted to put a petition into his hand as he went to council in the morning, which the duke readily granted ^t. All these previous steps could not be taken without creating some jealousy, and, if the duke did not escape his fate, it was not for want of warning. That very day he had a note put under his plate at dinner, in which were these words, *Beware, they are about to do you an ill turn*. The duke, when he read it, took his pencil and wrote, *They dare not* ;

^m J. DE SERRES.

DUPLEIX.

p. 301.

ⁿ JACOB THUAN.

^r D’AVILA.

^s SERRES, DUPL.

^o P. MATTH.

^p P. DAN.

^q SERRES.

^t Abrege Chronologique de l’Histoire de France, par MEZ. tom. v.

a folded it up, and threw it under the table". He had himself some apprehensions, but he thought he was too far advanced to go back. Besides, the archbishop of *Lyons*, who had in view a hat from *Rome* by his interest, prevailed upon him to let the two armies of the league be commanded by the dukes of *Mayenne* and *Nevers*, and to execute his own office of great master of the household, with all the authority of the old mayors of the palace; and for that reason, to keep always close to the person of the king.

ON the twenty-third of *December*, early in the morning, the king having his four friends in his cabinet, ordered *Loignac* to introduce the nine guards, and to bring as many poniards; he then made a discourse on the business in hand, and concluded it with these words, "It is an execution of justice, which I command you to make on the greatest criminal in my kingdom, whom all laws human and divine permit me to punish; but, not having the ordinary methods of justice in my power, I authorize you to do it, by the right inherent to my royal authority." He then disposed them in the passage which led from his chamber to his cabinet, into which he retired with the four persons before mentioned". The council assembled early, consisting of the cardinals of *Vendosme* and *Gondi*, the marshals *D'Aumont* and *Rhetz*, the sieurs *Rambouillet* and *d'O*. The cardinal of *Guise*, and the archbishop of *Lyons*, came afterwards; last of all came the duke, who found, at the door of his apartment, as he came out, the guards disposed in two lines; and before he had time to reflect, *Larchant* presented the petition, which accounted so well for their appearance, that he went on without suspicion". When he had ascended the stairs, leaving all his equipage below, he came into the anti-chamber, where the council sat; he found himself faint, and sent to the king's valet de chambre for some plumbs, and a handkerchief, to wipe his eyes, which watered". About eight o'clock the secretary of state came to inform him, the king desired to speak to him in his cabinet. He went through the gallery that led into the chamber, the door of which, as usual, was shut after him. He then turned to the left, and as he lifted up the tapestry that hung before the passage that led to the cabinet, he received six poniards at once into his breast, on which he cried out, *My God, have mercy upon me*", fetching so deep a groan, that it was heard into the anti-chamber. The cardinal of *Guise* and the archbishop of *Lyons* rose and ran to the gallery, where the guards presented their halberds. They were immediately arrested by the marshals *D'Aumont* and *Rhetz*, and conducted to a room in the upper part of the castle". The lords and great men being admitted into the anti-chamber, the king presently entered it, and addressing himself to the cardinal of *Vendosme*, said, "I am now a monarch, and by what has been executed by my orders, those who, under the specious pretence of religion, shall hereafter trouble the state, may learn what they have to expect." He then went to the queen-mother's apartment, who occupied the first floor of the castle, and entering her chamber, for she was indisposed, he said, "I am now a king, madam, and have no companion, the duke of *Guise* is dead." She, without approving or blaming the action, contented herself with asking him if he had considered well what consequences might attend it. "I have, madam," replied he, "and have given proper orders." "I hope so," returned the queen, "and that it may prove to your advantage". This agrees with what most writers affirm, that she was totally unacquainted with the king's design; and yet this is a matter very far from being certain (M).

IN

" JACOB. THUAN.
P. MATTHIEU.
DUFLEIX.

" SERRES. DU TILL.
" CAYET. D'AVILA.

" JACOB. THUAN. MEZ.
" P. DANIEL.

" DUPLEIX.
" J. DE SERRES. P. MATTHIEU.

(M) The *French* historians in general, and even most of their private memoirs, agree, that the death of the duke of *Guise*, and the measures requisite to bring it about, were entirely without the queen-mother's concurrence and consent. But, however, there is a very curious and distinct relation of this affair, penned by one who is on all hands allowed to have had as large a share in the king's confidence as any who were about him. This was his physician *Miron*, whose relation is yet extant, in a work little regarded, and yet not easy to be found (1). He is very distinct and precise in every thing that he says, and, in particular, tells us, with respect to that of which we are speaking, that on the 10th of *November* the queen-mother, having received letters from the duchess of *Aumale*, she sent to the king to desire that he would come to her, or at least send somebody that he could trust; upon which the

king sent the author of this relation to his mother, from whom he received this message: "Tell the king, my son, that I desire he will take the trouble to come down into my cabinet, because I have something to say to him, which regards his life, his honour, and his dignity." He delivered his message accordingly to *Henry*, who presently called one of his favourites, and went with him and his physician down to the queen's apartment. Soon after they entered, the king and his mother went together into a large window, while the two persons the king brought with him retired to the other end of the cabinet; they heard, therefore, nothing of what passed; but, at parting, the queen said aloud, "My son, in this case dispatch is necessary, you have lost too much time already; but give your orders now in such a manner, that you may not be deceived again as you were at the barricades

(1) This curious piece, from the MSS. of Messieurs Du Puy, is printed in the *Histoire generale des Cardinaux*, par Aubery, Paris, 1649, 4to. tom. v. p. 551.

Many of his confederates arrested, and his brother the cardinal put to death.

IN obedience to the king's orders, they arrested in the castle the dukes of *Elbauf* and *Nemours*, the cardinal *de Bourbon*, the prince *de Joinville*, and *Anne d'Et*, the former the son, the latter the mother of the duke of *Guise*, and also of the duke of *Nemours*. *Francis du Pleffis de Richelieu*, grand provost, with his archers, seized the president *de Neuilli*, *Chappelle-Marteau*, *Compan*, and *Cotteblanche*, deputies from the city of *Paris*; together with *Vincent le Roi*, lieutenant-general of *Amiens*. *Urbain de Laval Bois-Dauphin*, and the count *de Brisac*, both of whom became afterwards marshals of *France*, were confined in their own houses; *Pericard*, secretary to the duke of *Guise*, was seized with all his papers^c. The next day the cardinal *de Guise* was brought from the place of his confinement by a serjeant and three of the guards, to be examined; but, in going through a dark passage, by the orders of *du Guast*, who was captain of the guards, they dispatched him with their halberds^d. He was more violent than his brother, and, amongst other insolent speeches, had given out, that he would hold the king's head between his knees, till the tonsure was performed at the capuchins^e. The bodies of both the brothers were burnt to ashes, and those scattered by the winds, to prevent their faction from abusing them as relicks. The king endeavoured also to seize the dukes *de Mercœur* and *Mayenne*; but they had so good intelligence, that they made their escape, as the duke of *Nemours* did soon after. On the first news of the duke's death at *Paris*, the people were extremely surprized; but, as soon as they were informed that *Orleans* and some other places had declared in favour of the league, they began to recover their spirits, took all the precautions possible for the security of the place, and throwing off all respect to the king, stiled him openly, tyrant, apostate, hangman, traitor, and whatever else their brutal malice could suggest; breaking his statues, tearing his pictures, and demolishing his arms in every public place where they had been fixed during his reign^f.

A. D. 1588.

The death of the queen-mother, and the great perplexity of the king.

THE queen-mother, sick as she was, caused herself to be carried to the place where the cardinal *de Bourbon* was confined, who no sooner saw her, than he cried out, *Madam, this is one of your contrivances, and by your arts we have been all brought here to have our throats cut*. The queen answered, with one of those execrations which were then common, that she was entirely ignorant of the matter^g. This conversation made so strong an impression on her mind, that it is supposed to have hastened her death, which happened on the 5th of *January*,

^c JACOB. THUAN. DU TILLET. Marquis de Pisani du 24 Decembre, Imprimée aux de l'Histoire des Cardinaux, tom. v. p. 614.
^e J. DE SERRES. P. MATTH.

^d D'AUDIGNE. P. DANIEL.

^f Lettres du Roi au
^g CAYET.

"of *Paris*." The king being thus, in this writer's opinion, confirmed in the project he had formed of delivering himself from the duke, went about it in a very extraordinary manner. He seemed to give himself more up than ever to devotion, and as a proof of it, ordered cells or little apartments to be prepared over his own for certain capuchin friars, became every day more indolent and inattentive to his affairs, dropping from time to time hints, that he would devolve the weight of the government upon the queen-mother and the duke of *Guise*, in order to occupy himself entirely in matters of religion. This had precisely the effect he intended, for the cardinal of *Guise* and the archbishop of *Lyons*, looked upon him as a poor thoughtless doating creature, intent only on qualifying himself for a monastery, into which they intended to thrust him. This had two consequences. It afforded him the means of taking all his measures without suspicion, and prompted them to such open acts of insolence, as best served to justify the action for which he was preparing. These cells, instead of capuchins, were intended for his guard of forty-five at the critical juncture, when he should stand in need of their service. He prosecuted this plan coolly and steadily, to the very last. He caused a journal of the week to be settled, and signed in council on the preceding *Saturday*. On the *Monday* the king was to do so and so, on the *Tuesday* so, on the *Friday*, which was the day the duke was killed, he was to go to our lady of *Clery*, to perform his devotions. This strange behaviour, at so critical a season, equally amazed the faction who sought his ruin, and his friends who thought the king absolutely infatuated. But it was the pretence of this journey that

furnished him with the means of making the last preparations for the tragedy without suspicion. On the *Thursday* the duke of *Guise* pushed the provocations he had given the king farther than he had ever done, by complaining of his causeless jealousies and suspicions; and insinuating peremptorily on resigning his high office of lieutenant-general, notwithstanding all the condescension the king could employ in order to prevail upon him to keep it. The duke knew that things were at a crisis, and thought there was but one step more to take, which some say was to seize his master's person, and to carry him to *Paris*, in order to dispose of him there as he thought fit (2). At least, this is conceived to be that plot of which the king was apprised by the queen-mother. On the other hand, this monarch took the resignation as flowing from a contempt of his authority, being persuaded that the duke intended to receive either the same post, or the office of constable from the states, as disdaining to hold it from the favour or so much as with the content of the king (3). This kept him steady to his resolution, and it was under colour of making a tour to the church of our lady of *Clery*, that the council was appointed so early in the morning, and the preparations for it served to cover that stir, which the execution of the king's dark design necessarily required (4). If we believe the physician's relation, the queen-mother was the principal author of the duke's death; and yet from a concurrence of circumstances, it seems highly probable that he did not acquaint her with the steps taken to accomplish it, and that she was really very much surprized at the event.

(2) *Le Gendre*.

(3) *Memoires de Beauvais Nangis, Memoires de la Ligue. Mort de Messieurs les Duc et Cardinal de Guise, par le Medecin Miron.*

(4) *Relation de la*

- a in the 70th year of her ^h age (F). The king now flattered himself that affairs would go better in the states; and, to facilitate this, he carried his prisoners to the castle of *Amboise*, the command of which he gave to *du Guast*, who by his order had caused the cardinal *de Guise* to be murdered. He was prevailed upon, however, to release the count *de Brisac*, and to send all the deputies from *Paris*, except *Chapelle Marteau*, together with *Vincent le Roi*, to that capital, in hopes that, according to their promise, they would endeavour to calm the minds of the people; and contented himself with taking their oaths, that, if they did not succeed, they would return ⁱ. But in a very little time he found all his expectations vain; the deputies began to retire without his leave from *Blois*; so that, to save appearances, he was forced to prorogue the states; many of the great cities declared for the league, which was
- b now publicly countenanced by the pope and the king of *Spain*. But what troubled him most, and gave the greatest wound to his reputation, was the conduct of *du Guast*, who began to treat with the leaguers for the ransom of his prisoners; and had the assurance, when the king on this intelligence demanded them, to drive a bargain with the king himself, who was forced to give him thirty thousand crowns in ready money for the cardinal *de Bourbon*, the duke of *Elbeuf*, and the young duke of *Guise* ^k. As for the archbishop of *Lyons* and *Chapelle Marteau*, he kept them to make his market of elsewhere, and sold them afterwards to the leaguers ^l. If, instead of following the timid counsels of marshal *de Rhetz*, the king had listened to the advice of marshal *D'Aumont* and the *Sieur de Rambouillet*, who advised

^h Journal de Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 122.
DUPLEIX. DU TILLET.

ⁱ Histoire de la Ligue.

^j JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.
D'AVILA. MEZ.

^k J. DE SERRES.

(F) This great queen *Katherine*, the dowager of *Henry* the second, the mother of *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, kings of *France*, was born at *Florence*, April the 13th, 1519 (1). In her person she was rather comely than handsome, more especially in the latter part of her life, when she grew coarse and fat. It is allowed by all parties that she had great natural talents, which were improved by education and exercise; a great capacity, deep penetration, lively wit, and a deep judgment. But what she principally excelled in were the arts of a court; easy, affable, and engaging; magnificent to the highest degree, but without regarding expence; liberal even to profusion; majestic in her deportment, having a great presence of mind, and a wonderful fertility in expedients, even when surrounded with dangers. But her ambition was without bounds, without pity, without natural affection. She thought herself alone born to command, and that obedience was the portion of all the world beside. She created parties, that she might preserve her own power by balancing them; and, to effect this, she sacrificed all principles of religion, and all pretensions to integrity. She sometimes flattered, but oftener persecuted the Protestants. She sided with the house of *Guise* against the princes, then with the princes against the house of *Guise*. She was not content with being the mother, but would be also the mistress, that is, the sovereign of kings. She neglected the education of her children in their nonage; she suffered them to be misled in their youth, that she might govern them all their days. It was by this conduct that she became insupportable to *Charles* the ninth, and suspected by *Henry* the third. In order to judge of her true character, we ought to consider her favourites and her court. The former were men of intrigue, who discovered their parts in a multitude of inventions for fleecing and impoverishing the people. Abandoned in their manners, violent in their actions, and blindly devoted to her pleasure. As to the ladies who composed the latter, their characters are sufficiently distinguished in history, at the same time that they disgrace it. In short, the age of *Katherine de Medicis*, for so we may stile the space of upwards of thirty years, in which her genius and example gave the law in *France*, was a mixture of impurities of every kind. Much of superstition, more of atheism, and, what is its constant companion, an extravagant propensity to magic, splendour

without dignity, a policy so refined, as to sap the foundations of government, an affectation of absolute power, that ended in total anarchy, and such a spirit of dissipation as left industry without hope, and almost effaced all sentiments of probity. After a long life spent in luxury, she died, in appearance, of the gout, rendered mortal by a distraction of mind, and an incapacity of bearing that contempt which she saw coming upon her (2). In her last moments she was attended by the king, who expressed that tenderness which was really in his nature, and would have appeared upon other occasions, if she had not corrupted it (3). By her testament the grand duchess of *Tuscany* and the count *d'Auvergne* were her heirs (4); but they did not reap any great benefit from thence, since she died eight hundred thousand crowns in debt. She affected to govern to the last, and seemed much sifter for it on her death-bed than through her whole life. I leave you, said she to the king, my last advice; and I intreat that these dying words may be imprinted in your memory, for the good of your state. Love the princes of your blood, and have them always about you; and more especially the king of *Navarre*. I have found them always faithful to the crown; and they alone have any interest in the succession of the kingdom. Remember also, that, if you would restore that peace which is so necessary to *France*, you must begin with granting liberty of conscience to your subjects, having observed, that, amongst the *Germans*, and other sovereign princes of my time, there have been none who, by mere force of arms, have been able to extinguish the troubles excited in their countries on the score of religion (5). Her death was no sooner known at *Paris*, than the people publicly declared, that if they brought her body thither, in order to inter it in the new tomb which she had built for herself and her husband at *St. Denis*, they would never suffer it, but either cast it into the common sewer, or into the river (6). The reason of this bitterness was, the persuasion they had that the death of the duke and cardinal *de Guise* was the effect of her counsel. At *Blois* she was no sooner dead than she was forgotten; and the king, contrary to his custom, caused her remains to be silently interred; but, more than twenty years after, they were removed to that chapel which she had founded at *St. Dennis*, and rest there with those of her family (7).

(1) *Memoires pour l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. 261.
ix. (4) *Memoires pour l'Histoire de France*.
de Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 122, 123.

(2) P. Daniel.

(3) D'Avila, liv.

(5) P. Daniel, tom. ix. p. 343.

(6) Journal

(7) Jacob. Thuan. Duplex, *Memoires de Brantome*.

him to recall the army of the duke of *Nevers*, and to march directly to *Paris*^m, he had probably put an end to the civil war at the very beginning; but the humour of temporizing, which was always fatal to him, prevailed, and gave rise to those troubles which subsisted for so many years, and reduced the monarchy of *France* to the very brink of ruin, after bringing him by an untimely death to his grave.

The leaguers at Paris disown the king, and create the duke of Mayenne lieutenant general of the realm.

In the mean time the leaguers at *Paris* were reducing rebellion into a system. Seventy doctors of the *Sorbonne* took upon them to decide that the people were released from their oath to *Henry of Valois*, and by another decree they were forbid to mention the king in their public prayers; they likewise pronounced it lawful to levy money, and to take up armsⁿ. The *sixteen*, who were, in effect, tribunes of the people, had declared the duke of *Aumale* governor of *Paris*, and, in concert with him *Bussi le Clerc*, a factious attorney, to whom the duke of *Guise* committed the charge of the *Bastille*, understanding that the parliament were assembled with intent to send a solemn deputation to the king, went thither, attended by a guard, and carried fifty presidents and counsellors in their robes publicly through the streets, exposed to all the insults of the populace, to his fortress, where he confined them^o. They then formed a new parliament, at the head of which they placed the president *Brissson* by force; the *Sieur Mole* was made attorney general, and threatened with death if he did not accept it. This new parliament, thus constituted, declared the promise made by the deputies to return to *Blois*, though made upon oath, to be null and void, and also took an oath themselves never to depart from the league, and to revenge the death of the duke and cardinal of *Guise*. On the arrival of the duke of *Mayenne*, the council of union, which was composed of forty members, and which his first care was to get enlarged, declared him *lieutenant general of the state royal and crown of France*, an unknown and unintelligible title, but with which they gave him almost sovereign power; and indeed they would have complimented him with the title of king, but that he prudently refused it^p. *Rouen* and a great part of *Normandy* declared for the league, *Lyons* and *Toulouse* did the same, and the whole province of *Bretagne* followed their example; *Bourges*, *Marseilles*, *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Toulon*, did the like; marshal *Matignon* preserved *Bordeaux*, and marshal *d'Aumont* recovered *Angiers*; but the provinces of *Mayenne* and *Auvergne* embraced the league^q. The *Spanish* ambassador repaired to *Paris*; a sufficient indication what side his master was inclined to take. The Pope was inclined the same way; for the league had, in cardinal *Pelleverè*, an active and able agent at *Rome*, where the king was also well served by the marquis *Pisani*. In all provinces troops were raising for the king and for the league; and though religion was the pretence, yet interest or resentment were the real motives. There was all this time an open war with the Protestants, but it was carried on very faintly, the league having no opportunity of attacking them; and the king, and the nobility who adhered to him, having no inclination, though, to save appearances, and to lessen the influence of the rebels, they declared publicly, and in strong terms, against heresy and heretics, with whom they were privately treating, and without whose assistance there was nothing more evident than that the king must be undone, and the constitution overthrown^r.

The king is reconciled to the king of Navarre.

THE distress of princes is the great criterion of zeal and duty. *Henry* saw himself, at *Blois*, abandoned by almost all those whom his favour had raised to greatness, decried by the clergy whom he had encouraged, and abhorred by the bigots, to whom, during his whole reign, he had been paying court. In this consisted his good fortune; it made room for those who ought to have been always about him. Except the old doating cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was in prison, and whom the league (worthy of such a king) stiled *Charles* the tenth, all the princes of his blood repaired to him, not to receive places and preferments, but to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his service; the cardinal *de Lenoncourt*, the marshal duke *de Montmorency*, the duke *d'Espernon*, the duke of *Nevers*, and other persons of great quality, resorted with what forces they could collect; by their advice he removed to *Tours*, and, by his edict of the fourth of *March*, transferred thither the parliament and chamber of accounts from *Paris*^s. He had negotiated with the duke of *Mayenne*, and, out of a desire of peace, and to shew his steady affection to the church of *Rome*, had offered him and the family of *Lorraine* the government of one third of the kingdom; but their hopes of possessing the whole were so strong, that they rejected these offers^t. The king of *Navarre*, on the contrary, published a declaration, by which he offered himself and his forces for his majesty's service, without any stipulation. *Diana de Angoulesme*, natural daughter to king *Henry* the second, negotiated the reconciliation between them, which was perfected in an interview towards the end of *April*. Some had suggested to the king of *Navarre*, that he might meet the same fate with the duke of *Guise*: to satisfy them, he took some precautions at the first meeting, but went the next

^m P. MATTH. ⁿ MAIMBOURG Hist. de la Ligue, p. 297, 298, ad ann. 1589. Memoires de la Ligue, tom. iii. ^o Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III. p. 123, 124. ^p DUPLEIX, MEZERAY. ^q JACOB THUAN. ^r P. MATTH. SERRES. ^s JACOB. THUAN. ^t CAYET Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. i. p. 248, 249. MAIMBOURG.

- a morning to confer with the king, attended only by a page, which produced a thorough reconciliation^u. While the king of *Navarre* was assembling his troops, the duke of *Mayenne* was very near seizing the king. A detachment of horse was within a hundred yards of him: a miller gave him notice of his danger; it was with difficulty he recovered the suburbs of *Tours*, which were gallantly defended by *Crillon*, with part of the regiment of guards; but both the place and his person had been taken, if the troops of the king of *Navarre* had not relieved it on the seventh of *May*^w. The Pope, by his bull, excommunicated the king, for the death of the cardinal *de Guise*, the imprisonment of the cardinal *de Bourbon*, and his reconciliation with the king of *Navarre*. This prince, seeing the king extremely affected with the thunder of the *Vatican*, said, “Sire, let us march with our forces to *Paris*; if we are
b “victorious, we shall be easily absolved^x.” The duke of *Aumale*, with the militia of that capital, besieged *Senlis*, which had been surprised by the king. *La Noue* and the duke of *Longueville*, with a handful of men, beat *Aumale*, and relieved it, which encouraged the two kings to prosecute their enterprize. In their march they recovered several places, some of which surrendered, and some were taken by storm; amongst the latter was *Estampes*, for defending of which the baron *de St. Germain* lost his head^y. *Nicholas de Harlay*, Seigneur *de Sancy*, whom the king had sent to raise troops in *Switzerland* without money, by the sale of his own jewels and lands, accomplished his commission, and brought ten thousand *Swiss* foot, two thousand *Lansquenets*, and fifteen hundred *Reitres*, to *Conflans*, where they joined the army of the two kings. The compliment *Henry* made to this gentleman was very remarkable; after embracing him he said, “In recompensing this service, I shall never be able to
c “reach your deserts; but I will endeavour to exceed your expectations^z.” Their forces were now between thirty and forty thousand men, with whom, on the last of *July*, they invested *Paris*, the king fixing his quarters at *St. Cloud*, and the king of *Navarre* at *Meudon*^a.

- On the approach of the royal army to *Paris*, the council of union had recalled the duke of *Mayenne* from *Alençon*, which he had reduced to defend them. He made the best disposition for this purpose that was possible, and took post himself, with four thousand men, in the suburb of *St. Honore*, fully resolved, in case things came to extremity, to open himself a passage, or perish in the attempt. It is generally believed that this capital could not have
d held out long. The king would very soon have prevented any kind of supplies from entering the place; and when once the inhabitants were distressed, as there were numbers of royalists in the place, the duke of *Mayenne* and the inveterate leaguers would have found themselves in a manner between two fires. But their danger and their deliverance came together. A *Jacobin* friar, whose name was *James Clement*, a native of the village of *Sorbonne*, near *Sens*, an ignorant half-witted creature, about twenty-five years of age, distracted with the enthusiastic sermons that were every day thundered from the pulpits, and prompted by better heads, and perhaps wicked hearts, than his own, was fixed upon as a proper instrument for dissipating the royal army by dispatching the king. To facilitate this enterprize, a passport was procured, under false pretences, from the count *de Brienne*, one of the king's generals, then a
e prisoner, and a letter forged from president *Harlay*, who was in the *Bastille*. With these implements he set out from *Paris* the very day the king came to *St. Cloud*, and falling in upon the road with the attorney general, Mr. *La Guesle*, and his brother, who were going to the king's quarters, and telling them that he was going with very important intelligence, one of the gentlemen took him up behind him, and carried him to *St. Cloud*^b. As it was too late for him that night to see the king, he supped with the attorney general's servants, with whom he was remarkably lively and merry, and slept so soundly, that they were forced to awake him in the morning^c. When he was introduced to the king by *La Guesle*, he spoke to him with great readiness, presented his letters, and, while he was reading them, drew a knife he had concealed in his sleeve, and thrust it into his belly^d. The king drew it out himself, and gave
f him one, or, as some say, two wounds in the face, on which *La Guesle* struck him on the stomach with the pomel of his sword, which stunned him; and two of the king's guards dispatched him as he lay on the floor, very imprudently^e (G). At first the king's wound was not

Henry III.
murdered by
James Clement, a Jacobin monk, in his head quarters at St. Cloud.

^u Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, tom. i. liv. iii. P. MATTH.

de France, tom. iv. p. 195.

^z JACOB. THUAN. GUICH.

moires du Duc d'Angoulême.

^x Journal du Règne du Roy Henry III. P. DAN.

^a SERRES, MEZ.

^c MEZERAY.

^w CAYET, DUPLEIX, Histoire

^y D'AUBIGNY.

^e P. DAN.

^d Mc-

(G) We have given in the text as clear and as distinct an account of this barbarous assassination, as we could collect from the best historians. The attorney general, *La Guesle*, gave himself a full and circumstantial narrative of this melancholy affair, from the time of his meeting with *James Clement*, to that of his death.

Some have asserted that *La Guesle* run him through the body; but he positively asserts the contrary; and that, the assassin remaining upon his knees, after the king had wounded him in the face, himself, through fear of his having other weapons, struck him with the hilt of his sword in the stomach, and, when he fell, threw

not thought mortal, at least so it was given out; but his swooning frequently quickly discovered his danger. The king of *Navarre* repaired immediately to the king's quarters as soon as he was informed of what had happened. There are different accounts of their conversation, and perhaps equally ill-founded; but it is generally agreed, that the king embraced him tenderly, called him his dear brother, declared him his successor, and exhorted the nobility who were present to acknowledge and support him. The king died the next morning, which was the second of *August*, about four o'clock, in the 39th year of his age, and in the 16th of his reign^f (H).

S E C T.

^f JACOB. THUAN. P. MATTH. CAVET, DUPLEIX, tom. iv. DAVILA, liv. xi.

him at a distance from the king (1). At that time there was not the least doubt that *James Clement* was the assassin. There was a pompous account of his martyrdom published at *Paris*, and his order were so far from being ashamed either of the action or of him who did it, that one of his brethren published another account, in which his attempting it was ascribed to a revelation from heaven (2), which was fatal to the prior of his order, who being taken about six months after, suffered death, as an accomplice or encourager of the fact. He denied it, however, when tortured; and, at his death, declaring himself perfectly innocent, and professing that he detested the action. Nay, in the letter of *La Guesle* before-mentioned, it is said, that *Clement* was told at his supper, the night before, that six of his order had made a vow to kill the king, to which he answered modestly and mildly, that there were good and bad of all sorts, monks as well as others. His knife was also remarked, being new, having a long blade, and a black handle; and somebody said to him, observing that he used it very briskly at supper, you would have sooner forgot your breviary than your knife; to which he answered frankly, there is my knife, and here is my breviary (3). But, notwithstanding all this, some doubts have been raised whether *James Clement* killed the king or not. It is suggested, that, while the king was intent on reading the letter he presented him, some person near him stabbed him in the belly, and that the monk was first stunned, and then dispatched, to prevent a discovery of the truth. Others insinuate that the monk was sent out of the world before the king; and that another person dressed in his cloaths committed this bloody fact. But there are no proofs of this; only it is affirmed, that a footman of the count de *Auvergne* affirmed, upon his death-bed, that it was not a *Jacobin* who killed the king; and that madam d'*Entragues*, the daughter of the count, frequently asserted the same thing (4). It seems, indeed, tolerably proved, that this *James Clement* had formerly professed himself loyal, and had been employed by the king's party to carry letters from *Blois*, and from *Tours* to *Paris*, which accounts for his being trusted upon this occasion, but does not at all acquit him of the murder. On the contrary, it appears clearly, that the leaguers were fully persuaded that it was done by his hand, since they ordered their creatures to celebrate him as a martyr, exhibited his picture, with a glory round his head as a saint, and rewarded his mother and some of his relations (5). There is also a trifling circumstance that seems to put it out of dispute. He was seen a little before his departure mending his shoes with packthread; and, as he was looked upon to be a kind of a half-witted fellow, those who saw him thus employed jested with him, and told him his work would not last long; to which he answered, that it would last as long as he had occasion for it; from which it is evident that he expected to perish in this undertaking (6). The source

of these different reports was the imprudence of killing him upon the spot, which, however, *La Guesle* says, he endeavoured all he could to prevent, and the flinging his body out of the window without examining it; upon which the provost *Richlieu*, by order of *Henry* the fourth, caused it to be torn by four horses, and then burnt (7). But the great obscurity lies with respect to the contrivers of this fact, of whom the best authors speak very cautiously and darkly, and even those, who in other things seem to have been best informed, acknowledge, that with respect to this, they could say nothing with certainty; that it was hid under impenetrable clouds, and must be referred to divine justice. It is, however, allowed, that common fame threw it upon the duke of *Mayenne*, and the duchess of *Montpensier* his sister. The former disclaimed it in the strongest manner, but the duchess avowed it; and there want not some who assert that she bribed that profligate monk to commit that detestable action, by granting him the greatest favour in her power; and, besides other provocations, it is reported that being disappointed in a love intrigue with the king was one of the principal causes of her rage and resentment. It is certain that she and her mother drove about the streets in the most indecent manner, publishing the news to the populace, and then went to the church of the *Cordeliers*, where the duchess of *Ne-mours*, mounted on the steps of the altar, for a long time reviled the deceased king in the most abusive manner (8). They likewise distributed green scarfs to their friends, instead of the black ones which they had worn from the time of the death of the duke of *Guise*. But if this behaviour was inexcusable, even in women, much more so was that of the Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, who, in a full consistory, was not ashamed to magnify the holy zeal of this bloody villain, and to extol his courage and piety beyond those of *Eleazar* (9) and *Judith*. An action in itself abominable, and fraught with superstition and ignorance.

(H) This unfortunate prince, *Henry* the third, was born on *Saturday*, *September* the 20th, 1551, and consequently not upon *Whitsunday*, as is commonly reported (10). At his baptism he received the name of *Alexander Edward*; his sponsors were *Edward* the sixth, king of *England*, *Anthony du Bourbon*, duke of *Vendosme*, and the princess of *Navarre*, the duke's consort. His name was changed to *Henry* at his confirmation. While duke of *Anjou*, he was active, ambitious, and full of generous ardour; but afterwards his nature was quite changed, some say, after the short stay he made at *Venice*; but, in reality, this change happened after the massacre at *St. Bartholomew* (11). He had naturally a compassionate temper, and sincerely believed the principles of the Christian religion; so that from this time his mind became disordered, insomuch that he studied sometimes to forget his apprehensions in debauches, and at others to appease his conscience by acts of superstitious devotion (12). The only excuse

(1) *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 294.

subite mort de *Henry de Valois* advenue par permission divine, luy estant à *St. Cloud*, ayant assiegé la ville de *Paris*, le *Mardy* premier jour d'*Aoust* 1589.

(3) *P. Matthieu*.

(4) *La Fatalité de St. Cloud*, Article xxiii.

(5) *Memoires de la Ligue*.

(6) *La Fatalité de St. Cloud*.

(7) *Journal du Regne du Roy Henry III.*

(8) *Memoires de Brantome*, *Jacob. Thuan. Memoires de la Ligue*.

(9) *La Fatalité de St. Cloud*, Article xviii.

(10) *Farin Theatre de Honneur*, liv. iii.

(11) *Jacob. Thuan. Hist. Dupleix*.

(12) *Journal*

that

S E C T. X.

The Reign of Henry IV. surnamed the Great, king of France and Navarre, founder of the branch of Bourbon, at present in possession of the throne.

^a **H**ENRY, king of *Navarre*, was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, when, by the death of his predecessor, he was called to the throne, in right of his descent^a (A). He saw, however, very few, except the Hugonots, who shewed any great zeal for his service, and resolved, therefore, to make use of those few as soon, and to as much purpose as he could. Amongst

^a P. MATTH. DUPLEIX.

that can be made for him is his youth, to which, perhaps, we may add, his being under the influence of his mother. After his return from *Poland*, he became indolent and capricious; but, with these new faults, he retained one old one, his obstinacy; for though he frequently changed his opinions, it proceeded not from compliance, but mutability. It may be, that the Catholic and the Hugonot writers have exaggerated his debauches; for he was equally hated by both. But, beyond all doubt, after the accident he met with at *Venice*, and the death of the princess of *Condé*, his vices took an unnatural turn, of which this is the clearest proof. The great historian, monsieur *D'Aubigne*, being taken prisoner by monsieur *de St. Luc*, who had been one of the king's minions, he told him frankly, that, not being able to endure the sight of those excesses into which the king sometimes fell, he concerted with the marshal *de Rhetz* and the duke *de Joyeuse*, men, though not of the most scrupulous consciences, yet sufficiently disgusted, as well as himself, the means of frightening the king from them. With this view, by the help of an iron pipe conveyed through a hole into the king's chamber, *St. Luc* spoke as if he had been an angel sent to admonish him, at which this poor prince was so terrified, that he was very near losing his senses; upon which the duke of *Joyeuse* told him the truth; and this incensed him so violently against *St. Luc*, that he was constrained to abandon the court, and to retire into his government, where he afterwards declared for the league (13). The king waked sometimes in such terrors, that he rose and hid himself under his bed; and, whenever it thundered, he took shelter in the vaults under the *Louvre*. There might be something constitutional in this, for it was observed, that in extreme cold weather the king had fits of another kind, during which it was highly dangerous to provoke him. Some say the duke of *Guise* was apprized of this, and lost his life for not paying a sufficient attention to this caution. However that may be, the king had but one relapse before his death, which discovered itself in his negotiation with the duke of *Mayenne*; for after that he resumed his martial spirit, and became what he was when duke of *Anjou* (14). In the defence of *Tours*, monsieur *de Thou* assures us, that he gave his orders like a great captain, and shewed all the intrepidity in danger, of the most gallant soldier (15). He was a kind husband to *Louisa* of *Lorraine*, who, after his decease, retired from *Moulins*, and spent the remainder of her days in acts of piety, dying about twelve years after the king. His behaviour, after he received the wound of which he died, was equally pious and brave, according to the certificate of the princes, great lords, and others, who were about him, and who met to draw up and sign that paper the very next day (16). The malice borne to this prince is almost beyond example; for after his body was embalmed, his entrails being put up in a coffer, while the great lords of the army were assembled in

council, this coffer was pierced in several places with daggers, so that the grease ran through (17). It is from hence argued, that there were some about him very capable of doing what is ascribed to the monk. His intestines were after this privately interred near the altar, in the church of *St. Cloud*, where an inscription has been since put up by one of his faithful servants, and his body deposited at *St. Cornille* in *Compeigne*, whither it was attended by the duke of *Espernon*, and remained there till the year 1610, when it was removed to *St. Denis* (18).

(A) In this note we propose to shew, as succinctly as possible, the descent of *Henry* the fourth, and consequently his title to the crown of *France* (1). *Robert* the sixth, son of *St. Lewis*, was born A. D. 1256, and had the county of *Clermont* by his father's gift. He received the honour of knighthood at *Paris*, in 1279, at a tournament, where he received so many blows on the head as disturbed his senses ever after. He espoused, notwithstanding, *Beatrix*, the only daughter of *John* of *Burgundy*, and *Agnes*, heiress of *Bourbon*, by whom he had many children. He deceased in 1318. His eldest son *Lewis* exchanged the county of *Clermont* with *Charles the Fair*, who, in 1327, erected the barony of *Bourbon* into a duchy and peerage in his favour. He espoused *Mary*, daughter to the count of *Hainault*, by whom he had a numerous progeny; amongst whom were *Peter*, who succeeded him, and *James*, from whom descended the count *de la Marche*. He deceased in 1342. *Peter*, the first duke of *Bourbon*, had the charge of grand-chamberlain conferred upon him by *Philip de Valois*. He married *Isabella*, daughter to *Charles* of *France*, count of *Valois*, and had by her one son and seven daughters. He was slain fighting valiantly by the side of king *John* in the battle of *Poitiers*, 1356. *Lewis* the second was one of the richest princes of his time. He was in his youth one of the hostages for king *John* in *England*, paid a ransom of one hundred thousand franks, and spent forty thousand more during his residence at *London*. He had some share in the government in the reign of *Charles* the sixth, and was esteemed the worthiest man of his time. He married *Anne*, the daughter of the count of *Clermont*, in *Auvergne*, and died in 1410. His son *John* styled himself duke of *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, count *de Forez*, *Clermont*, and *Montpensier*, lord of *Beaujeu* and *Dombes*, peer and chamberlain of *France*. He commanded the van-guard at the battle of *Agincourt*, and was there made prisoner, and continued so nineteen years. From his younger son *Lewis* descended the counts of *Montpensier*. He died in 1434. *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*, who followed the fortunes of *Charles* the seventh, and who by *Agnes*, daughter of *John* duke of *Burgundy*, had six sons and five daughters. *John* the eldest succeeded his father; *Philip* died young; *Charles* became cardinal archbishop of *Lyons*; *Peter* had the lordship of *Beaujeu*; *Lewis* was bishop of *Liege*; and *James* knight of the

(13) *Hist. universelle*, tom. ii. liv. iv. c. v. (14) *Memoires d'Espernon*. (15) *De Thou*. (16) *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. 289. (17) *Pierre Matthieu*, tom. ii. liv. i. (18) *Mezeray*. (1) This genealogy of the house of *Bourbon* is carefully collected from the original historians, but to insert all the citations after the usual method, would take up more room than the whole note.

Henry IV.
proclaimed
king by the
army.

Amongst these, the marshal *de Biron* was one of the first; the king sent him to prevail upon the *Swiss* to take an oath of fidelity, and to remain in the army, believing, that if this precedent was set, it would be very quickly followed. His endeavours and his hopes were anticipated; their colonel, general *Sanci*, without so much as going to make his court to the king, had disposed the *Swiss* to do all that he desired, which was a thing of infinite consequence^b. There was, however, a great cabal amongst the Catholics, at the head of which were the Sieurs, *d'O*, *Manou*, *d'Entragues*, *Chateau*, *Vieux*, *Dampierre*, *Marechal de Camp*, who retired to consult with the duke of *Longueville*, being unwilling to acknowledge *Henry*, and yet more unwilling to join in the league. After much deliberation they came to the king in a body; and the Sieur *d'O* declared, in their names, that they did not pretend to question his title, but expected and desired that he should become a Catholic. *Henry* changed countenance several times while he was speaking, and seemed more embarrassed than at any time of his life. He told them he was amazed that any other thoughts should enter their minds, than revenging the death of their slaughtered sovereign, which intirely took up his. He told them, that to follow their advice was the worst step he could take; that the change of religion to a man who had any was not the work of an instant; and that he was determined to consider this point with the attention it deserved^c. At this instant *Givry* entered, and, by a brisk unpremeditated speech, did more than all the argument and eloquence in the world could have done: "Sire, said he, the flower of your brave nobility have resolved to put off their mourning for the late king till they have revenged him, in order to which they only wait your commands; you are the king of all the brave men in the army, and none think of abandoning you but the poltroons." Marshal *Biron Sanci*, a crowd of young nobility, all the colonels of the *Swiss*, came immediately and took the oath of fidelity^d. This had a great effect upon the Catholic lords, who retired, drew up some propositions, mild in their nature, and modestly expressed, which the king signed on the fourth of *August*, and then they likewise took the oath^e. The duke of *Espernon*, under pretence that the marshal *Biron* and *d'Aumont* had signed before him, refused to concur, and marched off with his troops, which had a very bad effect^f. In the mean time the leaguers gave incredible testimonies of joy for the death of the late king; but the duke of *Mayenne* acted with great dignity and discretion. He rejected the proposal of those who were for proclaiming himself king, as he likewise did a motion that was made to offer the crown to *Philip* the second; he contented himself with publishing a manifesto in his own name, and that of the council of the union, exhorting the inhabitants of the cities and towns to renew the oath they had taken to live and die in the

^b JACOB. THUAN. liv. 95.

^c D'AUBIGNY, tom. iii. liv. ii. c. 24.

^d JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.

^e DUPLEIX.

^f Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. i. liv. iii. p. 274.

golden fleece. Of the daughters, *Mary* married *John* duke of *Calabria*; *Isabella*, who became the wife to *Charles*, the last duke of *Burgundy*, and was by him the mother of *Mary*, who conveyed that rich inheritance to the house of *Austria*; *Katherine* became the consort of *Adolph* of *Flanders*, duke of *Guelders*; *Joan* married the son of the prince of *Orange*, and *Margaret* espoused *Philip* count of *Bresse*, afterwards duke of *Savoy*, by whom she had the princess *Louisa*, the mother of *Francis* the first. Duke *Charles* died in 1456. *John*, the second, surnamed *the Good*, to his other titles added that of constable of *France*. He had three wives, but left no children by any of them; he died in 1488. His brother *Peter*, lord of *Beaujeu*, succeeded him. He married *Anne* of *France*, eldest daughter to *Lewis* the eleventh, and was twice regent of the kingdom; he died in 1503, leaving an only daughter, *Susannah*, duchess of *Bourbon*, who espoused *Charles de Montpensier*, constable of *France*, and, in her right, duke of *Bourbon*. He was killed before *Rome* in 1527, and in him extinguished the house of *Montpensier*. That of *la Marche* being likewise extinct, the vast estates of this family descended to *Charles de Bourbon*, count of *Vendosme*, who married *Frances*, daughter to *Rene* duke of *Alençon*, and the widow of the duke of *Longueville*, by whom he had *Anthony*; *Francis*, count of *Enguien*, killed by a trunk that was thrown upon his head; *Charles*, cardinal of *Bourbon*, flattered by the leaguers with the title of *Charles* the tenth; *John* duke of *Enguien*, killed in the battle of *St. Quintin*; and *Lewis*, from whom are descended the princes of *Condé* and *Conti*. He had also six daughters, of whom *Margaret* became the wife of *Francis* of *Cleves*, duke of *Nevers*, and the rest either died young, or became nuns: he died in 1538. *Anthony de Bourbon*, duke of *Vendosme*, espoused *Joan* of *Albret*, sole daughter and heiress of *Henry* the first, king of *Navarre*, by whom he had *Henry* king of *France* and *Navarre*, and *Katherine* who espoused *Henry* of *Lorraine*, duke of *Bar*, when she was near forty years of age (2). As we have given the history of this prince amongst the kings of *Navarre*, and have also spoken largely of him in the last section, it is not necessary that we should say any thing further of him here. But, however, to render this point yet more clear, it may not be amiss to set this monarch's descent in another point of view, by tracing him in a direct line from *St. Louis* (3). *Robert*, count of *Clermont*, son to that monarch, was the father of *Lewis* the first, duke of *Bourbon*; *Lewis* was the father of *James*, count of *la Marche*, who was the father of *John*, also count of *la Marche*; *John* was the father of *Lewis*, count of *Vendosme*; *Lewis* was the father of *John*, who was also count of *Vendosme*; *John* was the father of *Francis*, who bore the same title; and *Francis* the father of *Charles*, duke of *Vendosme*, who was the father of *Anthony* king of *Navarre*, who was the father of *Henry* the fourth; he stood therefore in the tenth descent from *St. Louis*; so that the great historian had reason to say (4), that if religion had not stood in the way, there could have been very little doubt made of the right of the king of *Navarre*; and yet he stood related but in the twenty-second degree to his predecessor (5), otherwise than by marriage.

(2) Dupleix Histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 3.
cob. Thuan.

(3) Le Gendre Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 3.

(4) Ja-

- a Catholic religion, and to acknowledge for their king the cardinal of *Bourbon*^e, the king of *Navarre* being a heretic. He preserved by this step the protection of *Spain* and *Savoy* and secured the sovereign power in his own hands, on behalf of a captive prince; and at the same time left a door open, through which he might with decency retire, when either compelled by necessity, or invited by a favourable opportunity.

As his army began sensibly to diminish, the king found it necessary to raise the siege of *Paris*, and to march with the forces he had left into *Normandy*. He took several small places by the way; but, in all probability, would have found it difficult to have reduced either *Dieppe* or *Eu*. The former of these was of infinite consequence to him, as it opened a communication with *England*, the only power in *Europe* from which he could hope assistance. *He raises the siege of Paris, and secures Dieppe and Caen in Normandy.*

- b The commander *de Chattes* had a good garrison in it, with which he marched out, and met the king: "Sire, said he, there is not a soldier in the town, you may send what governor and what garrison into it you please; as to myself and my troops, we pretend to no other title than being your majesty's faithful subjects^b." This was of great consequence; and a relation of the commander's secured in like manner the town and citadel of *Caen*. In the mean time the zealous *Parisians*, upon the duke of *Mayenne*'s suggestion, that the king's forces were dwindled to nothing in *Normandy*, and that, if followed thither by a good army, he must be presently undone, furnished that prince with men and money in abundance, and, having drawn great succours from *Lorraine*, marched directly into *Normandy*, with near thirty thousand men. As the king's forces were not quite seven thousand, the duke proposed

- c either to retake *Dieppe*, or to besiege the king in it; and he might have done which he pleased, if he had acted vigorously¹. His caution gave the king time to intrench behind the river, and under the cannon of the castle of *Arques*, where the duke attacked him on the 21st of *September*. The leaguers had the advantage at the beginning by an action of the greatest treachery; their *Lansquenets*, perceiving that their countrymen defended the king's intrenchments, pretended to desert; but, as soon as they were helped over, attacked the king's troops, and one of their officers made a bold attempt upon his person. At length, however, the duke of *Mayenne* was beaten, with the loss of six hundred men^k. The principal causes of his misfortune were the rawness of his troops, and the presence of the marquis *du Pont*, eldest son of the duke of *Lorraine*, for whom the queen-mother had such kind intentions, and who, if he had obtained it, would have declared himself king^l. *Is attacked by the duke of Mayenne, who is repulsed.*

- d If he had obtained it, would have declared himself king^l. Soon after this victory, *Henry* had the acceptable news that the *Swiss* cantons and the republic of *Venice* had acknowledged him for king of *France*; he received likewise four thousand foot from *England*^m. About the middle of *October* he made a quick march to *Paris*, and quartered his troops in sight of it on the last of that month. This strangely alarmed the inhabitants, who had let their windows that looked on the street of *St. Anthony*, to those who promised themselves the pleasure of seeing the *Bearnois* led in triumph, and had just received an authentic account of his being totally defeated at *Arques*, with twenty of the royal standards supposed to be taken, but really made for that purposeⁿ. On the first of *November* the king insulted three of the suburbs, in which the leaguers lost thirteen hundred men, fourteen ensigns, and thirty pieces of cannon. *He marches immediately to Paris.*

- e If the king's artillery could have been brought up in time, or if the duke of *Mayenne* had not entered with his army, the place had been carried by storm. The people hanged two or three of their own townsmen who were royalists, and the king, in return, hanged up one of the sixteen, who was prisoner of war^o. On the 21st of *November* the king made his public entry into *Tours*, and the same day the duke of *Mayenne* proclaimed *Charles* the tenth with great solemnity^p. The sixteen, and most of the furious clergy, were for declaring the king of *Spain*, notwithstanding, protector of the league; the duke engaged them to defer it to the arrival of the Pope's legate; and, upon finding him in the *Spanish* interest, he proposed declaring the Pope their protector, with which the clergy joined; the legate was forced to approve, and the sixteen to submit. He then declared, that as he governed by the royal authority (though the king was close prisoner in *Fontenai-le-Comte* in *Poitou*), he would appoint a privy council, and dissolve that of the union, which had the air of a republic. This was a great blow to the sixteen; and, to strengthen himself still farther, he took the seals from *Montbazon*, who, since the late king's death, had refused to act, and gave them to the archbishop of *Lyons*^q. Some of the great cities, and some of the parliaments, declared for the king, some for the league, some affected to remain neuter. Under this pretence marshal *Matignon* held *Bordeaux*, by which he did the king more service than if he had declared for him^r. The duke of *Espenon*, though he affected a kind of independence, and had a better army than the king's, acted with spirit and success against the league, though he made no steps to be reconciled to the king, for fear he should borrow his money^s. The duke of *Savoy* *Different towns declare for the king and the cardinal de Bourbon.*

^e Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i.

^b P. DAN.

¹ Memoires de la Ligue.

^k JACOB. THUAN.

P. MATTH.

^l Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 437.

^m DUPL. tom. v.

ⁿ P. DAN. tom. ix.

p. 438.

^o JACOB. THUAN. P. MATTH.

^p DAVILA, liv. ix.

^q Histoire de la Ligue.

^r MEZ.

^s DUPLIX, tom. v.

demanded from the parliament of *Grenoble* the title of king of *France*, and being denied that, ^a would have accepted the kingdom of *Arles*; but *La Valette*, *Espernon's* elder brother, prevented his getting either the title or the dominions, sacrificing his troops, his money, and at length his life, in the king's service ¹.

The king de-
feats the Duc
de Mayenne
at Yvry.

THE duke of *Mayenne* made himself master of *Pontoise*, and afterwards besieged *Meulan*, to the relief of which the king marched in person with a small force. The duke retired; but, as soon as the king was gone, he besieged the place a second time, though without effect. The king relieved it a second time, and the duke, to avoid a battle, retired ². The king, who had now a superiority, besieged *Dreux*; but the prince of *Parma* having sent count *Egmont* with a potent succour of the best troops in his army, the duke of *Mayenne* marched with upwards of sixteen thousand men to relieve the place. In his passage the king met him ^b at *Yvry* with his forces, which were not above twelve thousand men; the duke had no intention to engage, but he could not avoid it. The battle was fought on the 14th of *March*: the king's speech is worth inserting: "Children," said he to his soldiers, "if you should at any time lose sight of your colours, look about for this," pointing to the white feather in his hat, "you'll find it in the way to victory and honour. God is with us ³." He exposed himself extremely, was present when the count of *Egmont* was killed, and his *Walloon* horse broke; the duke of *Mayenne* was intirely routed, lost his baggage, his artillery (they were but four pieces), and, indeed, every thing he had to lose ⁴. At the close of the engagement there was a great square column of *Swiss* troops, to whom some *French* infantry joined themselves, and, though surrounded by the king's troops, remained firm. *Henry* sent them a kind mes- ^c sage, that he should be sorry to put so many brave men to the sword, and that their safety depended upon themselves; upon which they threw down their arms, and entered into his service ⁵. There was about two thousand five hundred killed; but the loss of the leaguers, one way or other, was equal to that of the king's whole army. Marshal *Biron*, who commanded the reserve, never fought at all, and yet he was the great author of the victory; for he presented his troops so opportunely wherever the enemy began to press, that he obliged them to retire in confusion. After the victory he made the king a compliment, that shewed he was as great a courtier as a captain: "Sire, said he, you acted the part of marshal *Biron* to day, and acted it well; while I, for my part, performed that of the king ⁶." The duke of *Mayenne*, who had ben totally lost if he had not persuaded the people of *Mante* that the king ^d was killed, and thereby obtained a passage over the *Seine*, endeavoured to retard the motion of the victorious army by a negociation; and the king was content to be amused, because he could not move for want of money; however, by the eighth of *May*, he completely blocked up *Paris* ⁷.

Death of the
cardinal de
Bourbon.

ON the same day, or, as some say, the next, died the cardinal *de Bourbon*, in his prison, of a retention of urine, at the age of sixty-seven ⁸. He was very sensible that his royalty was a farce; and, after the death of *Henry* the third, made use of the phrase, *the king my nephew*, indefinitely, but would never call him king of *Navarre*. The leaguers continued to coin their money with his effigies for five years after, and procured a decree of the *Sorbonne*, fortified by an arret of their parliament, against the title of *Henry de Bourbon* ^e. The duke of *Nemours* was governor of *Paris*, and discharged that office with great capacity. The legate formed a regiment of ecclesiastics, consisting of thirteen hundred men, and had his secretary killed by his side at his first review. The inhabitants suffered prodigiously by famine; and, notwithstanding their solemn oaths to the contrary, were at last forced to treat ⁹. The king might certainly have been master of his capital, if he had refused a passage to the old men, women, and children, whom the duke of *Nemours* turned out. He was reproached for his ill-timed tenderness by some of his officers, and by his only ally ¹⁰; but the king was one of those princes who had rather bear all the reproaches in the world than those of his own heart.

The king is ob-
liged to raise
the blockade of
Paris.

At last the prince of *Parma*, in obedience to his Catholic majesty's orders, and contrary to his own sense of things, marched to the relief of *Paris*, and conducted his design so well (as he ^f was, without doubt, one of the greatest officers of that age), that, at the close of the month of *August*, the king was constrained to raise his blockade, when the place was on the very point of falling into his hands ¹¹. He met, besides this, with several other mortifications; the duke of *Savoy* took *Frejus* and *Antibes*, and was received in triumph at *Aix*, under the title of protector of *Provence* ¹². This turn of fortune induced some to quit the king's party, and go over to the league, while others pretended discontent on the score of religion; but the worst of all was the want of money, sometimes to such a degree, that the king was forced to go, under colour of a visit, to other people's quarters, for want of a dinner at his own ¹³.

¹ CAYET, tom. i.

² Memoires de la Ligue.

³ JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 467.

⁴ DUPL. tom. v.

⁵ P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 470.

⁶ P. MATTH. P. DANIEL, tom. ix. p. 473.

⁷ Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i.

⁸ CAYET, tom. i.

⁹ P. DAN.

¹⁰ DAVILA, liv. xi.

¹¹ Histoire de France, tom. ix.

¹² J. THUAN.

¹³ BOUCHE Histoire de Provence, tom. iii. liv. x.

¹⁴ P. MATTH.

^a Another misfortune was, the death of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, at a time when he was on the point of breaking with the *Spaniards*, and making an attempt on the kingdom of *Naples*. He was succeeded by *Urban* the seventh, who sat but a little time, and then made room for *Gregory* the fourteenth, a subject of the king of *Spain*, and the most determined enemy the king ever had. Before the close of the year, the king made an attempt, by surprize, on *Paris*, and had succeeded, but that a *Jesuit*, a lawyer, and a bookfeller, being upon duty, over-heard the troops that were about to scale the wall, shot the first person who entered, after he had mounted the ladder, and, by giving the alarm, obliged the king's forces to desist ¹.

As the taking of *Paris* was his great view, the king was not to be discouraged. On the 20th of *January* he sent several waggons laden with corn, attended by sixty determined officers, ^b in the disguise of peasants, to seize the gate of *St. Honore*, not knowing that the leaguers had caused it to be walled up; so that, though admirably conducted, this design, stiled in *French* *journée des farines*, also miscarried ^k. The Pope, being intirely in the hands of the *Spanish*. *The pope declares him a heretic relapsed.* faction, declared *Henry* a heretic relapsed, a persecutor of the church, and as such excommunicated, fallen from his dignities, and even from his patrimonial estates, requiring all ecclesiastics to quit his party, on pain of losing their dignities and benefices, and laics also, under the highest penalties; which produced a great deal of confusion ^l. However, the king, having received a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of ammunition from the queen of *England* ^m, recovered several places in *Normandy*. By the advice of the chancellor *Chiverny*, to whom he had restored the seals, he besieged *Chartres*, and took it with great ^c difficulty. Not long after, a place of consequence being surprized in *Normandy*, the bishop of *Eureux*, a violent leaguer, was taken prisoner. There was found upon him a treatise he had written to justify the murder of *Henry* the third, and to prove the lawfulness of treating his successor in the same way. Upon his refusing to retract these treasonable and atheistical opinions, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment ⁿ. The parliament of *Chalons* declared all the Pope's bulls and rescripts against both kings null, abusive, and seditious, ordered them to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, and offered a reward for apprehending the Pope's nuncio ^o. On the 4th of *July*, the king published an edict at *Mante*, by which he revoked those extorted from his predecessor by the leaguers, and established liberty of conscience throughout his dominions ^p. In the month of *August* he took *Nojon* in the sight of the ^d duke of *Mayenne*, and received the acceptable news that the viscount *de Turenne* had procured a levy of sixteen thousand men for his service in *Germany*. *He publishes an edict at Mante, establishing liberty of conscience throughout his dominions.*

WHILE he was employed in recruiting and augmenting his army, he was informed of the escape of the young duke of *Guise* from the castle of *Tours*; on which all he said was, "The more enemies we have, the more pains we must take, and the more honour it will be to beat them ^q." It was not long before he heard of another competitor, never thought of by himself or any body else, which was *Charles* cardinal of *Bourbon*, son to *Lewis* prince of *Condé*, who pretended that he was the nearest Catholic of the house of *Bourbon*. As for the sixteen, who had now recovered their power in *Paris*, they were for the duke of *Guise*, under the protection of the crown of *Spain*. The king was quickly apprized of this; and ^e being so fortunate as to seize their agent with their instructions, he sent them to the duke of *Mayenne*, that he might see to what sort of people he was become the tool ^r. He likewise consented that the duke should send the president *Jeanin* into *Spain*, to discover the true sentiments of *Philip* the second. He knew the president to be a very honest man, and he made no doubt of his being disgusted at the *Spanish* court. He was not mistaken; for the president found *Philip* the second so secure of being master of *France*, that, in speaking to him, he always said, *my town of Paris, Orleans, Rouen, &c.* ^s. He likewise heard of a queen of *France*, and a new king too, in her right. This was the Infanta, to whom, in the opinion of her father, the crown belonged, as the nearest relation of the late king, and he was content to give both her and it to the archduke *Ernest*. The king, having assembled an army of thirty-five ^f thousand men, formed the siege of *Rouen*. While he was thus employed, the sixteen caused a citizen of *Paris* to be proceeded against before their parliament, for writing a letter to a ^t *fe- Outrages committed by the council of sixteen at Paris.* lation of his in the king's service; but as there was nothing in it regarding public affairs, he was acquitted. Upon this *Bussi, Louchart, le Normand, and Anroux*, four of the most furious of the sixteen, seized the first president *Brissson*, and the counsellors *Archer* and *Tardif*, condemned and hanged them in prison ^u, on the 15th of *November*. The duke of *Mayenne*, being informed of this, returned out of *Picardy* with a small corps of horse, held an assembly in the town-house, where he reprimanded those who had been most busy in the affair, and, by way of adjusting matters, invited the sixteen to supper, where, while they were very merry, he posted guards in proper places, and, after they were returned to their own houses, took

ⁱ Memoires de la Ligue
Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

^k DUPL. tom. v.
^l J. THUAN.

^m P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 522, 523.

ⁿ CAMDEN'S

DAN. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 539.

^o P. DAN.

^p P. MATTH.

^q P.

Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 52.

^r DAVILA, liv. xii. Memoires de la Ligue.

^s DUPL.

^t Memoires de la Ligue, JACOB. THUAN.

The king obliged to raise the siege of Rouen.

four of them out of their beds, and hanged them in his hall ^u. *Buffi le Clerc* saved his life by a delivering up the *Bastile*; but the soldiers plundered him of his wealth, and himself, retiring to *Brussels*, lived there for many years, in all the wretchedness of poverty and infamy ^w. *Henry*, who, with the assistance of a great body of *English* troops, under the command of the earl of *Essex* ^x, was on the very point of taking *Rouen*, found himself obliged to raise the siege, by the arrival of the prince of *Parma* with a *Spanish* army, who in this, as in the relief of *Paris*, performed what he came to do, and then marched back again to the *Low Countries*, without suffering *Henry* to force him to a battle ^y. This was one of the greatest disappointments the king ever met with. However, he was in some measure consoled by the death of Pope *Gregory* the fourteenth, who gave a monthly subsidy to the leaguers, and actually sent a body of troops to their assistance, though they proved of little service. His successor also, *Innocent* ^b the ninth, who trod in his steps, soon followed him into another world; and the duke of *Savoy* was soundly beaten by *la Valette*, notwithstanding he had added *Marseilles* to the places he had purloined from the crown of *France* ^z. The king had likewise the satisfaction of knowing that his own party in *Paris* was increasing every day, and was at least equal to the *Spanish* faction, and to that of the duke of *Mayenne*, who favoured them rather than the other.

He attacks the van of the army commanded by the duke of Parma, but without effect.

THE new republic of *Holland* sent, in the beginning of the year, a fleet of forty-five sail, with a succour of three thousand men on board, which was very acceptable to the king ^a, who began to be more and more perplexed with the siege of *Rouen*. He had before it a much better army than he had ever commanded, falling very little, if at all, short of forty thousand men; ^c but the place was very gallantly defended by *Andrew Brancas du Villars*, one of the bravest men, and by some esteemed the best officer, in the service of the league ^b. The army of the dukes, that is, of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, did not consist of above twenty-four thousand men, had a long march to make, and through a country that would have embarrassed any other commander than the duke of *Parma*. He marched continually in order of battle, his cavalry in the center, his infantry on the wings, with a thousand waggons in three lines on each flank, his artillery in the rear. Himself, in an open carriage, unarmed, and at his ease, as if it had been no more than a journey of pleasure, received intelligence, and gave his orders without emotion ^e. The king, not being able to credit the news he heard, and being desirous to see with his own eyes how these succours were conducted, advanced with a great corps of horse ^d towards the confederates, leaving marshal *Biron* to command the siege. At *Aumale* he fell in with their van-guard, attacked and defeated some of the advanced corps, but quickly found himself obliged to make as quick a retreat as possible. It is allowed that he shewed great vivacity in this attack, much intrepidity in the time of greatest danger, and great conduct in retiring, wounded as he was in the reins ^f. But it is said the prudence of the duke of *Nevers*, who foresaw his danger, and advanced with a good body of troops to favour his retreat, prevented his being killed or made prisoner. His address was commended by the duke of *Parma*; his whole conduct severely censured by marshal *Biron*, who asked him, when he intended to act like a king, instead of a captain of light-horse? The dukes took *Neufchatel*; and, during the king's absence, *Villars* made a sally, with so much spirit and success, that he scarce thought he stood in need of succours ^e. The duke of *Parma*, after having thrown relief into *Rouen*, in the beginning of *March*, separated his army, as if he had thought all over; but the king, having put his affairs in better order, pressed *Rouen* so warmly, that *Villars* sent to inform the dukes, that, unless he was effectually succoured, he would surrender in a week. The duke of *Parma* suddenly assembled his forces, and appeared before the king's quarters the 20th of *April*. *Henry*, apprehending that his whole army might be destroyed, in case he was attacked by the dukes and the garrison at the same time, raised the siege, after it had continued five months ^f. The duke of *Parma* would then have given battle; but the duke of *Mayenne*, who had been always beat, doubted of that measure, till it was too late. The confederates then besieged *Caudebec*, where the duke of *Parma* had his arm shattered ^g. In the end, however, the place was taken. By this time the king had received such reinforcements, that he began to press the dukes in his turn; and marshal *Biron* having carried one of their quarters, his son demanded six thousand horse and foot, affirming that, with so small a force, he would undertake to ruin their whole army; to which his father answered, "I believe you may; but then the war will be at an end, and we shall be sent to plant cabbage at *Biron* ^h." The king, notwithstanding, took such measures, that the duke of

^u P. DAN. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 547, 548.

^w DUPLEIX, tom. v.

^x Memoires de

Du PLESSIS MORNAY, tom. ii. Memoires de SULLI, tom. i. CAYET, tom. i. DAVILA, liv. xii.

^y JACOB.

THUAN. DUPL. tom. v.

^z Histoire de Lesdiguières, liv. v. c. 2. GUICHENON, BEUCHE Histoire de

Provence, tom. ii. liv. x.

^a JACOB. THUAN. DAVILA, liv. xii. P. DANIEL Histoire de France, tom. ix.

p. 578.

^b D'AUBIGNY, MEZERAY.

^c DAVILA, liv. xii. DUPLEIX, tom. v.

^d CAYET,

MEZERAY, P. DANIEL.

^e J. THUAN.

^f Memoires de la Ligue, DAVILA, liv. xii.

^g J.

THUAN. DAVILA, liv. xiii.

^h P. DANIEL Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 606.

- a *Parma* was intirely blocked up, having the king's army on every side, and the *Seine* a league broad at his back. In this situation the duke of *Parma*, in half a day, caused two forts to be erected on the opposite banks of the river; and, in a dark night, having assembled a great number of boats, which he covered in haste with planks and beams, he passed first his artillery, then his baggage and army, so that, by the time the king was well apprized of his scheme, the army was on the other side, and their retreat so well covered by the fort and redoubts, that the royal army were little more than spectators¹. The duke of *Parma* was so well pleased with this escape, that he is said to have sent a trumpet, to ask king *Henry* what he thought of that retreat? The king was so much out of humour, that he could not help saying, he had no skill in retreats; and that, in his opinion, the best retreat in the world was little better than a flight². The dukes continued their march with such expedition, that in four days they reached *Charenton*, above *Paris*, from whence the duke of *Parma* returned, at his leisure, to the *Low Countries*, and took *Espernai* in his passage³. In the mean time both parties negotiated in private, the king being desirous to conclude a treaty with the duke of *Mayenne*⁴, and the *Spaniards* not averse to sell a peace, upon high terms, to the king, to whom they offered to quit the party of the league, provided he would abandon to the crown of *Spain* the duchies of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*.
- THINGS went but indifferently for the king elsewhere; the princes of *Conti* and *Dombes* besieged *Craons*, on the frontiers of *Anjou*, to the relief of which the duke of *Mercoeur* marched with all his forces, and had the good fortune to defeat their army totally⁵. This revived the hopes of the league; upon which the king sent marshal *d'Aumont* to command in *Bretagne*, and the prince of *Dombes*, now become duke of *Montpensier*, by the death of his father, into *Normandy*, where the king, having retaken *Caudebec*, and fortified the village of *Quillebœuf*, which the duke of *Mayenne* besieged in vain, kept *Rouen* still blocked up⁶. The king resolved next to recover *Espernai*, which he compassed with little difficulty; but the old marshal *de Biron*, going to view the place, lost his head by a cannon-ball⁷. *Brantome* is displeased at his being stiled the greatest officer in *France*, because, in his opinion, he was the first officer in *Europe*. His master owed him certainly great obligations, and yet it is believed he was not much regretted; for, finding he was not to be governor of *Rouen*, he suffered the siege to miscarry, and had prevented his son from ruining the army of the duke of *Parma*.
- d He was a man of letters, very polite, and had a vast capacity; but he had two great defects, he loved wine, and he loved money. The leaguers commonly said that they could have him at any time, if they had money enough to make the purchase. After the taking of *Espernai*, the king dismissed the *German* troops, under the command of the prince of *Anhalt*, gave them all the money he was able, and strong assurances of having the rest of what was due to them; they were conducted back into their own country by the viscount *de Turenne*, now become duke of *Bouillon*, by the marriage of the heiress of the family of *la Marck*, which he owed to the king's favour, guided by his interest⁸. It was of great consequence to have the principalities of *Bouillon* and *Sedan* in the hands of a friend; the sons of the two dukes of *Lorraine* and *Nevers* had pretended to that princess; the former was the king's declared enemy, and his competitor, and he had not an intire confidence in the other. He was assiduous, therefore, to procure that heiress for the viscount *de Turenne*; and, soon after his marriage, he declared him marshal of *France*⁹. At his return from conducting the *German* troops, he paid the king for his bâton by relieving *Beaumont*, where he defeated the marshal of *Lorraine*, killed him, with seven hundred men, and took all his baggage and artillery; the king made him a present of the latter, reserving one piece only, to put him in mind of the service¹⁰. In *Languedoc* the duke *de Joyeuse*, who commanded for the league, was intirely defeated by *Themmes*, who killed two thousand men, took all the baggage and artillery, with twenty-two ensigns, and the duke himself was drowned in his flight¹¹. The duke of *Savoy* was beat by *Lefdiguieres*, who followed him over the mountains, and made excursions to the very gates of *Turin*¹². The duke of *Espernon*, become governor of *Provence* by the death of his brother *la Valette*, recovered *Antibes*, and the *Spaniards* were baffled in an enterprize of theirs upon *Bayonne*¹³.

WE are now arrived at that point of time when things came absolutely to a crisis, in respect as well to the league as the king. With regard to the latter, the Catholics of his party gave him clearly to understand, that, though hitherto they had shewn so much complaisance as to take in good part his apologies on the head of religion, it was absolutely necessary that he should now explain himself directly, which the king took in good part; and though he did

¹ DUPLEIX, tom. v. JACOB. THUAN. MEZERAY. liv. xiii.

² P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 593.

³ DAVILA,

⁴ Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i. Memoires de Du PLESSIS MORNAY, tom. ii.

⁵ CAYET.

⁶ CAYET, tom. ii. MEZERAY.

⁷ D'AUBIGNY, DAVILA, liv. xiii. JACOB. THUAN.

⁸ DU-

PLEIX, tom. v. P. DAN. Histoire de France, tom. ix. p. 551.

⁹ MEZ.

¹⁰ Memoires de la Ligue.

Histoire de la Maison d'Auvergne, par M. BALUZE, p. 793.

¹¹ DUPL. tom. v.

¹² Histoire de

Lefdiguieres, liv. iv. c. 6.

¹³ Histoire du Duc d'Espéron, tom. i. liv. iv.

A. D. 1592.

not immediately comply with their request, yet he gave them reason to be content, by a candid explanation of the motives which had induced him to act so indecisively, in a point of such importance. On the other hand, the duke of *Parma*, supporting the bigotted Catholics, had compelled the duke of *Mayenne* to come into a measure which hitherto he had assiduously avoided; and this was calling a general assembly of the states, in order to elect a king. The *Spaniards* were desirous that they should meet either at *Soissons* or at *Rheims*, because nearer to the frontiers of the *Low Countries*, and consequently more convenient for the duke of *Parma*, who, on the part of his master, was to assist at this assembly: but though the duke of *Mayenne*, who had hitherto resisted all attempts of this sort, found himself under the necessity of submitting, yet he remained firm as to the place, and would have it at *Paris*; for knowing well that, under colour of supporting the resolutions taken by the states, the duke was preparing to bring an army with him, he was very apprehensive of his seizing either of those places. He carried his point so far; but it is highly probable he would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to have preserved his influence, if that prince had actually come a third time into *France*; but while he was assembling his forces at *Arras*, death put an end to his fatigues^{*}, and, so far as they regarded him, to the perplexities of the duke of *Mayenne*, whom, as he most feared, of consequence he most hated.

Death of the duke of Parma. As perplexed a situation as this was, and it is scarce possible to conceive one more so, the duke of *Mayenne* was much better qualified to extricate himself out of it, than to contend with his enemies in the field, though he did not want courage; but the caution, so fatal to him in the latter, was very favourable to him in the former. The edict he published for calling the states was dated on the 5th of *January*, penned with great elegance and gravity, as well as with the utmost art and circumspection. In it he justified his own conduct, defended the title of *Charles* the tenth, reproached *Henry* of *Navarre* with his obstinate adherence to heresy, but in a manner that did not please the violent leaguers, or much displease the king; appointing the 17th of the same month for their meeting, and inviting the Catholics in general to assist in settling the kingdom[†]. The cardinal legate likewise published a kind of mandate, filled with bitterness and passion, and which plainly expressed the intent of this meeting, of those he called the states, though the duke had carefully declined it, to be to proceed to the election of a king[‡]. The states did not meet till the 26th of *January*, when the duke opened the assembly with a round and florid speech, in which he laid open the distress of the kingdom, and the necessity of having a king capable of restoring order. The first session was spent in the usual ceremonies. In the second they came to the point. The cardinal legate moved, that, in the first place, the states should bind themselves by an oath never to admit of a reconciliation with the king of *Navarre*, even if he embraced the Catholic religion. He was seconded by the whole *Spanish* faction[§]. The duke, who knew the importance of the debate, spoke vehemently and plainly against it, with the applause of the greatest part of the assembly. The archbishop of *Lyons*, with great dexterity, defeated the legate at his own weapons, by shewing that, if they came to such a resolution, they should bind the hands of the Pope, which it was indecent to attempt, and not in their power to effect^{||}. Before the next session a trumpet from the king brought a paper[¶], intitled, “Propositions of the princes, prelates, officers of the crown, &c.” addressed to the count *de Belin*, in quality of governor of *Paris*, demanding a conference, to be managed by deputies on both sides, in some place between *Paris* and *St. Denis*. The *Spanish* faction were for stifling this paper, yet the duke of *Mayenne* sent it to the states, but advised them to defer deliberating upon it, till his return from his journey to meet the duke of *Feria*, whom the king of *Spain* had sent to make his propositions to the states.

He quarrels with the duke of Feria, but afterwards acquiesces under the offers made him. THE two dukes met and quarrelled at *Soissons*. The duke of *Feria* was for repealing the *Salique* law at once, and, that done, to declare the Infanta queen of *France*. The duke of *Mayenne* told him that it was impossible, and that he could not persuade the deputies to come into any such propositions, more especially considering the *Spanish* army under count *Mansfield* consisted but of five thousand men, and their pecuniary supplies were in the same proportion. The duke of *Feria* urged, that, when the thing was done, the king would march fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse in support of his daughter’s title, and would set open the flood-gates of his treasuries in favour of her adherents. The duke of *Mayenne* replied, that kingdoms were to be conquered by armies, or to be bought with money, and that to offer only promises was doing nothing. *Feria* told him haughtily, that he was better instructed as to the temper of the deputies, and that they would do it without him. *Mayenne*, more haughtily, replied, that all the world could not do it without him; but that, in eight days, he could reconcile all the different interests in the kingdom, and then drive the *Spaniards*, and all their adherents, out of

* JACOB. THUAN. DAVILA, DUPLEIX. tom. ix. p. 635. [†] DAVILA, liv. xiii. Villeroi. P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 636.

‡ DAVILA, liv. xiii.

§ JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEIX, tom. v.

|| P. DAN. Histoire de France, c Memoires de

a *France*^h. The *Spanish* ministers soon taught the duke of *Feria* another language, and, by their assistance, all things were reconciled. The duke of *Mayenne* was offered, in case he procured the election of the Infanta, the duchy of *Burgundy* in sovereignty, the government of *Picardy* for life, the title and authority of lieutenant-general of the kingdom under the new queen, the payment of all his debts, twenty-five thousand crowns in hard money, security for two hundred thousand more, and the absolute command of the *Spanish* troopsⁱ. He seemed to acquiesce, and the two dukes, as good friends, having taken the city of *Noyon*, returned together to *Paris*.

ALL imaginable respect was paid to the duke of *Feria*, on his appearance in the assembly. But he quickly found that his own influence was much inferior to what he expected, and that of the duke of *Mayenne* much stronger than he could have imagined; and of this the most convincing proof appeared in the resolution taken to consent to the conferences proposed on the part of the Catholics in the king's service^k. They were opened accordingly on the 29th of *April*, at *Surenne*, the archbishop of *Bourges*^l being at the head of the king's commissioners, as the archbishop of *Lyons* was of those of the league^m. While these conferences continued, the king thought himself at liberty to form the siege of *Dreux*ⁿ, and while he was thus employed, the duke of *Feria* was not idle at *Paris*. He observed that the faction of the sixteen were extremely provoked at the conferences, and at the hopes given of the king's becoming a Catholic. He misinterpreted this, as flowing from a blind devotion to the court of *Spain*; and thereupon roundly proposed to the states, that they should declare the Infanta queen, and the archduke *Albert* of *Austria* king in her right, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage^o. The very warmest of the sixteen revolted at this proposition, and declared positively that they could never think of admitting at once of two foreign sovereigns. The duke of *Feria* then proposed the Infanta, on condition that she should espouse a prince of *France*, including the house of *Lorraine*, the choice of that prince to be left to his Catholic majesty. This occasioned debates and delays, and, in the mean time, they received a stroke from a quarter which they little expected; the parliament, by an arret^p, dated the 18th of *June*, declared against any treaty for transferring the crown to strangers, as contrary to the *Salique* law, and to the fundamental principles of the government. The duke of *Mayenne* affected to be displeased with the first president *le Maitre*, notwithstanding which, it was generally believed that he was not so much surprised as he pretended^q. The duke of *Feria* then proposed the declaring the Infanta queen, upon an assurance that she should marry the duke of *Guise*^r. If he had made this proposal at first, it is not impossible he had carried his point; but now the duke of *Mayenne* scrupled his powers, and the duke of *Guise*, who foresaw that his fortune was for ever ruined if he manifested an inclination in favour of this overture, and be defeated in his hopes, behaved with great coolness and prudence. But, while they were thus perplexed at *Paris*, the king took his resolution, heard mass^s on the 28th of *July* at *St. Denis*, received absolution from the archbishop of *Bourges*, in consequence of which a truce^t was proclaimed for three months, to commence from the first of *August*. This chagrined the determined leaguers exceedingly; and some of their angry preachers declared from the pulpit, that no credit was to be given to the king's conversion, though published by an angel from heaven.

THE situation of the most outrageous leaguers being now a little unsafe, as, at the time that *Henry* the third appeared before *Paris*, they thought it high time to have recourse to their great expedient, to the success of which some of their best preachers devoted their oratory: neither was it without effect; for *Pierre Barrier*, a waterman on the *Loire*, and who had been also a soldier in their service, moved by the exhortations of those whom he took to be religious men, formed in his own mind^u a strong resolution to kill the king, which he communicated to, and was encouraged in by, several ecclesiastics, particularly one of the parish priests at *Paris*. The last he consulted was a *Dominican* friar at *Lyons*, whose name was *Seraphin Bianchi*; this worthy man directed him to come again the next day, at a certain hour, at which he appointed also *Brancaleon*, a gentleman belonging to the queen-dowager, whom he directed to take great notice of that man, and to make all the haste he could to court, in order to apprize the king of his danger^w. This gentleman, not finding it safe to travel, sent the picture of the assassin to the king, who, by this means, knew him, as by chance he met him on the road one day; and, having occasion to alight, gave him his horse to hold, supposing him to have been a peasant. At length *Brancaleon* arrived at *Meulan*, where the king then was, and, seeing the fellow soon after in the street, caused him to be apprehended. He confessed his intention: named the persons who had encouraged and exhorted

^h DAVILA, liv. xiii.ⁱ JACOB. THUAN. P. DAN.^k P. MATTH. CAYET, MEZERAY.^l DAVILA, liv. xiii.^m Memoires de la Ligue.ⁿ DAVILA, liv. xii.^o J. THUAN. DUPL. IX.

tom. v. P. DAN.

^p DAVILA, liv. xiii. DUPL. IX, MEZERAY, LE GEND.^q JACOB. THUAN.^r DAVILA, liv. xiii.^s DUPL. IX, tom. v. P. DAN. MEZERAY.^t CAYET, tom. ii.^u JAC.

THUAN.

^w P. MATTH. Histoire de Henry IV.

him to fulfil it; and added, that, in case he was taken up, he was advised to throw the blame ^a on the count of *Soissons*, as the person who first put it in his head. The count being present at this examination, and the man having no knowledge of him, rendered it plain, that this was only an artifice to help out one villainy by another. *Barrier* was executed as a traitor on the last of *August* ^x.

Success of the royalists in the provinces, and the office of constable bestowed on Montmorency.

THE marshal *Matignon* acted with great vigour, and besieged *Blaise*, to the relief of which the *Spaniards* sent a fleet: the marshal procured a small squadron of *Dutch* ships that were at *Ro-chelle* to come to his assistance; and joining to these two or three *Eng'ish* vessels, he went on board them, engaged and beat the *Spaniards*, who returned, notwithstanding, in a dark night, upon the coast, relieved and victualled the place, and then retired ^y. The marshal, having assembled as great a force as he was able, marched, in obedience to the king's orders, to join ^b him. *Lesdiguières* was still successful against the duke of *Savoy*, and was likewise so fortunate as to dissipate three thousand *Spaniards* on the frontiers, and to destroy the greatest part of them ^z. In *Provence* the duke of *Espèron* had rendered himself so odious, that the king found it necessary to send his orders to *Lesdiguières* to assist the people in ridding themselves of his tyranny ^a. In *Languedoc* all things were so prudently conducted by the marshal *de Montmorency*, that the king, as the only suitable reward of his services, conferred on him the high office of constable of *France* ^b. He also permitted an assembly of the reformed, received from them a long memoir, consisting of upwards of fourscore articles ^c, gave them all the satisfaction in his power, and promised them still greater marks of gratitude and favour, with which, however, they were not intirely content, and, on the other hand, the king was as much ^c displeased.

The duke of Mayenne intrigues afresh with the Spaniards, and imprisons his brother the duke of Nemours.

ACCORDING to the best lights that history affords us, the transactions at *Paris* had been chiefly governed by secret negotiations between the king and the duke of *Mayenne*, managed chiefly by the old secretary *Villeroi*, and the president *Jeanin*, who, though zealous Catholics, were true patriots, and sincerely attached to the king's service ^d. But the duke had other views than those with which he intrusted them; he had procured the states to renew the oath of union, and to establish the council of *Trent* without restriction; but one of the deputies of the third estate desired that a clause might be added, declaring that this was only so far to be regarded as should be consistent with the liberties of the *Gallican* church, which appeared so reasonable, that it could not be refused, and which in effect repealed all the rest. The king ^d was not very well pleased with these proceedings, and much less when he detected him in fresh negotiations with the *Spaniards*, who were to furnish him with twelve thousand foot and six thousand horse ^e. The truth of the matter was, he delighted in his own authority, and studied by every means in the world to keep it up. He was jealous of his brother by the mother's side, the duke of *Nemours*, who had formed a design of marrying the Infanta, but had taken a firm resolution to render himself independent in the city of *Lyons*, and in the country adjacent; with which view he had directed a couple of fortresses to be built for bridling that great city. The duke of *Mayenne*, suspecting this, had no sooner concluded a truce with the king, than he sent the famous Dr. *Peter Espinac*, archbishop of *Lyons*, into his diocese, who so wrought upon the minds of the people, that they practised upon *Nemours* the old device of the barricades; and, having first confined him in his house, transferred him from thence to *Pierre Encise*, where they kept him in prison ^e. The duke of *Mayenne* was more excusable for this than for treating afresh with the court of *Madrid*, for the marriage of his own son with the Infanta; upon which he promised to re-assemble the states, now tacitly dissolved, and to proceed to an immediate election ^f. The king, being well informed of all this, as well as with the conduct of his agent at the court of *Rome*, represented it in such strong terms to Monsieur *de Villeroi*, that, to justify the uprightness of his own conduct, he soon after quitted the duke of *Mayenne*, and retired, with all his family, to *Pontois*, of which his son was governor ^h. He was, at this time, reputed one of the ablest heads in *France*.

The marquis de Vitri puts Meaux into the hands of the king.

By this time five months had elapsed since the king's going openly to mass, without so ^f much as a single place, at least of any consequence, declaring in his favour; which was the more extraordinary, as persons of distinction from all the adjacent places had been to see and pay their respects to him; and, in general, all the kingdom over: in the quarters of the league they began to drop the epithet of *Navarre*, and to call him simply the king ⁱ. This behaviour was owing to three causes; some were for making terms, and selling loyalty as dear as they could; many expected the Pope's decision, as to the validity of the king's absolution;

^x JACOBI THUANI DUPLEIX, tom. v. de *Lesdiguières*, P. DANIEL, MEZERAY.

person, *Histoire de Lesdiguières*, P. DAN.

^y THUAN. DUPLEIX, MEZERAY.

THUAN. DUPLEIX, DAVILA, liv. xiii.

Nangis, DAVILA, liv. xiv.

DUPLEIX.

^y *Histoire du Marechal de Matignon*, liv. iii.

^a BOUCHE *Histoire de Provence*, liv. x. *Histoire du Duc d'Es-*

^b DAVILA, liv. xiii. P. DANIEL, tom. ix. p. 697, 698.

^d *Memoires de Du PLESSIS MORNAY*, DAVILA. MATTH.

^e THUAN. MEZ.

^h DUPLEIX, P. DANIEL.

ⁱ *Memoires de la Ligue*, DAVILA, liv. xiv.

a and not a few hoped that the duke of *Mayenne* would put a speedy and effectual end to the troubles by making a general peace^k. At length an event happened, which contributed not a little to draw the inhabitants of *France* out of their lethargy. *Lewis de l'Hospital*, marquis de *Vitri*, was the only man of rank who followed the example of the duke of *Espernon*, in quitting the king on the death of his predecessor; but he went farther than the duke, entering into the service of the league, by whom he was made governor of *Meaux*. He had often solicited the duke of *Mayenne*, as the cause of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king; but, receiving no satisfaction from the duke, he resolved to follow the dictates of his conscience. On *Christmas*-eve he ordered his garrison to evacuate the town, and, having assembled the magistrates, he delivered them the keys. "Gentlemen," said he, "I scorn to
b "steal a place, or to make a fortune at other men's expence. I am going to pay my duty to the king, and I leave it in your power to act as you please^l." After he had quitted the room, the magistrates, on a short deliberation, broke up their assembly, and, as they went, cried out, *Vive le Roy*: the people soon caught the acclamation, and the next day, being *Sunday*, they posted a guard on the marchioness of *Estre*s and her children, till they sent a deputation to the king to make their submission, and to desire that he would send back their governor^m. At their audience their deputies were so confounded, that they could say nothing, only they threw themselves at the king's feet. *Henry*, having considered them for some moments, burst into tears; then raising them up, "Do not come as enemies to ask pardon, but as children to a father, who is always ready to receive them with open armsⁿ." At their request he sent
c back the marquis de *Vitri*. This reception affected the league more than the greatest defeat could have done. The king, having lost all opinion of the duke of *Mayenne*'s sincerity, at the close of the year declared the truce void^o, of which, more especially of late, the leaguers made a very ill use.

A. D. 1593.

It is now time to say something of the conduct of the court of *Rome*. The king, somewhat more than a year before, had sent cardinal *Gondi* and the marquis *Pisani*, to negotiate with the pontif, notwithstanding the extreme ill usage the duke of *Luxemburgh*, who had been sent by the Catholics adhering to the king, had met with from his predecessors; but the Pope would not suffer them to come to *Rome*, so that they were obliged to remain, one in the territories of the grand duke of *Tuscany*, and the other in those of the state of *Venice*. This was out of
d fear of the *Spaniards*, and to save appearances with the league^p. *Seraphino Olivieri*, auditor of the rota, took the liberty of giving the Pope a little good counsel: "*Clement* the seventh, "Holy Father," said he, "lost *England* to gratify *Charles* the fifth; *Clement* the eighth is about to lose *France* in complaisance to *Philip* the second^q." After his declaring himself, the king sent a letter of submission to the Pope by *Clielle*, who went through all the political discipline of the papal dissimulation with infinite patience. The Pope had one *James Sannesio* about him, a man of slow parts, but honest and secret; through him he instructed *Arnold d'Offat*, who had occasionally acted as a kind of agent for the queen-dowager of *France*, and from him *Clielle* received proper hints^r. At length the duke of *Nevers* was sent, with two ecclesiastics of rank, as the king's ambassador. He was also treated with a strange kind of mysterious
e insolence, received as duke of *Nevers*, not as the ambassador of a heretic prince; and though, at one of his audiences, he fell at the Pope's feet, and besought him to put an end to the miseries of *France*, with an effusion of tears, yet it was to no purpose. The Pope, says the historian^s, was moved, but not softened; but the duke of *Nevers*, by changing his language, made more impression. He represented to *Clement*, that he had been abused by the *Spaniards*, and deceived by his legate; that the league was declining; that the *Spaniards* were not able to support it; that *Henry* was already master of two thirds of the kingdom; and that, as the greatest part of the nobility adhered to him, there was no doubt of his conquering the rest. This was to the point; the Pope now began to see sincerity in the king's conversion; and, though he did not immediately alter his behaviour, yet he gave the duke to understand, that he
f need not regard it; and that, though he treated him like a dog, and his master as a relapsed excommunicated heretic, yet all in good time, that is, in proportion as the king's affairs mended, they might both hope for better usage. The Pope, it seems, was piously inclined to abandon the *French* rebels, as soon as it should be a clear case that they could not support themselves.

The king thought it necessary, in the beginning of the year, to go in person to *Meaux*, where he did for the people all they could possibly expect, confirmed all the magistrates in their posts, remitted their taxes for nine years, and not only confirmed the government of the marquis de *Vitri*, but granted the survivance to his son, without burdening them with any greater garrison than their governor's troop of gens d'arms^t. The marquis de *Vitri* pub-

Several great cities, and some provinces, quit the league, and submit to the king.

^k J. THUAN. ^l P. MATTH. DAVILA, DUPL. moires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 163.

tom. v. ^m DAVILA, liv. xiv. ⁿ THUAN. MEZERAY. tom. ix. p. 674—686.

^o THUAN. CAYET, tom. ii.

^p JAC. THUANI, CAYET.

^q DAVILA, liv. xiv.

^r DUPLEIX, ^s P. DANIEL Histoire de France,

lished a manifesto to justify his own conduct, addressed to the nobility and gentry of *France*; ^a the magistrates of *Meaux* did the like, addressing their discourses to the inhabitants of *Paris* ^u. The garrison of *St. Denis* surprised *Charenton*, the king reduced *l'Ferti-Milon* ^w; so that *Paris* was again in a manner blocked up, and its inhabitants every day alarmed with unwelcome news. The people of *Lyons*, having intelligence that the *Spaniards* were about to march a body of troops to secure their city, thought proper to secure it themselves; and, having sent for colonel *Alphonso Ornano* to support them, revolted, and declared for the king ^x, to the no small grief of their archbishop; not that he was much offended at the change, but that he missed the credit of making it, and thereby the opportunity of securing, at a proper time, the king's recommendation for a cardinal's hat, his passionate desire of which had been one principal cause of the troubles. The *Sieur de la Chastre*, intrusted with the government of the ^b provinces of *Orleanois* and *Berri*, after having applied in vain to the duke of *Mayenne*, thought it high time to make peace for himself; and, having explained his sentiments to the magistrates of *Orleans*, they very readily concurred with him ^y, so that, in the middle of *February*, all these provinces were detached from the league. The king confirmed *la Chastre* in his government, and in his dignity of marshal of *France*. He was one of the four created by the duke of *Mayenne*, at the opening of the states; upon which *Monf. Chanvalon*, a friend of his, said pleasantly to the duke, "You are begetting bastards, who will legitimate themselves at your expence." By the advice of his father the *Sieur de Villeroi*, who retired for that purpose to *Pontoise*, Monsieur *d'Alincourt* delivered up that important place to the king ^z. *Henry* was now intent upon the ceremony of his coronation, which, he resolved, should be ^c performed at *Chartres*, *Rheims* being still in the hands of the league. It was performed, with great solemnity, on *Sunday* the 27th of *February*, by *Nicholas de Thou*, assisted by five other prelates, who represented ecclesiastical peers, as the prince of *Conti*, the count of *Soissons*, the duke of *Montpensier*, the dukes of *Luxemburgh*, *Rhetz*, and *Ventatour*, held the places of the ancient lay peers. As some scruple was raised about the holy oil, the king sent for that of *St. Martin*, kept in the abby of *Marmoutier* at *Tours*, which satisfied the people full as well ^a. The cardinal legate, either out of zeal for the league, or pressed to it by his friends, the faction of the sixteen, published a letter ^b, addressed to all good Catholics, in which he assured them, that the Pope had not acknowledged the duke of *Nevers* as ambassador of *France*, and was resolved never to give absolution to the king. From this letter great effects were expected, ^d and much greater followed, but of a very different kind than those which the legate intended; for, as there were no reasons assigned, it was considered merely as an artifice of the *Spaniards* to perpetuate the war, upon which numbers of gentlemen quitted the quarters of the league, and retired into those of the king. This cardinal, bishop of *Plaisance*, was a zealous leaguer, and by birth a subject of the crown of *Spain*.

The duke of
Mayenne
quits Paris,
and leaves the
count de Bri-
fac governor.

THE duke of *Mayenne*, as it may be naturally supposed, grew every day more uneasy, as, in effect, his situation grew every day more hazardous. He had of late, from motives that historians do not explain, listened more than ever to the proposals of the court of *Spain*, of which the king had authentic proofs. This lost that duke many of his old friends in *Paris*, and gained him very few new ones. The faction of the sixteen were irreconcilable; the politics ^e of the king's party abhorred his falshood, and he was still suspected by the *Spaniards* ^c. At length, not knowing well which way to turn, he retired with his family to *Soissons*, leaving the government of *Paris*, and the command of the *French* garrison, for there was also a *Spanish*, to the count *de Brisac*, from whom he exacted the strongest securities that words could give, that he would use all imaginable care to preserve the place ^d. The count *de Brisac*, when he came to examine things to the bottom, conceived this to be impossible, there being by this time a great majority of the best families intirely devoted to the king; so that, to avoid being borne down some time or other by the torrent, he held it best to go along with the stream. The provost of the merchants, *Lullier*, and the sheriff *Langlois*, were of the king's party, and it was with them, the president *le Maitre*, and the attorney general *Molé*, that he concerted ^f every thing ^e. In order to communicate with the king safely, he pretended to refer a family-dispute with his brother-in-law *St. Luc* to some persons of distinction in the law; upon which they met at the abbey of *St. Anthony*, where, having privately settled every thing, they had in public a great quarrel, and parted, in all appearance, open enemies ^f. At his return to court *St. Luc* spoke with all bitterness of his brother, and the king, in public, treated *Brisac* as a man devoted to the *Spaniards*. The new gate, which had been for some time blocked up, was the most convenient for the entrance of the royal troops; the count observed this in public, and that it might be easily opened, for which reason he gave orders it should be walled;

^u P. DAN. tom. ix. p. 708.

^w DAVILA, liv. xiv.

^x J. DE SERRES, Memoires du Duc de

Nevers, tom. ii. DUPL.

^y CAYET, tom. ii. Memoires du Duc de *Nevers*.

^z Memoires pour

servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. DAVILA, MEZ.

^a THUAN. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de

France, tom. ii. p. 186.

^b Memoires de Villeroi, tom. i.

^c DAVILA, liv. xiv.

^d J. THUAN.

DUP. tom. v.

^e CAYET, tom. iii. D'AUBIG. Memoires de SULLI.

^f J. THUAN.

a in order to which it was unstopped of course. He posted there, for the greater security, and at the port of *St. Denis*, strong guards, under the command of the sheriffs *Neret* and *Langlois*.

b THE day fixed for letting in the king's troops was the 22d of *March*². The duke of *Feria* and Don *Diego d'Ibarra* had some intelligence, with strong suspicions, upon which they sent for the count *de Brisac*; he told them he believed there was nothing in it, but, for their satisfaction, he would go the rounds that night in person; which he did at two o'clock, taking with him some *Spanish* captains, who had orders from the duke of *Feria*, upon the least commotion, to dispatch the count. Out of pure complaisance he attended them back to their quarters, where, between jest and earnest, he rallied the duke of *Feria* upon his being too easily alarmed; but, when he retired, he gave orders to the next *French* guard to fire upon the *Spaniards*, if they offered to stir^h. The king's troops were introduced without noise; and by five o'clock the king himself entered at the new gate, with the corps de reserve, commanded by the duke of *Rhetz*: he was met by the count *de Brisac*, who threw over his shoulders a fine embroidered scarf; the king gave him his own in exchange, embraced, and declared him marshal of *France*ⁱ. The whole was performed with very little stir; a corps of *Lansquenets*, consisting of about sixty men, who refused to cry *Vive le Roy*, were cut to pieces; and two or three leaguers, who attempted to raise the populace, were knocked on the head. Cardinal *de Pelevé*, archbishop of *Rheims*, the great incendiary of the league, lying sick in his bed, hearing that the city was taken, and the king in quiet possession, turned himself about, and, without saying a word, breathed his last^k. At noon the king heard mass, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung at *Notre Dame*. He dined in the *Louvre*, and in the afternoon went to the gate of *St. Denis*, to see the *Spaniards* march out: they were in number about three thousand men, and the king allowed them the honours of war. The duke of *Feria*, Don *Diego d'Ibarra*, and Don *Juan Baptista Taxis*, saluted him with profound respect as they passed. The king returned the salute, and said, laughing, "My compliments, gentlemen, to your master; but don't come back any more^l." By this time all the shops were open, and the city as quiet as if nothing had happened. The king rewarded every person who had any share in this event, exiled only a few of the obstinate leaguers, and more especially the clergy^m. On the 30th of *March*, the parliament of *Paris*, now complete by the union of *Chalons* and *Tours*, declared null every thing that had been done against the royal authority from the last year of the late reign to that time. The rector of the university came and humbly asked the king's pardon; the faculty of divinity retracted all their decrees in favour of the league: and thus the quiet of the capital was intirely re-establishedⁿ.

VILLARS, who had so gallantly defended *Rouen* for the league, and on whom the duke of *Rouen* and *Mayenne*, for that service, had conferred the title of admiral of *France*, treated with the king for the surrender of that place, and the baron *de Rhosny* was sent to conclude with him. He demanded four hundred thousand crowns, a pension of sixteen thousand livres, to be continued in his government, and three articles besides, which were harder than all these; that his government should be for three years independent of that of *Normandy*; that he should be confirmed in the office of admiral; and that *Fescamp*, which had long before yielded to the king, should be annexed to his government. Henry consented to them all, pacified the duke of *Montpensier*, who was governor of the province, raised *Biron* to the rank of marshal of *France*, and indemnified the governor of *Fescamp*, so desirous was he to be master of that important place^o. A multitude of other places either made terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The duke of *Elbeuf*, of the house of *Lorraine*, who had seized the government of *Poitou*^p, without the consent of the duke of *Mayenne*, declared for the king. Marshal *d'Aumont*, with the assistance of an *English* fleet, commanded by Sir *Martin Forbes*^q, beat the leaguers and the *Spaniards*, and recovered a great part of *Bretagne* out of the hands of the duke of *Mercœur*.

f THE *Sieur de St. Pol*, whom the duke of *Mayenne* had created marshal of *France*, held the government of *Champagne*, and treated the duke of *Guise*, who had pretensions upon it, with disrespect^r. The duke, a young prince of great spirit, expostulating with him in the streets of *Rheims*, in favour of the people whom he oppressed, he not only gave him a surly answer, but laid his hand upon his sword, upon which the duke drew, and killed him upon the spot. The people, in whose quarrel it was done, and who were otherwise well affected to the duke, owned him for their governor. He treated immediately with the king; and, though he refused him all his demands, he accepted the propositions made on behalf of his majesty, and surrendered

² DAVILA, liv. xiv.

^h CAYET, D'AUBIGNY, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii.

p. 195.

ⁱ J. THUAN. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 199.

^k DUPL.

tom. v. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 204, 205.

^l J. DE SERRES, P. DAN.

tom. x. p. 11.

^m DUPL. MEZ.

ⁿ DAVILA, liv. xiv. CAYET, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire

de France, tom. ii.

^o Memoires de SULLI.

^p THUAN.

^q DAVILA, liv. xiv. P. DAN.

tom. x. p. 35.

^r DUPLEIX, MEZ.

the province^p. The city of *Aix* having declared for the king, *Lefdiguieres*, by his orders, a turned the duke of *Espenon* out of *Provence*^q, the government of which, contrary to the advice of *Chiverny* the chancellor, and most of the council, the king conferred upon the duke of *Guise*^r. In the autumn the king besieged and took *Laon*; upon which *Amiens*, and a great part of *Picardy*, declared for him^s. The Pope still continued to act the same double part; and, after having obliged the duke of *Nevers* to leave *Rome*, and received the agents of the league with kindness and respect, he gave assurances to d'Offat, that he had the best intentions in the world towards the king, and would not fail, at a proper time, to discover them. The duke of *Lorraine* very wisely made his peace; and *Baligny*, the bastard of *Montluc*, bishop of *Valence*, who still held the principality of *Cambray*, submitted to the king^t, and was confirmed in his post of marshal of *France*, bestowed upon him by the duke of *Mayenne*. b

The king is
stabbed in the
mouth by John
Chastel.

HENRY, irritated by the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, and having a better opinion of his own power than formerly, was inclined to declare war against *Philip*, and to attack the *Low Countries*. He had certainly good, or at least plausible reason for this; but he was chiefly instigated by those who had their own ends in view. His mistress *Gabriella d'Estrees* was desirous of having a principality for her son. *Baligny*, the most avaricious man living, hoped to plunder. The duke of *Bouillon* had more extended views. His consort, the heiress of the great family of *la Marck*, was dead without issue, however he held her dominions, under colour of their being legally bequeathed to him by will; he thought to enlarge them, and at the same time to make a diversion in favour of the prince of *Orange*, to whose sister he was contracted. The king relished the project, but resolved to be well advised^u. He returned c from *Picardy* to *Paris*, and, the same day, which was the 26th of *December*^w (others^x say the 27th), being in a chamber of the *Louvre*, and two noblemen coming in, as he went to embrace one of them, he received a stroke of a knife in his lip with such force, that it beat out one of his teeth^y. Some writers^z of good authority say it was his upper lip, and others^a of equal authority say the lower; but, which-ever it was, the assassin intended it for his throat, and his stooping suddenly prevented it. The count of *Soissons*, who stood before the king, seeing a young man by him change colour, and endeavour to slip away, laid hold of him: "Friend, said he, "either you or I have wounded the king." Presently after, the knife was found upon the floor. At first he denied, but soon after confessed it^b. His name was *John Chastel*, d in the nineteenth year of his age, the son of *Peter Chastel*, a draper, and a rich man. The youth was silly and very debauched; he had fallen into a fit of despair, in which had occurred to him, from the monstrous doctrines of those times, that he might expiate all his sins by killing the king. He had been educated amongst the *Jesuits*, and had picked up these principles amongst them^c. This occasioned a strict inquiry into their conduct; and, in the chamber of *John Guignard*, one of the fathers of the society, there was found a treatise, written in his own hand, in which *Henry* the third was stiled the *Nero* and *Sardanapalus* of *France*; his murder justified and commended; and, in respect to *Henry* the fourth, it was said, that, though he had abjured his heresy, he would meet with milder treatment than he deserved, if he was deposed and confined to a convent for his life. The parliament, by an arret, condemned *John Chastel* to suffer as a traitor, his father to be banished *Paris* for ever, and the kingdom for e many years, because his son had revealed to him his design, for which, though he had reprimanded him severely, he had not either discovered it or confined him^d. Father *John Gueret*, under whom he had studied, was banished for life; and Father *Guignard* condemned to be hanged^e, not for composing those treasonable pieces, but for having them in his custody, after an arret forbidding the keeping of any such flagitious treatises, on pain of capital punishment. A pyramid of infamy was erected where the house of *Chastel* stood, and the *Jesuits* banished^f. The other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example of *Paris*, except those of *Bordeaux* and *Toulouse*; and thus this affair ended: but the *Jesuits*, nine years after, were recalled, though the parliament opposed it, and some of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom wrote against them.

A. D. 1594.

Henry IV.
declares war
against Spain,
and attempts
the conquest of
Franche
Compté.

IN the beginning of the year the king made a great promotion of knights of the order, with a view to attach the nobility more particularly to his service. He declared war against *Spain*; and that he might carry it on with a better effect, he took into his pay the troops of *Lorraine*, consisting of about six thousand men^g. The duke of *Mayenne* was still master of *Burgundy*, and of some strong places in *Picardy*, which were very troublesome; but, in the beginning of *February*, *Baune* revolted from him, called in marshal *Biron*, who secured it for the

^p DAVILA, liv. xiv.

MEZ. P. DAN.

^u DUPLEIX.

^z P. MATTHIEU.

^c THUAN. P. MATTH. tom. ii. liv. i. CAYET, liv. vi. p. 432.

GEND.
THUAN.

^q DUPLEIX Histoire de Lefdiguieres, BOUCHE Histoire de Provence.

^s Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii.

^w Memoires de SULLI.

^a DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZ. tom. vi. p. 127.

^e Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii.

^r DAVILA,

^t J. THUAN.

^y JACOB. THUAN. liv. cxi.

^b Memoires de SULLI.

^d Memoires de SULLI, CHALONS, LE

^f DUPLEIX, tom. v.

^g J.

a king. The duke of *Nemours*, who had made his escape out of *Pierre Encise*, had seized *Vienna*, and, with some *Swiss* troops sent him by the duke of *Savoy*, endeavoured to block up *Lyons*^b. Marshal *Montmorency*, marching thither with a considerable body of troops, not only relieved the last, but recovered the first-mentioned city, the loss of which affected *Nemours* to such a degree that it broke his heart, though others say he was poisoned. About the middle of *May*ⁱ *Autun* opened its gates to marshal *Biron*. The inhabitants of *Dijon*, the capital of *Burgundy*, encouraged by this example, expelled the viscount *Tavannes*, and declared for the king, who soon after repaired into *Burgundy*, in order to command his army in person^k. Before his departure he committed the frontier of *Picardy* to the care of the duke of *Nevers*, the count *de St. Pol*, the duke *de Bouillon*, and the admiral *de Villars*, and declared the prince of *Conti* head of the council he left at *Paris*, which extremely offended the count *de Soissons*, who was never much in the king's favour^l. The true design of the king's expedition was to gratify the ambition of his mistress, by the conquest of *Franche Compté*, which he proposed to bestow upon his son *Cæsar*, reserving the sovereignty not to himself, but to the *Swiss* cantons, to prevent their being jealous of this conquest, and to engage them to protect this new prince, in case he should die without lawful issue. A strange enterprize in itself, and which, notwithstanding, he prosecuted with such eagerness as was very near costing him his life, in which, the circumstances of *France* considered, he shewed himself a better father than a king, since his death, at this time, must have created a fresh civil war.

THE king made his entry into *Troyes* on the 30th of *May*, and from thence continued his march into *Burgundy*, where he had the news that *Velasco* constable of *Castile* had entered *Henry, by a* *Mayenne*^m. The king, apprehending that they intended the relief of the castles of *Dijon* and *Talan*, ordered them both to be besieged, and, in the mean time, resolved, with a corps of *fortunate temerity, baffles the designs of the Spaniards, and engages the duke of Mayenne to quit them and retire to Chalons.* cavalry, to harraß the enemies army, in order to give time for the reduction of those places. This corps did not consist of above five hundred men. He had ordered his troops to rendezvous between *Lux* and *Fontaine Francoise*, fully determined to give the enemy battle; but continuing to advance, that he might the better inform himself of their strength, he fell in with their van-guard, charged them, and gave the highest proofs of his courage, at the expence of his prudence and conductⁿ. The troops he engaged and dispersed were those of the duke of *Mayenne*, who rode up immediately to the constable, and intreated him not to lose so great an advantage. The *Spaniard* answered, with great gravity, *that he knew what he had to do*, and, as a proof of it, would not advance at all. The duke then intreated him to spare fifteen hundred horse, but in vain^o. The king, all this time, maintained the fight, till at length a body of eight hundred of his forces appeared in sight; upon which the constable recalled his cavalry, and retired^p. Some writers^q have from hence affected to say, that the king, with two hundred horse, meaning the squadrons he immediately commanded, defeated an army of fifteen thousand men, which is very far from the truth. The fact is, that by this happy temerity he carried his point, and, the two castles being taken, was in a condition to have given the *Spaniards* battle. On the other hand, the duke of *Mayenne*, not being able to engage the constable to do any thing for his service, and having but two places of consequence left, was on the point of retiring into *Savoy*. In these circumstances, the king, with great generosity, sent him word, that, if he would go to *Chalons*, he would grant him a truce of three months, in which they might treat of peace; which offer he very readily accepted^r, and, under pretence of securing what he had still left, separated from the *Spanish* army, and marched to *Chalons*.

AFTER ravaging *Franche Compté*, which, after all, the *Swiss* cantons would not permit him to conquer, the king thought it necessary to go to *Lyons*, where he had many things of great importance to transact. He made his entry with great magnificence, and was received by the archbishop, who had been stiled the soul of the league, with all possible marks of duty and submission^s. Mr. *Bois-Dauphin*, who held some places in *Anjou* and *Maine*, concluded a treaty with the king, by which he surrendered them. He was one of the duke of *Mayenne*'s marshals, but the king would not permit him to make use of that title; yet, after he had signed, and came to pay his duty, the king, as a mark of his favour, restored him the bâton^t. He was in hopes of concluding a treaty also with the duke of *Savoy*, but it ended only in a truce^u. *Lefdiguieres* came thither to pay his respects, and to receive his commands, which chiefly regarded the expulsion of the duke of *Espernon* out of *Provence*, who was more troublesome there than ever, and who, in return to a message that the king had sent him to quit the province, with an intimation, if he did not, he would come and drive him out, he

^b DAVILA, liv. xiv.

THUANI, DAVILA.

^p CAYET, tom. iii.^t P. DAN. tom. x. p. 92.ⁱ P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v.^m THUAN. DUPL.^q DUPLEIX, LE GEND.^u DUPLEIX.^k MEZERAY, P. DAN.ⁿ DAVILA, liv. xiv.^r DAVILA, P. DAN.^l JACOBI^o MEZ. tom. vi. p. 134.^s CAYET, tom. iii.

answered rudely, "Let him come, I shall be his harbinger, not to prepare him quarters, but a
 "to lay every place in ashes where he is to pass". The king was much less affected with
 this, than with the discovery which he received from various hands, that the duke, notwith-
 standing all his professions, had in reality sold himself to *Spain*, and received from his catholic
 majesty a great pension, paid him in hard money every month^x. It was, however, some conso-
 lation, that, after infinite pains and infinite patience, the Pope was pleased, though not in the
 most gracious manner, to absolve the king on the 17th of *September*, in the persons of his two
 agents, *du Perron*^y and *d'Ossat*, both afterwards honoured with the purple. But while on the
 score of this and some other favourable pieces of intelligence, the king feasted with his fair
 mistress, and amused himself agreeably in those parts, things changed their appearance in
Picardy, where the *Spaniards* seemed desirous of shewing how much better they could make b
 war for themselves than in support of their allies, whom they sometimes relieved indeed, but
 never cordially assisted.

The conde Fu-
 entes takes
 Dourlens and
 Cambray.

AT the very entrance of the campaign the duke of *Longueville*^z was killed by a musket-ball,
 that happened to be by chance in the piece of a foot soldier of the guard, who saluted him at
 his entrance into *Dourlens*. Don *Pedro de Gusman*, conde *de Fuentes*, with an army of fifteen
 thousand men, and a good train of artillery, besieged *Catelet*; and, while he was thus em-
 ployed, Monsieur *Humieres* laid a plan for the surprisal of *Ham*, a very strong place, where
 the *Spaniards* had a garrison of sixteen hundred men in the town, exclusive of the duke of
Aumale's troops in the castle. This enterprize succeeded, but at the expence of its author,
 Monsieur *d'Humieres*, and several other brave officers, killed in the attack, which so incensed c
 the *French*, that they gave no quarter to the garrison^a. *Catelet* having surrendered, the count
de Fuentes invested *Dourlens*, assisted by the *Sieur de Rosne*, to whom the king had refused the
 confirmation of his title of marshal of *France*, which he had the greatest reason afterwards to
 repent. The duke of *Nevers* intended to have assembled an army for the relief of the place;
 but the marshal *de Bouillon*, the count *de St. Pol*, and admiral *Villars*, who had no mind to be
 commanded by him, undertook to do what he proposed before his arrival. But when they
 came to execute it, they quarrelled amongst themselves, which ruined the affair, and the
 admiral and Mr. *de Sesseval* were taken prisoners, and in cold blood murdered, because they
 had formerly deserted the league. *Dourlens* was soon after taken. The parliament, irritated
 at the share the duke of *Aumale* had in this transaction, declared him guilty of high treason, d
 and caused his effigies, dressed in a *Spanish* habit, and with a red scarf and garters, to be beheaded
 and quartered by the common hangman^b. The Conde *Fuentes* next attacked *Cambray*, and,
 partly by force, partly by the assistance of the inhabitants, made himself master both of the
 place and of the citadel. *Henry*, on the first news of this siege, set out for the frontiers,
 having ordered his forces to assemble for their relief; but being met by the duke of *Nevers* on
 the road, he advised him to desist, looking upon the attempt as impracticable. As the king
 was a man of a quick temper, he made him so brisk an answer, that the duke immediately
 retired, took his bed, and died in a few days^c, after having refused a visit which the king pro-
 posed to have made him. He was looked upon as one of the bravest, and, beyond compa-
 rison, a man of the greatest probity of his rank in *France*. With the forces that were in- e
 tended for the relief of *Cambray*, the king invested, or rather blocked up, *La Fere*, and while
 his forces were thus employed, he found no small trouble in adjusting the demands made
 upon him by his new friends of *Rome*, and by his old ones the Hugonots.

A. D. 1595.

The king
 grants very
 advantageous
 terms to the
 duke of May-
 enne, which
 are censured.

In the beginning of the year the king finished his treaty with the duke of *Mayenne*, fortified
 by an edict dated at *Folembray* in the month of *January*. In this edict^d the king speaks very
 respectfully of the duke, promises an intire oblivion for what was past, discharges him from
 any account for the public money he had received, restores him and his adherents to their
 estates, declares him and all the princes and princesses of his house to stand uncharged with
 respect to the murder of the late king, grants him the towns of *Seure*, *Chalons*, and *Soissons*,
 for his security, gives the government of the former to his son, for six years, independent of f
 that of *Burgundy*, charges himself with the payment of three hundred and fifty thousand
 crowns, due from the duke to private persons, and transfers all his public debts of whatever
 nature upon the crown. This agreement seemed too favourable to many, and not a little
 strange to all, more especially as the king treated with him expressly as the chief of his party,
 and promised oblivion and his favour to all who would embrace it in quality of adherents to
 the duke. Some ascribe this to the intercession of *Gabrielle d'Etrées*, but it seems more pro-
 bable that it was owing to some other causes. As great as these conditions were, the duke
 might have obtained still more advantageous, if he had treated in time; but he always de-
 clared that he would wait for the Pope's absolution, that he would treat as the head of a party,

^x Histoire de Lefdiguieres, liv. v. BOUCHE Histoire de Provence, liv. x. P. DAN. ^y Lettres du Card.
 d'Ossat, tom. ii. p. 26. ^z DAVILA, liv. xiv. P. MATTH. MEZ. Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat, tom. i.
 p. 478—492. ^a CAYET, tom. iii. ^b JACQ. THUAN. ^c DUPLEIX, tom. v. ^d P.
 MATTHIEU. ^e DAVILA, liv. xv.

- a and that all his public and private engagements should be fulfilled. He remained firm to these, and his firmness recommended him to the king. He was persuaded that the duke had a perfect knowledge of the affairs and interests of the kingdom, foreign and domestic; and he felt so many inconveniences from the rancorous resentment of the duke of *Aumale* and the *Sieur de Rosne*, that he was resolved not to force a man of the duke of *Mayenne's* wisdom and weight to throw himself into the arms of *Spain*. He considered that, from the beginning of the war, the duke of *Mayenne* had manifested a constant respect for his person, and, what errors forever he had committed, had fairly saved his crown, by preventing the assembly of the states from proceeding to an election, which must have been attended with a long, hazardous, and perhaps disastrous war^c. The duke came soon after to *Monceaux*, which, with the title of a
- b duchy, he had given to *Gabrielle d'Etrées*, to kiss the king's hand, and met with such a reception, as attached him intirely to this monarch's service for the remainder of his life.

ABOUT this time one *Francis de la Ramee* appeared at *Rheims*, and endeavoured to get himself crowned king of *France*. He pretended to be the son of *Charles* the ninth and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, and that he had been exposed by order of the queen-mother, and bred up by the gentleman for whose son he was taken. Some people of distinction believed this strange story, and relieved him. He appears to have been an enthusiast as much as an impostor; however, he was convicted, condemned to be hanged, and suffered^f. The duke of *Joyeuse*, who, upon the death of his brother, had quitted his convent, and the name of friar *Hugh*, to put himself at the head of one of the armies of the league, made his peace, surrendered *Toulouse*, and was created marshal of *France*. The new duke of *Nemours* took the same method, and was very kindly treated^e. The duke of *Guise* found himself very little at ease in his new government. He had the *Spaniards*, the leaguers, the duke of *Savoy*, and the duke of *Espernon*, to deal with; little money, and very few troops. In this perplexed situation he meditated the surprisal of *Marseilles*, though there was a *Spanish* fleet in the harbour; he was so fortunate as to effect this by the assistance of *Peter de Libertat*, a *Corfican*, and with the hazard of his own person. When the news came to *Henry* the fourth, he could not help crying out, *At length then I am a king*^h. The duke of *Guise*, in a short time after, drove *Espernon* to such difficulties, that he seemed inclined to retire, and the provincials were so desirous to be rid of him, that they presented him with a free gift of fifty thousand crowns, and

c added thirty thousand more to content his officers. He went, notwithstanding all this, to court, and obtained of the king the government of the *Limousin* by way of an equivalent^d. In that juncture, *Henry* bestowed rather from apprehension than inclination.

THE blockade of *La Fere*, which had now lasted all the winter, was turned into a siege, which the king commanded in person. The cardinal, archduke *Albert*, had assumed the government of the *Low Countries*, and had brought with him such supplies of men and money, as, exclusive of the forces that acted against the states of *Holland*, left it in his power to assemble twenty thousand men, with a good train of artillery, with which he resolved to carry the war vigorously into *France*, and a very strange accident put it in his power to do more than he ever expected. *Henry*, for very particular reasons, had refused to include the *Sieur Rosne* in his treaty with the duke of *Mayenne*. One of those reasons was, that he had begun to practise with *Rosne* himself, who, on the first proposition, answered roundly, "Tell the king that I am in debt twenty thousand crowns; let him enable me to pay that, and get out of this country (he was then at *Brussels*) and I shall with great joy throw myself at his feet^k." By some indiscretion in those whom the king had employed, this was discovered to the *Spaniards*, who immediately sent for *Rosne*, and as he went to the council, he received a note, in which were these words, *Save yourself, or you are undone*. He tore it immediately, went on, entered the council with an assured countenance, and told them, that, when they sent for him, he was coming to make them a proposal of importance. He was thereupon ordered to withdraw. Don *Diego d'Ibarra*, who hated the duke of *Mayenne*, and all that belonged to him,

e was for punishing without hearing him; but the *Conde Fuentes* asserting, that *Rosne* had done great service the last campaign, was a very able officer, and capable of great things, it was resolved to hear himⁱ. *Rosne* immediately proposed the taking of *Calais*, and shewed that it was not only possible, but easy. The archduke was charmed with his plan; and this man, who had entered the council a criminal, came out a favourite. The whole direction of affairs was left to him; and before the king was well apprized of his danger, the principal posts were forced, and the town taken. The stormy weather prevented the *Dutch*; and, it is said, the *English*, who had it in their power to save it, declined that service (B). The king, who

f had

^c P. MATTH. MEZ. P. DAN. tom. x.

^h DUPLEIX, tom. v.

^f JACOB THUAN. tom. v. p. 699.

^e DAVILA, liv. xv. P. DAN.

France, tom. x. p. 143.

ⁱ JACOB THUAN, DUPLEIX, P. DANIEL.

^k Histoire du Duc d'Espéron, liv. iv.

^k Histoire de

(B) The loss of *Calais* was not only great in itself, but brought much discredit on the king's affairs. Its fortifications were in a miserable condition, and those intrusted with the defence of it very negligent, which probably

had advanced with a body of cavalry into its neighbourhood, returned to the siege of *La Fere*. *Calais* was taken the 22d of *April*^m. *La Fere* surrendered to the king on the 22d of *May*ⁿ; it was a place of very great consequence; but the loss of *Ardes*, which was taken the very next day by the *Sieur de Rhosne*, against the opinion of the *Spaniards* themselves, chagrined the king extremely. *Rhosne* did not enjoy his reputation long, being killed the same year by a cannon shot at the siege of *Hulst*^o.

Public affairs
in great p-
plexity.

CARDINAL de Medicis, whom the pope had sent legate into *France*, made his entry into *Paris* on the 25th of *July*; the king had just reason to be pleased with his conduct. He treated with contempt some endeavours to excite new disputes with the court of *Rome*, and did all that was in his power to promote peaceⁿ. The king, notwithstanding, found his affairs very much embarrassed; the duke of *Mercoeur* still supported himself in *Bretagne*, by the assistance of the *Spaniards*, and amused the king with a very insincere negotiation, notwithstanding he had permitted his sister, the queen-dowager, to make him a visit, and to offer him all that he could desire. The Hugonots, prompted by the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Trimouille*, were on the point of taking dangerous resolutions, which the king had much ado to prevent^a. His finances were in such disorder, that in the camp before *La Fere* he wanted the common necessities of life^r. *Henry*, however, kept up his spirits; he sent marshal *Biron* into *Artois*, where he treated the country in the same manner the *Spaniards* had treated *France*. His affairs requiring it, he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with *England* and *Holland*^s; and, in order to settle his domestic concerns, he called an assembly of the notables at *Rouen*, an epidemic disease prevailing at *Paris*, where many good regulations were made, and some steps taken to pacify the Hugonots^c. The queen of *England*, as a mark of her sincere reconciliation, sent him the order of the garter^u.

Amiens sur-
prized by the
Spaniards.

THE Hugonots, who had transferred their first assembly at *Laudon* to *Vendosme*, and from thence to *Chateleraut*, continued to give the king infinite disquiet, notwithstanding all the methods he could possibly take to make them easy^v. He suspected, and with good reason, that there was more of faction and intrigue, than of concern for religion, in their manner of behaviour; for, while the kingdom was in this distress, they fortified and garrisoned their own places, instead of sending troops to his assistance. To supply their expences, they seized the

^m MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.

ⁿ JACOBI THUANI, MEZ.

^o CAYET. P. DAN.

^p SERRBS.

^a DUPLEIX, tom. v.

^r P. DAN. tom. x. p. 160, 161.

^s JACOBI THUANI.

^c Memoires de

SULLI.

^u CAMDENI Annales Elizabeth, p. 732.

^v DAVILA.

probably was owing to their having no apprehensions from *England*, and the bad state of the king's finances. But, after all, there were other circumstances which contributed not a little to its being so quickly taken. *Rhosne*, whose life and fortune depended upon the success of the expedition, surprized the bridge of *Nicole*, and the fort of the *Risbank*, before the governor, the garrison, or the inhabitants, were recovered from their first consternation. The king shewed his activity and his courage, in embarking himself with a handful of men, in hopes of entering the port; but the weather was so bad, that the execution of this design proved impracticable to him and the *Dutch*, who had also made an embarkation with the same view. After all, the *French* endeavoured to throw the blame entirely upon queen *Elizabeth*. They say, that the earl of *Essex* was then in the channel with a fleet and army; and, that if he had but made a shew of landing, the *Spaniards* must have raised their siege. *Monf. de Sanci*, then in *England*, pressed queen *Elizabeth* extremely upon this head, to which she answered, "I see that *Calais* is lost, if I don't undertake its defence; and I will, provided the king will leave it in my hands." "Madam," replied *Sanci*, "the king is at hand to prevent its being lost, or to retake it if it should." But if you must, returned the queen, had not you rather it were in my hands, than in those of the *Spaniards*. We would not have it, answered *Sanci*, in the hands of either; but, if this must happen, we had rather it should be in the hands of the *Spaniards* than yours. To this the queen answered with some warmth, I cannot believe, Sir, that you have your master's orders to talk to me in this strain. No, madam, replied *Sanci*, the king never gave me any orders of this kind, because he could never have imagined, his affairs being in such circumstances, you could have formed such a demand. The king sets so high a value upon your friendship, that he conceives nothing could repair the loss of it. But if you were in possession

of *Calais*, you must become his enemy of consequence; for the *French* cannot endure those who despoil them of their best places. We know what time and trouble it cost us to expel the *English*. If the *Spaniards* should take it, they will not be able to keep it long; and we persuade ourselves, madam, you would join your forces to ours, in order to drive them out. The queen said, that she would acquaint the king, her brother, with her intentions, by her ambassador; and accordingly lord *Sidney* informed him, that, tho' the queen had affairs of great importance to the common cause upon her hands, yet she was content to relieve *Calais*, provided she might retain it as a security for the large sums she had lent him. But the king turning his back, said, that, if it must be torn, he had rather it should be by a lion than by a lioness. Our own writers, in what they say, agree perfectly well in this account; the fleet then preparing was for the expedition against *Caliz*, but it was not in such readiness as the *French* authors affirm. On the contrary, when the news came of the danger of *Calais*, the queen on the 9th of *April*, which was *Good Friday*, issued her orders to the mayor and aldermen of *London* to press a thousand men for that service, who were ready before night, and being furnished with all necessaries, might have marched the next morning for *Dover*; but on *Saturday* afternoon they were all discharged. Yet on *Easter-Day*, about ten in the morning, the same orders were given, and the church doors being shut, a thousand men were pressed by noon, the best part of them sent away that night, and the rest the next morning towards *Dover*, and other corps resorted from different parts to the same place; but in a week's time they returned, *Calais* being taken. The reason assigned was, that the *French* were more inclined to let it fall into the hands of the *Spaniards* than into those of the *English*; and *Henry* is reported to have made use of this expression on the occasion; We are old enemies, and but new friends.

public

a public money; and, in their addressees to him, took such freedoms as chagrined the king the more, because the zealous catholics testified a malignant joy at these proceedings, and the dukes of *Savoy* and *Mercœur* insisted upon higher terms than formerly, and seemed less disposed than ever to peace. While things were in this situation, an event happened which threw the king and kingdom into absolute confusion *. Don *Ferdinand Tello de Portocarrero*, who commanded the *Spanish* garrison in *Dourlens*, formed a design of surprising *Amiens*. The king, who saw that place was exposed, would have put a corps of *Swiss* troops into it; but the inhabitants, who had opened their gates to the king, were averse to it, and the king, on that account, was unwilling to give them any just cause of discontent. *Portocarrero*, that he might the better know how to take his measures, went thither several times, sometimes in one disguise, sometimes in another. At length he brought his design to bear; and, with very little effusion of blood, made himself master of the place on the 11th of *March*.

THE news of this misfortune affected the king more than any thing that had ever happened to him. He sent for the baron *de Rhosny*, and complained to him passionately, that he was surrounded with difficulties and dangers, and entirely destitute of the means to defend himself; that the Hugonots were ready to revolt on one side; that the *Spaniards* pushed him hard on the other; that the small number of troops he had about him could scarce be called an army; and that his want of money, though extreme, was not greater than his want of resources and credit. *Rhosny* gave him the best comfort he could, and undertook to form a scheme for delivering him out of his distress. In a few hours he brought him a memoir, which raised the king's spirits; he copied it with his own hand, and resolved to take the honour of it to himself, not to lessen the merit of the baron's service, but to give it the greater weight in his council. This had the desired effect. He raised, by a voluntary loan, by engaging his faith for repayment in two years, with interest, six hundred thousand crowns; he raised the Gabelle; and to stop all enquiries into their ill management, he drew from those intrusted with the receipt of his revenues, in a very short time, two millions and a half, by way of contribution; and, that they might be better managed for the future, he put the baron at the head of the finances ². These acts of prudence and vigour put it in his power to besiege *Amiens*.

WHILE the necessary preparations were making for this purpose, the king was obliged to go to *Paris*, on account of a distemper which was the effects of his debauches, and there it was he spent in his chamber the most melancholy three weeks of his life; for, having good intelligence from some about him, who would not on any terms conceal the truth, he understood the real state of his affairs, which were never in a worse condition. The loss of *Amiens* had cooled that spirit which before prevailed of imploring his clemency, and expiating past faults, by present assistance. It was a wind that fanned the dying ashes of the league; and the duke of *Mercœur*, having persisted in his revolt in hopes of some such turn, received with open arms such as retired into *Bretagne*, and encouraged all who were capable of causing little castles or villages to revolt, who were near him ¹. The duke of *Savoy* carried the war on briskly, and would certainly have made great impressions on *France*, if *Lefdiguieres*, without any assistance, had not baffled all his projects ^b. Even the duke of *Florence*, who had acknowledged the king so early, and had done him so many services, thought him now in so weak a condition, that he seized the island and castle of *If*, which, in some measure, commanded the port of *Marseilles*, without troubling himself about an excuse ^c. But what affected the king more than all the rest, and forced from him complaints that were not suitable to his character, were the attempts made by the three dukes of *Montpensier*, *Bouillon*, and *Trimouille*, to establish a third party, under the title of *Bons-Francois*, or *True Patriots*, under the protection of the queen of *England*; and in consequence of this strange design, the refusal of the Hugonots to march any troops to his assistance, under pretence that they were afraid of a new *St. Bartholomew* in the field; the very thought of which the king abhorred. In this distress he sought the assistance of the parliament, in a manner very different from that in which he had treated them, when he forced them to register the edict in favour of the duke of *Mayenne*. However, he had much better fortune than his predecessor; his misfortunes operated in his favour, his old friends stuck fast by him, and his new ones exerted themselves in a manner that he did not expect ^d, and which justified his former conduct towards them.

THE baron *de Rhosny* reproached the Hugonots for their behaviour, and shewed them the folly of forming a faction against a prince, who was inclined to do for them all they could reasonably ask. *Lefdiguieres*, upon whom they had great dependence, gave them to understand, that he not only disapproved their conduct, but that, if they persisted in their designs, he would turn his forces against them. At length, by dint of *Rhosny's* influence, *Lefdiguieres's* menaces, and the king's granting them all that they asked, they were prevailed upon to be

Henry exceedingly affected with his misfortunes, and is luckily supported by Rhosny.

Becomes more uneasy at Paris, which excites a general spirit in his friends to assist him, and to recover Amiens.

The cardinal archduke marches to its relief, fails, and Amiens is recovered.

* JACOB THUANI.
de SULLI.

^y CAYET, tom. iii.

² Memoires de SULLI.

² SERRES. Memoires

^b Hist. de Savoye.

^c JACOB. THUAN.

^d P. DANIEL.

quiet, and the third party came to nothing ^a. The duke of *Mayenne* made a great stir. He told his old friends that the only way to shew they had formerly acted upon principle, was not to spare either their persons or their purses for the king: the queen of *England* sent over a body of four thousand good foot; and when the king came in person to the siege of *Amiens*, he quickly increased his army to thirty thousand men ^b. But while he had been taking his measures, the *Spaniards* had fortified the place, in which they had a numerous garrison, composed of their best troops, commanded by *Portocarrero*, who made continual sallies, till, very luckily for the *French*, he was killed by a cannon shot ^c. The garrison then chose for their governor Don *Jerom Caraffa*, marquis of *Montenegro*, a man of cool but determined courage, who prosecuted his predecessor's plan, retrenched himself within the town, and gave the archduke time to march to his relief, with twenty-five thousand men, all old troops, and by much the best in the *Spanish* service. On their approach, there arose great debates among the king's council. Marshal *Biron* advised the king to give the enemy battle in the field; the duke of *Mayenne* vehemently opposed this; the king said coolly, *What then is to be done?* "Sire," replied the duke, you came hither to recover *Amiens*, and not to gain a victory. To fight, is to stake your kingdom upon the fortune of a day, against an army equal in number, and composed of excellent troops. Remain in your lines; I know the *Spaniards*, they are slow and cautious, and will not be forward to force you ^d." The king took his advice. The archduke, with his army, advanced towards the lines. The troops in the trenches fell into a panic, and ran away. The duke of *Mayenne* kept a continual discharge of his artillery, that the smoke might conceal the misfortune, and marched in person to repair it. The archduke, through his caution, lost his opportunity. He advanced a second time to attack the weakest part of the intrenchments. The duke of *Mayenne* posted six pieces of cannon so opportunely, and they did such terrible execution, that the *Spanish* forces retired. If they had advanced briskly two hundred yards farther, they had done their business. The duke caused that weak part to be fortified, and on a third attempt they were repulsed with loss, upon which the archduke retired, and the place surrendered on the 25th of *September*, on honourable terms ^e. The king would needs carry the news to *Arras*, where the archduke lay sick; and, having advanced with his army pretty near the walls, he saluted them with a discharge of his artillery, and resolved to conclude the campaign with the siege of *Dourlens*, that the enemy might be removed to a greater distance from his frontiers; but the bad season of the year, and the fatigue of his troops, constrained him to desist from that design ^f; which, for that reason, it had been better he had never undertaken.

Amazing
change of the
king's affairs,
and happy
escape from
secret conspi-
racies.

THE king was received at *Paris*, on his return from the campaign of *Amiens*, with all possible marks of loyalty and respect. The face of his affairs was entirely changed; and he saw himself now on the point of becoming entirely master of his kingdom ^g. *Lefdiguières*, though constrained to raise money upon his own credit, and by what other methods he could devise, had disappointed all the views of the duke of *Savoy*, notwithstanding the assistances he received from *Spain*, had taken from him five or six places, had repulsed his army with loss, when attacked in his intrenchments, and more than once beat his troops in the field. Insomuch that the duke, quite tired out by this *Fox* of *Dauphine*, as he called him, who was never to be out-witted, began to think seriously ^h of peace; the rather, because he understood that his Catholic majesty intended, by the mediation of the pope, to put an end to the war without delay. *Henry* was far from being averse to either of these treaties, though he had discovered that the court of *Madrid* had still some partizans in *Paris*, who, under the beloved title of *the council of sixteen*, had begun to hold private meetings after the taking of *Amiens*. But being discovered and secured, seven of them were hanged, and others banished; two advocates, one of *Beauvois* and the other of *Paris*, by whose assistance the duke of *Mercœur* carried on a correspondence with the archduke in *Flanders*, were, by an arret of the parliament, condemned to be broke alive upon the wheel at the *Greve*, which sentence was executed with the utmost severity. But the king spared the life of *Peter Owen*, a *Carthusian* monk, and a native of *Bretagne*, with whom the *Spaniards* had treated to procure a person to attempt the king's life, because, before it was discovered, it appeared that he repented of his design; and the man being dead with whom he had tampered, refused to proceed any further ⁱ. The king consented likewise that marshal *de Brisac*, who commanded for him in *Bretagne*, should conclude a truce with the duke of *Mercœur* for the remainder of the year, to take place from the middle of *October*; and he sent *M. de Villeroy* to the frontiers, to settle with Mr. *Richardot*, the minister of the cardinal archduke, the place and time for opening the conferences for the conclusion of a general peace ^j. The duke of *Luxembourg*, who had been twice there before, was the king's minister at *Rome*, and very well received; but the

^a DUPLEIX.
P. DANIEL.
de Savoye.

^b MEZ. tom. vi. p. 173.

^c MEZERAY, tom. vi. p. 179.

^d DUPLEIX, tom. v. p. 224. MEZ.

^e SERRES.

^f D'AVILA, liv. xv.

^g DUP.

^h LE GEND. tom. v.

ⁱ GUICH. Histoire

^j Memoires de SULLI.

a secret remained with *Arnold d'Offat*, one of the ablest and one of the honestest ministers in the king's service; and yet he was more fortunate in this respect than most of his predecessors^p. For in no period the *French* monarchy ever produced better officers or abler statesmen than A.D. 1597. under this reign.

THE king, while his ministers were treating of a peace with *Spain*, meditated an expedition, which he thought might restore at once the interior quiet of the kingdom. In order to this, having sent the constable to command in *Picardy* with a small corps of troops, knowing well that the *Spaniards* had not inclination or force to give him much disturbance, he ordered the marshal *de Brisac* to renew the war in *Bretagne*, and not to listen to any propositions whatever. The marshal pursued his instructions with spirit and success. In the beginning of *February* the king began his march with two thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, directly towards *Bretagne*. On his approach, six or seven of the principal nobility of that duchy rendered their fortresses, and made their peace with the king^q. The duke of *Mercœur* was so astonished, that he gave all for lost, and resolved to make his peace also on the best terms he could. He was indeed the dupe of his own politics, and this to the very last; for as, at the beginning, he had flattered himself with the hopes of keeping the duchy of *Bretagne*, in right of his wife, so, at this very juncture, he scarce made any doubt that he should have been comprized in the general peace, as an ally of *Spain*. But finding himself on the point of being attacked by a royal army, and at the same time on the brink of being deserted by most of his dependents, he was obliged to have recourse to an expedient, which, though it operated much better than he could expect, was a resource not very pleasing to himself, and extremely mortifying to his duchess, the heiress of the house of *Penthièvre*, and one of the proudest women in *France*. What made it still more afflicting to her was, the untoward circumstance of being obliged to go in person as a suppliant to *Angiers*, where the king was, and to make the proposition herself^r. This was to give their only daughter to the king's natural son, whom the courtiers, to please his father and flatter his mother, called *Cæsar-Monsieur*. This was accepted, and the king gave his son the duchy of *Vendosme*, with that of *Beaufort*, after the decease of his mother; on the other hand, the young princess was to have the duchies of *Estampes*, *Penthièvre*, and *Mercœur*. The duke was likewise obliged to resign, in favour of his son-in-law, the government of *Bretagne*; and the king, to make all things sure, caused the young couple to be immediately contracted, and soon after married by the cardinal *de Joyeuse*, with as much pomp as if he had been his lawful and not his legitimated son^s. The king went afterwards to *Rheims*, to hold the states of *Bretagne*, and from thence to *Nantes*. In the space of two months, which the king spent in this country, he amassed twelve hundred thousand crowns in ready money, two thirds of which arose from the free gift of the states, and was a very seasonable supply for his coffers, which were in a great measure emptied by the expence of the war, and the vast sums which the settlement of his son had cost him, and by which he was rendered the richest prince in *France*.

By this time the Hugonots also had altered their manner of thinking, and were very solicitous to have their affairs once for all settled, upon which subject they had followed the king from *Blois* to *Nantes*, and there it was that they at length procured the famous edict^t, bearing the name of that place, dated the last of *April*, which for a while procured him quiet, and ought to have secured to them a perpetual and solid establishment in *France*. The commissioners on the part of the king were the Sieurs *de Schomberg*, *de Thou*, *de Calignon*, and *Jeanin*; and the deputies from the Protestants were the Sieurs *de Conflans*, *de la Mothe*, *de Casès*, and *Chamier*. This last was minister of *Montelimar*, and one of the ablest and worthiest persons in that communion. According to some^u, it was he who drew the edict, which was well considered, and highly favourable to the reformed. It is certain there was at least as much of policy and apprehension, as of gratitude or inclination, in what the king did for them. On one hand he was much estranged by their behaviour, and by the ingratitude of their chiefs, who sought chiefly to render themselves formidable by a pretended zeal for religion. On the other, the lords of the Catholic league had lately rendered him very important services, and professed themselves zealously attached to his person and government. But the fear he had, that, if the Hugonots took arms, they might not only draw foreigners again into their kingdom, but also retard the peace with *Spain*, and afford a pretence for reviving the Catholic league, made him willing to grant them favourable terms: but, above all, his desire of peace, that he might have an opportunity of remedying the disorders and extinguishing the grievances of which his subjects of all ranks complained, induced him to grant this edict, and to maintain it, after it was granted, with that firmness which became a king, conscious that he had acted from no other motive, and that what he had done could have no

^p JACOB. THUAN. P. DANIEL.
moires de SULLI.

^q Memoires de SULLI.
^r P. MATTHIEU.

^s DUPLEIX. tom. v.

^t Me-

^u VARILLAS.

other tendency, than promoting the general tranquility and public good (C). Henry, when a he was secure as to the rectitude of his measures, was equally eloquent and firm in their support.

By the peace of Vervins, the king obtains that tranquility necessary to restore the public welfare.

THE conferences for the peace with *Spain* were carried on very successfully at *Vervins*, under the mediation of the cardinal of *Florence*, the pope's legate, and *Francis Gonzagua*, bishop of *Mantua*, who had the title of nuncio; the *French* plenipotentiaries were Messieurs de *Bellievre* and *Sillery*, successively chancellors of *France*; and on the part of the archduke (for the king of *Spain* would treat no otherwise than through him) were, the president *Richardot*, the commander de *Taxis*, and the Sieur *Verreiken*, who had a high office in the administration of the *Low Countries* ^w. As both parties were eager for peace, it had been very soon concluded, but for the respect due to their allies. Queen *Elizabeth* sent over Sir *Robert Cecil*, and the states employed count *Justin* of *Nassau*, to persuade the king not to conclude, and even to offer him a new alliance, by which the maritime powers were to furnish him with a numerous corps of troops to augment his army, and to maintain them at their own expence ^x. The influence of the court of *Rome*, and the advantages the king promised himself from the peace, induced him to reject these offers, and to endeavour by all the arguments possible (in which, however, it has been doubted whether he was sincere) to engage them to concur with him in his views, and to accommodate their differences with *Spain*. But they declared flatly against that measure, not that the queen herself was so much against this measure; but that she was determined not to separate her interests from those of the republic; and the states having intercepted some of king *Philip's* letters, were but too well apprized of the sentiments of the court of *Madrid* to think of making peace ^y. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* had as much to do with the duke of *Savoy*, who would not hear of the restitution of the marquisate of *Saluces*, though taken from the crown of *France* in a time of full peace. At length an expedient being proposed to leave that matter to the decision of the pope, it was agreed to. The treaty of *Vervins* was signed on the 2d of *May* ^z; but it was not to be published till the 12th of *June*, in order to afford some kind of satisfaction to the queen of *England* and

^w DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. MATTH.

^x Memoires de Sillcri-

^y MEZERAY. P. DANIEL.

^z D'AVILA, lib. xv.

(C) This famous edict bore date at *Nantes*, April 13th 1598, and besides re-establishing in a most solid and effectual manner all the favours that ever had been granted to the reformed by other princes, and particularly by this predecessor, there were added some which had not been either imagined or demanded before; particularly the granting them a free admission to all employments of trust, profit, and honour, the establishing chambers in which the members of the two religions were equal, and the permitting their children to be educated without constraint in any of the universities. The Protestants were so well satisfied with this edict, that they appointed deputies to attend the king, with their thanks, and ordered public prayers to be made for his prosperity. His illustrious historian, who was also a firm and zealous Protestant, applauds the temper, moderation, and steadiness, with which Henry made and adhered to this edict. He gives us a full account of the circumstances of his master at the time he granted it, and from thence shews that he was extremely willing to extinguish religious as well as civil feuds amongst his subjects, for which he applauds him highly. We learn also from him, that the edict was no sooner signed than he resolved to make the duke of *Bouillon* acquainted with his real sentiments. The duke had the gout at the time, and was confined to his room. The king made him a visit, ordered every body to retire, and, when the room was cleared, told that great lord he must hear him without interruption. He then entered into a long detail of the favours he had heaped upon him, of the strange returns he had made, of his immeasurable ambition, of all the intrigues into which he had entered, and of the measures he had pursued to excite jealousies of him amongst the Protestants. In vain the duke offered to make excuses; the king told him there needed none, for that as an old friend, and one equally sensible of and grateful for past services, these were both forgiven and forgot; but that, for the future, if he trod in his old paths, and made it his business to throw the cloak of religion over pernicious practices, instead of expostulating with him as he did now with the freedom of an old acquaintance, he should

treat him with the language that became his master and his king. He discoursed with the like freedom to his parliaments; and, as he spoke well, he was commonly well heard, and what he said made a great impression. He told the parliament of *Paris*, who had made very warm remonstrances upon his directing them to register this edict, that he was surprized to find they doubted his being a Catholic, when the pope and the king of *Spain* were convinced of it. He owned to them that necessity was the parent of this edict; but not such a necessity as some of them imagined. He avowed the necessity he meant to be that of a general and solid peace. He told them the state of the kingdom, and the safety of the Catholic religion required this; that in point of religion there was nothing to be done by violence; that when he was himself a Protestant, and at the head of the Protestants, that he had always found persecution did them service; that by driving men of conscience and constancy to extremities, it furnished the Protestants with troops that were invincible, even by defeats; that it was idle to think of beating men out of their faith; and that if they had really a mind to convert the Protestants, they must amend their lives, and render their actions conformable to their doctrines. He added, that he was a Catholic king; but that he was a shepherd as well as a king, and would not sacrifice one part of his flock to please the other. He expatiated on the pains he had taken to unite and quiet all parties, by granting them whatever they could reasonably desire, notwithstanding any offences he might have received. He told them farther, that it was not through weakness or fear that he made use of this language, for that he knew where to find twenty thousand men who would make his will the law; but that this would be acting like a tyrant, which he despised and abhorred. He told them that he was always ready to hear their remonstrances, and not theirs only, but those of the meanest of his subjects. He concluded with advising them to have for the future no other emulation than who should appear the best Christians and the best subjects. His advice was received as it deserved, and the edict was verified, as will be shewn in the text.

the

- a the states, who, notwithstanding, highly disapproved the king's conduct, with which the latter had the least reason to be satisfied, and with which, notwithstanding, the former seemed to be the most offended. All these great affairs being concluded in four months time, gave the king very high pleasure, though it suffered some abatement from the reproaches he met with from the queen of *England*, so much the more cutting as he owed her infinite obligations ^a. The archduke sent to *Paris* the duke of *Arscot* and the admiral of *Arragon*, to assist at the ceremony of the king's swearing to the performance of the treaty of *Notre Dame*. On the other hand, the king, in the month of *July*, sent Monsieur *Biron*, whom he had lately created duke and peer of *France*, together with Messieurs *Beilievre* and *Sillery*, to *Brussels*, to be present at the like ceremony on the part of the cardinal archduke ^b. A circumstance that
- b would not have been found in this history, if there had not been good grounds to suppose that this journey gave a beginning to those intrigues that cost *France* so dear, and at length brought the unfortunate marshal duke *de Biron* to the block; for the *Spanish* ministers had been so long and deeply immersed in treasons, that they could not lay them aside.

- THIS year likewise the king, by the negotiation of *Arnold d'Offat*, concluded a treaty with the great duke of *Tuscany*, which was attended with singular complaisance on both sides. The king had discovered some intrigues of the grand duke in *Provence*, but thought fit to dissemble them, in remembrance of the kindnesses he had received from that prince, when his affairs were in a desperate situation. On the other hand, the grand duke having consented to evacuate the islands that he held on the coast of *Provence*, upon the king's confessing a debt of two hundred thousand crowns, and giving him twelve such hostages as he should name for the payment of it in four years; he, by a letter to *Henry*, renounced this last condition, merely because he understood it was very disagreeable to him. This treaty was concluded ^c within the same period of time, and by the execution of it, together with that of *Vervins*, put the king in full possession of all the territories belonging to the crown of *France*. Before the close of the year the king made many excellent regulations in his finances, disbanded a great part of his troops, provided against the accidents this might have occasioned, satisfied the clergy of *France* on their remonstrances, and escaped from a dangerous fever that brought him to the brink of the grave, about the same time that his old antagonist, *Philip* the second, actually sunk into it, and thereby secured the continuance of that
- d peace which had been lately made; for his son was not of a temper to undertake the revival of a war, which had almost exhausted his dominions ^d; and if it had not been for some of his father's old ministers, the duke of *Lerma* was inclined to leave the rest of *Europe* in quiet.

- AT the opening of the year, the king, by the advice of the baron *de Rhosny*, remitted the taxes that were due, to the amount of twenty millions ^e. The minister very wisely observed, that the king might as well have the credit of giving what could never be paid, and at the same time make it an argument for his frugality, in the maintenance of his court, and in the gratifications of his favourites. It was the maxim of *Rhosny*, that, in the management of the treasury, there was not so much need of a great genius and long experience, as of a clear head and an honest heart. He practised every method possible to bring his master out of debt, and to maintain the state honourably, without oppressing the people ^f. It was the great commendation of the king that these talents made his minister acceptable to him; for he was truly the father of his people. He was very tender in taking from them, and had the highest satisfaction at seeing them thrive. The baron *de Rhosny* was not content with being a good œconomist, and doing his duty with the utmost fidelity; he would go still farther, and make the king master of his own affairs; and this, notwithstanding the quickness of his temper, which would not allow him to attend to any thing long ^g. *Rhosny* digested the whole system of the finances into tables, by the help of which the king saw, in a very narrow compass, all the different branches of his revenue and of his expence. It is inconceivable
- f in how short a time this able man drew exact order out of that chaos in which these affairs had been involved by his predecessors. He levied the revenue in the shortest and least expensive manner possible; for he held that every person so employed was a man lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He reduced all the expences of the government; but at the same time he paid every body punctually, and took care that the king should have such a reserve, as not to be obliged on any emergency to have recourse either to new impositions upon his people, or to make use of credit ^h. This is a succinct representation of this great minister's administration, to which we shall add but one circumstance more, that, instead of making this ministry useful to himself, by gaining friends, he never hesitated at making himself enemies, by standing between his master and those importunate courtiers who were perpetually craving, in a degree out of all proportion to their merit ⁱ. Under the reign

Obtains the
restoration of
what had been
seized on
the coast of
Provence by
the duke of
Florence.

A. D. 1598.

A short ac-
count of the
baron de
Rhosny's ad-
ministration
of the finances.

^a Memoires de SULLI.
P. MATTH.

^b Memoires de Sillery. P. DAN.

^c JACOBI THUANI, Histoire

^d MEZERAY.
P. DAN.

^e DUPLEIX, tom. v.

^f P. MATTH.

^g MEZERAY.

^h JACOB. THUAN.

ⁱ DUPLEIX, tom. v.

of *Henry* his enemies were unable to hurt him. In the next, they had credit enough to a remove him from his employment, in consequence of which the finances soon fell back into the same perplexity and confusion out of which he had brought them.

The king marries his sister to the duke of Bar, and inclines to marry the duchess of Beaufort himself.

THE marriage of the archduke *Albert*, to the Infanta, induced the king to hasten that of his sister with the duke of *Bar*, which, however, was attended with some difficulties, on account of the difference of religion, which had induced the pope to write to the duke against it, and prevented the obtaining a dispensation, notwithstanding which the king caused it to be celebrated by their natural brother *Charles de Bourbon*, archbishop of *Rouen*. The princess, however, notwithstanding this marriage, and her promise to be instructed, lived and died a zealous and sincere Protestant, without issue, and without felicity. Before she left *France*, she pressed the king extremely to procure the verification of the edict of *Nantes*, b in favour of the Protestants^k. It had been delayed till the departure of the Pope's legate, and this delay had given time to some warm spirits amongst the clergy to raise a vehement opposition against it, more especially to one of the clauses, which permitted the Protestants to invite what strangers they thought proper to assist at their synods, without demanding any permission from the crown, which had been put in to gratify the duke *de Bouillon*, and was penned in such a manner as gave the popish clergy but too much advantage. The king therefore caused it to be modified, with the consent of the Protestants, many of whom disliked it at the time, and, with a few other restrictions, obliged the parliament to register it, in the same manner he had done the edict in relation to the duke of *Mayenne*. But tho' his commands were peremptory, the reasons he gave for them were conclusive, and c such as, in the sentiments of impartial persons, rendered it evident he had not the gratification of the protestants more in view, than the peace and welfare of his subjects in general^l. Some historians say^m, that his sister would not leave *Paris* till she had seen this great work accomplished, which it was in the month of *February*. The king was not so successful in respect to his divorce and marriage, which he had for some time meditated, and which, in reality, were rather the schemes of the man than of the king. He was desirous of obtaining from the pope the dissolution of his marriage with *Margaret*, sister to the late king, to which that princess was not at all averse, and to which she afterwards consented. But at present, being informed that the king designed to replace her by marrying the duchess of *Beaufort*, she positively declared that she would give it all the opposition in her power. d The pope likewise expressed an extreme aversion to so strange, and, in some respects, so absurd a project, from which, however, the king never departed, till he was released from the importunities of the lady, by her unfortunate deathⁿ, which he deplored with great violence; but, like all things violent, his grief was but of short duration (D). His courtiers, out

^k *Memoires de SULLI.*
ⁿ *D'AUBIGNE.*

^l *JACOB. THUAN. Hist. DUPL. tom. v. MSX.*

^m *P. MATTH.*

(D) It was the great foible of *Henry* the fourth, that his intrigues had such an influence upon his conduct, that it is impossible to render the history of his reign, in any tolerable degree, intelligible, without entering into that of his amours. This lady, of whom we are to speak in the present note, was the daughter of *Anthony d'Estrees*, Seigneur de *Cœuvres* lez *Soissons*, master of the artillery (or, as we stile them, master of the ordnance), and of *Frances Babou de la Bourdaciere*. *Monf. d'Estrees* was a man of honour, and was extremely shocked at the ill conduct of his wife, who had an intrigue with the marquis *d'Alegre Meillan*, governor of *Issoire* in *Auvergne*, and was murdered in a tumult raised against her gallant. The sister of madame *d'Estrees*, whose name was *Isabel*, espoused the marquis *de Sourdis*, and, in the life-time of her husband, was the declared mistress of the chancellor *Monsieur de Chiverni*: as for the fair *Gabrielle* her niece, the king's amour with her commenced in the year 1591, to which her father opposed his authority as far as it was in his power; but the young lady's inclinations, and the counsels of her aunt madame *de Sourdis*, soon put her in the king's power, who is said to have run strange hazards for her sake, and whose passion certainly brought his person sometimes into danger, his authority more frequently, and his reputation always. We find her mentioned by so many names in the *French* history, that an ordinary reader may be easily confounded: sometimes she is called *La belle Gabrielle*, or, *The fair Gabrielle*, in respect to her beauty; sometimes mademoiselle *de Cœuvres*, from her father's title, more frequently madame

de Leincourt, and madame *de la Roche Guyon*, on account of her marriage with *Nicholas d'Amerval* Seigneur *de Leincourt*, and *de la Roche Guyon*, afterwards marchioness *de Monceaux*, and duchess *de Beaufort*, titles bestowed upon her by the king. According to some writers she had a great share in *Henry's* conversion; it is certain, that she was present at it, which was very indecent. The league had thoughts of making use of this lady to remove the king, even after his conversion, and on this score, one of their preachers was reprimanded for declaiming against the king's scandalous life with her. *Henry* was so little master of himself and of his passions, that he sent for her to the siege of *Amiens*; but the clamours of the army, and the bold remonstrances of the marshal *de Biron*, obliged him to remove her. On the death of *Monsieur St. Luk*, she procured for her father the post of master of the ordnance, but with great difficulty, because the king intended it for the baron *de Rhosny*. We are told by this great man, that the king resisted her caresses and tears, but, upon her threatening to go into a convent, he yielded; but he does not tell us, which, nevertheless, is true, that the father of *Monsieur d'Estrees* had that office, which he discharged very honourably, and that the conferring it upon his son was universally applauded. She was extremely ambitious of being queen; and this is supposed to have been one great motive for her pressing the king to become a Catholic, because, without the interposition of the pope's authority, and that too in several points, it was absolutely impossible. The king himself was much bent upon it. He mentioned it to cardinal *de Medicis*, when

a out of complaisance, approved what the meanest of his faithful subjects had sense enough to deplore.

It is absolutely necessary, how little soever it may correspond with the dignity of history; to proceed in our account of the king's amours, because the effects of them produced some of the most remarkable events in his reign. In three weeks after the decease of the duchess of *Beaufort*, which delivered him out of one of the greatest perplexities he had ever known, he ran himself into fresh difficulties, by commencing an intrigue with *Henrietta Balsac de Etragues*, the daughter of the famous madame *Touchet*, who became the mother of the count *d'Auvergne* by *Charles* the ninth. In order to obtain this lady, he gave her a promise of marriage; and, which is still stranger, he shewed this promise, before he delivered it, to

b Monsieur *de Rhosny*, who, without much ceremony, tore it. The king asked him if he was turned fool? "If I am, Sir," said he, "you have shewn in writing that you are a greater. I have done what it became your faithful servant to do; and you do, Sire, what it does not become a great king to do." Notwithstanding this, the king wrote and gave her another promise; and, from his countenance for some days, *Rhosny* looked upon himself as disgraced, and was of that opinion when the king surprized him, by adding to his former employments that of master of the ordnance^p. In the mean time the business of the divorce went on as well as the king could wish it at *Rome*; queen *Margaret*, on the death of the duchess of *Beaufort*, having done all that the king could desire to forward it, and the pope having directed a commission to his nuncio and two other prelates, they, upon

c the queen's declaring that she was violently compelled by the king her brother to espouse the then king of *Navarre*, to which she never gave her consent, the marriage was declared void, and the parties permitted to marry again^q. *Arnold d'Ossat*, now raised to the purple, and Monsieur *de Sillery*, negotiated this affair, and afterwards the marriage of the king to *Mary de Medicis*, niece to the grand duke of *Tuscany*^r. It was concluded sooner than he expected; but, when he found it was so, he entered into it with a good grace, and declared, that, as it was necessary for the welfare of his subjects, he was content to marry; though his minister tells us, that this monarch, whom all the dangers of war could not affright, and for conspiring against whose life no less than three monks had suffered this very year, trembled at

d not fail to excite them.

THE persons who were at present about the king, and had the principal share in his confidence, were the chancellor *Pompone de Bellievre*, to whom the king had given the seals on

A.D. 1599.

His scheme of reformation

^p P. DAN. tom. x. p. 253.

^q P. DAN. tom. x. p. 242, 243.

de SULLI.

P. P. MATTHIEU. Memoires de SULLI.

^r Lettres du Cardinal

JACOB THUAN. Hist. DUPLEIX. Memoires

when legate in *France*; but he heard it so coolly, that, when the king sent Monsieur *de Sillery* to *Rome* to press his divorce, he was particularly instructed not to mention it to this cardinal. When the king was taken ill at her house at *Monceaux*, she pressed him exceedingly, and obtained such assurances, that it appears from her discourses with madame *de Rhosny*, that she considered it as a thing certain. Her death was as remarkable as her life; she had accompanied the king to *Fontainebleau*, and passed with him there the greatest part of *Lent*, being at that time big with child; but the king, considering the scandal that would attend her remaining with him, during passion week, prevailed upon her to return to *Paris*; the reason of the thing induced her to consent, and the king conducted her as far as *Melun*; but, when she came to part with him, she recommended her children, her domestics, and all that belonged to her, with such earnestness, as if she had known she should never see him more. On her arrival at *Paris*, she went to the house of *Sebastian Zamet*, a native of *Lucca*, who had been long employed in the finances, and, for his pleasant temper, was in great favour with the king. It is a feature of the times worth knowing, that when this man married his daughter, and the notary came to draw the contract, he asked him how he wrote himself, lord of—? "As for that matter," answered *Zamet*, who on the side of family had nothing to boast, "write me lord of seventeen hundred thousand crowns," by which surname he went ever after. She was treated at his house with all possible attention, and every thing provided for her that she had been observed to like. One day, eating a citron after dinner, she felt herself extremely ill; however, be-

coming something better, she went to vespers, but, at her return, walking in the garden, she had a stroke of an apoplexy. As soon as she came a little to herself, she desired to be carried to the house of her aunt madame *de Sourdis*, where she died in violent convulsions in the month of *April*. The populace, and even some who should have been wiser, because her face was twisted in a very strange manner, and her body became a most hideous spectacle as soon as she was dead, concluded that she was strangled by the devil. *Mezeray* and other writers intimate that she was poisoned; *Clement* the eighth ascribed her death to a particular providence in his own prayers, foreseeing the miseries of *France* in case the king had married her, and insisted on the legitimation of his children by her, which was indeed one of the strangest projects that ever came into a wise man's head. She is said to have had many amiable qualities, and not to have been so generally hated as modern writers report. As to her marriage to Monsieur *de Liencourt*, a man of great quality and very rich, but withal very deformed, it was an artifice of the king's to get her out of the power of her father; but this marriage was never consummated, and was afterwards dissolved. She was far from being a woman of great capacity, was exceedingly addicted to astrology, though continually tormented with the apprehension of those miseries that were foretold her. The king had by her *Cesar* duke *de Vendosme*, born in *June* 1594, and who died at *Paris*, *October* 22d 1665. *Alexander*, grand prior of *France*, who died in 1629. *Catherine Henrietta*, who espoused *Charles* of *Lorraine*, duke *de Elbeuf*, and died in 1663.

disgusts many
of the great
nobility.

the death of Monsieur *de Chiverni*, a man of extensive parts and incorruptible probity; Mons.
Silleri, whom he had sent to *Rome*; the president *Jeanin*, and the baron *de Rhosny*; men
every way equal to the king's intention of restoring order and justice through all parts of his
dominions, repairing all the ravages which were caused by the civil war, and abolishing all those
innovations that had been made either to the prejudice of the prerogative of the crown, or
the welfare of the people. These schemes, how just, how necessary soever in themselves,
were not acceptable to all the world, and were more especially displeasing to those great lords
who did not care to be put in mind that there was such a thing as duty, or that they had any
superior. Amongst these might be reckoned the constable *Montmorency*, the marshal duke
de Bouillon, the dukes of *Tremouille* and *Montpensier*. But the duke of *Espernon* exceeded
them all in his discontents, and was himself exceeded by the marshal duke *de Biron*, whose
head was so turned with vanity, that he could no longer endure the thoughts of being a sub-
ject; and there is the less reason to wonder that he lost part of the reverence due to his
king, when he made no difficulty of preferring his own military skill and valour to those of
Alexander and *Cæsar*.

The duke of
Savoy comes
to the French
court.

THE agents of the duke of *Savoy* had acquainted their master with all that passed, and
more especially with these appearances of discontent amongst the *grande*es, that he might avail
himself of their misunderstandings. The duke, who had already treated the pope in such
a manner as obliged him to lay aside the character of arbitrator, with which he was invested
by the treaty of *Vervins*, in regard to the marquisate of *Saluces*, took a sudden resolution to
make a tour to the court of *France*, in which he had two great points in view; the first was
to try if he could cajole the king and his ministers, so as to obtain from them the country in
dispute, with which, at all events, he was determined never to part; and the other to form a
party amongst the malecontents in *France*, in case his first design failed^a. *Henry* would willing-
ly have avoided this visit; but the duke piqued himself so much upon his skill in negotiation,
and flattered himself so much with the hopes of making partizans in the *French* court, that
nothing could divert him from his project. He was received with all possible marks of respect,
treated with the utmost politeness and magnificence, and the duke, on his side, exceeded in
all respects the notions that had been entertained of him^b. He made his court to the king
with equal address and assiduity, without the least intermixture of meanness or of flattery; he
conversed with all the great men about the court with much ease and affability, without de-
parting from his dignity; he made presents to the value of four hundred thousand crowns;
and, in short, omitted nothing that was possible for him to do towards carrying his point,
and yet without advancing it at all. He was a full month at court before the king mentioned
any thing of business; and at length, when they came to treat, he told him plainly, that
the restitution of the marquisate of *Saluces* was what he expected, or an equivalent^c. This
seemed to please the duke best; and he proposed first one, and then another. At length a
treaty was signed at *Paris*, about the middle of *February*, by which the duke stipulated to
restore the marquisate of *Saluces*, or to yield to the king the equivalent therein expressed, and
to make his option by the first of *June*^d. As for the manner of this negotiation, the king
and his ministers had very little reason to expect that the duke would carry it into execution:
there wanted not some who advised *Henry* to secure that prince's person, as the most effectual
means of procuring the marquisate of *Saluces* without a war. But the king declared that he
would imitate the conduct of *Francis* the first, and not break his faith for the sake of any
advantage. He gave the duke to understand as much; who thereupon laid aside all thoughts
of making his escape, and, in the beginning of *March*, set out for his dominions, the
king and the whole court accompanying him as far as the bridge of *Charenton*, and sending
the baron *de Lux* to wait on him to the frontiers^e. On his arrival at *Bourg* in *Bresses*, which
was then a part of his dominions, he wrote a letter of thanks to his majesty, and then con-
tinued his journey to *Chambery*, where he remained till the 20th of *March*, and then went
to *Turin*^f, where he promised to give the king's ministers their definitive answer.

Henry makes
war on the
duke of Savoy.

THE duke who, while he was at the court of *France*, had laboured to persuade the king
and his ministers that he was intirely detached from *Spain*, and had even insinuated, that
he should not be averse to see *Henry* revive his pretensions to the duchy of *Milan*, no sooner
returned home than he sent his chancellor to *Madrid*, to demand the protection of *Philip*
the third, and his assistance, in case of a rupture^g. At first he was coldly treated, and had
some broad hints given him of the overtures made by his master while at *Paris*; but upon
his denying them, the *Spanish* ministry altered their language, gave him strong assurances
of support, and sent the necessary orders for that purpose to the conde *Fuentes*, governor
of *Milan*. In consequence of this the duke demanded first a delay, when summoned to

^a J. THUAN. Hist. DUPL. GUICHENON Histoire de Savoye. ^b Memoires de SULLI. P. MATTH.
^c D'AUBIGNE. MEZ. P. DAN. ^d Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat, tom. iv. GUICHENON. ^e Memoires
de SULLI. D'AUBIGNE, tom. iii. liv. v. c. 5. JACOB. THUAN. Hist. ^f GUICHENON. P. DAN. Me-
moires de SULLI. ^g GUICHENON Histoire de Savoye.

a make his option, and at length declared that the treaty of *Paris* was too hard, and that he could not think of carrying it into execution^a. The king who had taken his measures in the mean time, caused *Bresse*, *Savoy*, and the county of *Nice*, to be attacked all at a time. The first of these countries was entirely reduced by the marshal duke *de Biron*, except the citadel of *Bourg*^b. *Chamberry* and the best part of *Savoy* was likewise carried without much resistance. But the duke of *Guise* failed in his attempt to surprize the castle of *Nice*. All these transactions happened within the compass of the month of *August*. In the beginning of *September* the king took *Miolans*. *Lefdiguières* made himself master of *Conflans*, which opened a passage into the *Tarentaise* and of *Charbonnerie*^c, which gave him an entrance into the valley of *Maurienne*, both of which he reduced, and was then recalled, to satisfy the jealousy of the marshal *de Biron*; but what astonished the duke most was the reduction of *Montmélian*, which he looked upon to be impregnable: but the baron *de Rhosny*, whom the king had assured of this, upon his telling him, in jest, that the new cast cannon he saw was for the siege of that place, found means to carry six of them to the top of what had been thought an inaccessible mountain, from whence he battered the place, which so amazed the governor, that he promised to surrender, if he was not relieved in a certain time. The duke marched with a body of fifteen thousand good troops to relieve the place, and the king likewise marched to give him battle; but the snow falling, prevented it, and the place surrendered^d. This was followed by a fresh misfortune; marshal *Biron*, in the depth of winter, took fort *St. Catherine*, another of the duke's impregnable places, which he had fortified, at an immense expence, in order to bridle the city of *Geneva*, and which, at the request of the inhabitants of that city, the king caused to be demolished^e. This chagrined the duke exceedingly; however, as he had entered rashly into the war, he was constrained to think in earnest of getting out of it, for which he was indebted to the mediation of the pope.

AFTER the reduction of fort *St. Catherine*, the king resolved to go to *Lyons*, where the princess of *Florence* had waited for him a week^f. *Bellegarde*, master of the horse, and a great favourite of the king's had been sent to demand her at *Florence*; he carried with him the king's powers to the grand duke to espouse his niece, as the king's proxy, which he did on the 5th of *October*. After prodigious rejoicings, and a great display of magnificence, the galleys of *Florence*, the pope, and the order of *Malta*, brought the queen to *Marseilles*, where she landed on the 2d of *November*, accompanied by the grand duchess of *Florence* her aunt, the duchess of *Mantua* her sister, *Don Antonio de Medicis* her brother, and several other persons of high quality; she was received there by the constable, the chancellor, the dukes of *Nemours*, *Ventadour*, with the duke of *Guise*, as governor of the province, four cardinals, and many princesses and ladies of the court, who accompanied her to *Aix*, from thence to *Avignon*, and then, by the way of *Vienne*, to *Lyons*, where, on the king's arrival, the marriage was celebrated by the cardinal legate *Aldobrandi*^g. But in the midst of all the pleasures and diversions that attended a ceremony of this kind, in respect to which, tho' naturally frugal, the king suffered no expence to be spared, the great affairs of state went on, and particularly the treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, which was chiefly negotiated by the cardinal legate. The king was desirous of peace, which was absolutely necessary to the duke, and the pope also had his reasons to have it concluded without delay, which, notwithstanding, they were all inclined to dissemble^h. The address with which they acted their several parts caused at length the whole negotiation to be suspended; but, by the skill of the baron *de Rhosny*, it was again revived, and brought to such a conclusion as the king desiredⁱ.

He marries the princess Mary de Medicis, niece to the duke of Florence.

A. D. 1600.

f IN the whole *French* history there is scarce any instance of a war undertaken with more spirit, prosecuted with greater skill, or ended with more success; and it was, in a great measure, owing to this, that it was the last foreign war in this reign. But there is a secret as well as a public history of these transactions, necessary to make them thoroughly understood, since from a bare detail of events it should seem that the duke of *Savoy*, contrary to his character of being one of the ablest and shrewdest politicians of his time, entered into it rashly, conducted it weakly, and consequently was easily vanquished, which, in reality, was far from being the case. We have mentioned the reasons which induced him to make a tour to the *French* court, he mentioned them himself a little too plainly, when he said he came thither not to reap but to sow^k. He did indeed sow, and had the prospect of a fair harvest, tho' it deceived his hopes. He saw but few troops, and the difficulty made of shewing him arsenals and magazines induced him to conclude them empty; and besides, from the parsimony of *Rhosny*, he entertained a notion that the treasury must be exhausted. From

Causes and consequences of the war in Savoy.

^a P. MATTH. J. THUAN. *Memoires de SULLI*.

^b DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. tom. vi.

^c Histoire de

Lefdiguières, liv. vi.

^d J. THUAN. DUPL. tom. v. *Memoires de SULLI*.

^e P. MATTH. MEZ.

P. DAN.

^f DUPL. tom. v.

^g Sir R. WINWOOD's *Memorials of Affairs of State*, in the Reigns of Queen

Elizabeth and King James I. vol. i. p. 265—284.

^h P. MATTH. *Memoires du Cardinal de Bentivoglio*,

DUPL. GUICHENON. MEZ.

ⁱ *Memoires de SULLI*. P. DAN.

^k P. MATTH. P. DAN.

an enemy in this situation, he thought, there was little to fear. He was thoroughly informed ^a of the factions in *France*, and, from the vivacity of their chiefs, he took it for granted, that, if a war broke out abroad, it would produce various insurrections at home. He relied upon the strength of his own places, well fortified, abundantly provided, and filled with numerous garrisons. Besides, he depended much on the impression made by his liberality. It was scarce to be believed, and yet so it proved, that he was deceived in every one of them, by the vigilance and activity chiefly of the baron *de Rhosny*, who, in his character of a minister, advised the war, and, as master of the ordnance, conducted the sieges¹. Marshal *Biron* was in his interest, and at first endeavoured to serve him; but, when once in arms, his vanity prompted him to make conquests. His friends were continually about the king, and did for him all they could: but *Henry* understood the trade of war better than any of them; and ^b *Lefdiguieres* and *Rhosny* served him with such spirit and fidelity as baffled all their attempts. At the very opening of the war, there was a woman proposed to a great prince of the blood, whose discontents ran very high, to poison the king; but, instead of encouraging he disclosed the treason, for which she was burnt alive^m. The *Spaniards* likewise, tho' they promised much, performed little; and, after all, the power of the duke was by no means equal to his project, and could not at all bear him out after so many disappointments. His great losses determined him to make a disadvantageous peace, and his chagrin on this engaged him to continue his intrigues, in hopes of recovering by them what he had lost by the war. The good fortune of *Henry* inspired him with fresh courage, so that he applied himself, with greater assiduity than ever, to put his affairs in a good posture at home, and to support ^c the honour of the crown he wore, in such a manner as might secure him respect abroad. He knew that upon this depended not only his grandeur but his safety.

Henry goes to Calais to assist the archduke, who was besieging Ostend.

An insult offered to the count *de la Rochepot* at *Valladolid* embroiled him with the court of *Spain*; but the pope seasonably interposed, and procured such satisfaction as the king desired. The count *de Fuentes* had some correspondencies at *Marseilles*, which, being discovered, were prevented. The archduke *Albert*, notwithstanding his placid character, had likewise entered into some intrigues for surprising *Metz*, which met with the like fateⁿ. On that prince's besieging *Ostend*, the king thought fit to make a tour to *Calais*, that it might appear he was ready to defend his frontiers in case of any new attempt. This was in the month of *August*; and it happened that queen *Elizabeth* was then at *Dover*, from whence ^d she sent Sir *Thomas Edmonds* to compliment him, and by Sir *Thomas* a letter, with which he was extremely pleased^o. He sent over the baron *de Rhosny*, not in a public character, but as if he had taken that step out of curiosity; but, however, this gave him an opportunity of seeing and discoursing with the queen, whose abilities made a great impression on him, and to whom he said all that could be said to confirm her friendship for his master^p. Some writers^q say that she was very desirous of an interview with the king himself; which, however, considering her great age, and the state of her affairs at that juncture, is not very probable.

Marshal Biron sent over to compliment the queen of England.

THE king also sent over marshal *Biron*, with a train of one hundred and fifty noblemen and gentlemen, to express the sense he had of the queen's attention and respect. At the ^e time of his arrival the queen was gone to *Basing*, whither he followed her, and met with a most gracious reception. Amongst those persons of distinction who were with him, she took particular notice of the count *de Auvergne* and Monsieur *Crequi*, the son-in-law of *Lefdiguieres*^r. She had a very long, and, if what is reported of it be true, a very singular, conference with the marshal himself, to whom she spoke at large of the insolence of the earl of *Essex*, who had been executed in the month of *February* preceding; adding, at the same time, that her brother *Henry* would do well, on a like occasion, to imitate her firmness, and not to risque his safety or his authority by an ill-timed clemency^s: as to what some writers^t report, that the queen should shew him the head of *Essex* either in her closet or in the tower, it is altogether idle and ridiculous, since it is very certain that the earl's head was ^f buried with his body. It is justly observed by *Camden*^u, that the queen might enter into some particulars regarding the earl of *Essex*, with an intention to divert the marshal from persisting in those dangerous intrigues, which, in a few months after, brought the like fate upon himself. At his return the marshal found the king at *Fontainebleau*, where, on the 27th of *September*, the queen was delivered of the Dauphin^v, to whom the pope, being sponsor, gave the name of *Louis*. The propensity to astrology was so strong at this time in *France*, that the king engaged his principal physician *La Riviere* to calculate his son's nativity, upon which he pronounced a very mysterious and unintelligible judgment. The duke of *Savoy* had been engaged in the war that was so fatal to him by his credulity in this very point,

¹ JACOB. THUAN. DUPLEIX. ^m P. MATTH. ⁿ Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 342. ^o P. MATTH. ^p Memoires de SULLY. ^q P. DAN. tom. vi. p. 291. ^r JACOB. THUAN. Histoire du Condestable de Lefdiguieres, liv. viii. c. 3. p. 423. ^s J. THUAN. liv. cxxvi. p. 943. ^t P. MATTH. CAYET. MEZ. tom. vi. p. 246. ^u Hist. Elizabeth, p. 877. ^v P. MATTH. J. THUAN. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 346.

- a which was still more fatal to the marshal duke *de Biron*, and from which even the wife and great duke of *Sulli* was not wholly free ^z. The birth of the young prince occasioned great joy in *France*, where they had not seen a Dauphin born for four score years ^y. It was also of very great importance to the king's affairs; and by fixing the succession, gave them, in a manner, a new face both at home and abroad, but at the same time it quickened the conspirators in their measures, and their precipitancy exposed them to those discoveries which were very soon after made. It is also remarkable that *Anne of Austria*, daughter to *Philip* the third, who became the consort of *Lewis*, was born but five days before him. *Henry* made his queen a present of *Monceaux* upon this occasion, and the city of *Paris* gave her likewise a fine suit of tapestry, both being promised in case she brought a son ^z.
- b THE king caused a royal chamber to be erected for making a strict enquiry into the mismanagement of such officers as had been intrusted with the receipt of his revenue, which raised great expectations, and performed very little. The baron *de Rhosny*, afterwards duke *de Sulli*, attributes this to their not being at liberty to punish otherwise than by fine. But another historian assures us, that not only the guilty paid largely, but the innocent also, and for this reason he puts it upon the same foot with an inquisition of the like kind in the reign of *Henry* the third; and adds, that it was likewise copied in the succeeding reign ^a. The Grand Signor *Mohammed* the third sent over a *French* renegado, whom some historians dignify with the title of an ambassador, who was instructed to demand three things; first, That the king would not enter into the league which the pope was endeavouring to form amongst the Christian princes against the *Porte*. The second, To use his interest with the emperor, in order to dispose him to a truce: and the third, That he would recall his vassal the duke of *Mercœur*, who commanded the armies of the emperor in *Hungary*. The king gave general answers to the two first points; and, with respect to the last, declared it was out of his power; for tho' the duke of *Mercœur* was his vassal, he was likewise the vassal of the emperor, who from thence derived a right to his service ^b. It is highly probable that the duke of *Mercœur* was not very well pleased with his situation in *France*, and was therefore glad of so honourable an occasion of shewing his courage and military skill against the Infidels, where he gained a very high reputation. He was accompanied in this expedition by the duke of *Nevers*, and died the year following at *Nuremberg* ^c, in his way to *France*, where he was coming to recruit his forces. At this juncture the young nobility in *France* were of so martial a disposition, and so desirous of learning the art of war, that many of the Protestants went into the army of the states, and the prince *de Joinville* did the like in the army of the archduke ^d. It is not impossible that this was looked upon in a favourable light at court, as it employed those warm spirits that might have been otherwise troublesome at home.
- We have before mentioned the strange disposition of marshal *Biron*, his discontent, and his intrigues, which were better known to the baron *de Rhosny* than to any other of the king's ministers. After the war of *Savoy* the marshal demanded of the king a gratification of thirty thousand crowns, which was very frankly given. When he came to consult with *Rhosny* the manner of receiving it, for the state of the treasury was such that it could not be paid at once, the minister paid him half in ready money, and assured him of the remainder in a year. The marshal seemed to be very well satisfied, but turned all his gratitude towards the minister who paid, and not to the prince from whom it came. *Rhosny* instead of accepting his compliments, endeavoured to set him right in his judgment, which, in appearance, the marshal seemed to receive very well; but from this conversation *Rhosny* entertained such an idea of him, that he thought it his duty to acquaint the king with the necessity there was of his being upon his guard against a man of the marshal's turn, whom no obligations could restrain, and whose talents rendered him very capable of executing whatever his resentments, well or ill founded, might dictate. The king told him that he thought he knew *Biron* better than any man; that his great foible was vanity; and that, tho' very capable of lip treason, yet, in the midst of his extravagancies, he would be as ready and as zealous in his service as ever. That instead, therefore, of disgracing or estranging this malecontent from business, the only way to keep him out of mischief was to employ him ^e. It was with this view that the king sent him over to *England* the last year, and it was with the like view that he employed him in another negotiation at the beginning of this; a negotiation of infinite consequence to the *French* monarchy, and which hitherto had not been very far advanced even by the ablest negotiator. It was renewing the alliance with the *Swiss* cantons, which, from the difficulty that attended it, the king was very desirous of putting upon a new basis, and to stipulate not only for his own time, but for the reign of the Dauphin ^f. The consequence and the difficulty of the business were equally great, more especially as it was known that the traversing of this alliance was the capital point both of the king of *Spain* and of the duke

The royal chamber of inquiry, and arrival of the Turkish envoy.

A. D. 1601;

Marshal Biron sent to renew the alliance with the Swiss cantons.

^x DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZERAY. P. DAN.

^y P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. Memoires de SULLI.

^z J.

THUAN. MEZ. P. DAN.

^a DUPL. tom. v.

^b CAYET sous l'Ann. 1601.

^c P. MATTH. MEZ.

^d J. THUAN. DUPLEIX. P. DAN.

^e Memoires de SULLI.

^f P. MATTH. J. THUAN. D'AUBIGNE.

of *Savoy*, the former a very potent, the latter the most politic prince, at this time. The statesmen hitherto employed had, with all their reasonings, made no great progress; the sending *Biron* shewed the king's penetration, and that he really knew him better than any body, perhaps better than he knew himself. His martial disposition, his open artless manner of talking, his frankness, generosity, and magnificence, wrought upon the *Swiss*, and gave such weight to his arguments, that they could refuse him nothing. In short, he carried his point, the terms of the treaty were settled, the reducing it into form was to be left to others. This, as the *French* historians truly say, was the last, but not the least important, service that *Biron* rendered the king, and, which is still more, the crown of *France*; therefore we need not be surprized that, having thus spent the spring, it seems a little hard and ungrateful that the king should cause the head of this great man to be struck off a little after midsummer. But, to judge rationally, we must consider facts, and, at the same time, take into our view the circumstances attending them.

The strange disorder of public affairs, and the causes of this embaressment.

At a time when, through the good intentions of the king, and the intense application of his minister, it might have been expected that public affairs should have worn a favourable aspect, it was evident, even to vulgar eyes, that they never were either more obscured, or more embarrassed^b. Indistinct rumours prevailed through the provinces, the king lost his usual good humour, the court had nothing in it of gaiety; councils met often, and were long assembled, without people's knowing the true causes, which gave occasion to a variety of rumours that heightened the general perplexity^c. All this did not rise from the same motives; the king met with fresh sources of uneasiness, which ever way he turned. Several of the great lords retired, some to their governments, some to their estates. The clergy complained that bishopricks and benefices were bestowed at the recommendation of women, and sometimes upon children; the nobility and gentry that they were little considered; and that, since the settlement of the kingdom, the men of the long robe had engrossed all employments, and with them the king's favour. The Hugonots were as much discontented as any. They thought that the king was estranged from them, and that whatever respect was shewn them arose more from fear than inclination. The bulk of the people began to murmur. Amongst other impositions laid by the assembly at *Rouen*, there was one called the pancart, which was held in universal execration^d. It consisted in levying a sous in the livre upon all kinds of provisions that entered into cities and great towns; and a pancart, or table, shewing after what rate these sums were to be collected, was hung up at every gate. Insurrections happened in several places; the king went to *Blois*, and from thence to *Poitiers*, that he might put an end to these murmurs. His presence and some acts of severity had that effect; the new imposition was every-where levied, and immediately upon this an edict issued, in which, after acknowledging and applauding his subjects' submission, the king abolished the tax^e. He was rather to be pitied than censured for imposing it. His debts were immense; his revenue did not much exceed a million sterling^f: demands came from every quarter, and the king was treated as false and ungrateful for not doing what was not in his power to do, and which his endeavouring to do had raised this general discontent. But, besides, he was apprised of the intrigues carried on by *Spanish* emissaries in several provinces; he saw suspicious armaments by land and sea, and his allies were also dissatisfied. He was convinced that several of his own subjects had conspired against his person and government; and, when he came to look more closely into it, he saw reason to doubt whether he had a friend left, the list of the malecontents was so numerous^g, and the baron *de Rhosny's* name stood there amongst the rest. In the midst of all these troubles, that which he feared most fell upon him, a domestic quarrel^h, which once rose so high, that he had thoughts of parting with the queen, or at least of obliging her to discard all her *Italians*, people equally hateful and hated in *France*. He was dissuaded from this by the baron *de Rhosny*, and, at the time he gave him the advice, *Henry* told him he would repent it.

A length the king gains an exact account of the conspiracy, and resolves to seize on *Biron*.

It was at *Poitiers* that things came to such extremities, and from thence, upon some fresh discoveries, the king suddenly returned to *Fountainbleau*, fully resolved to extricate himself out of these difficulties and dangers by some stroke of vigour; and how necessary this was, and with what reluctance he took that determination, appeared evidently from the general concurrence of the best informed writers of those times, and is put beyond all doubt by the dispatches of the *English* ministers at his court, in which he is treated as a suspicious, timid, mutable prince, much inclined to fear, and whose anger was not much to be fearedⁱ. A strange character of *Henry* the fourth! But, if we consider, that those who gave it must have been governed entirely by appearances, and that they could not possibly have the lights we have now, it will appear some-what less strange. On the other hand, the king and

^a DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN. CHALONS. LE GEND. ^b Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 385-404.
^c Memoires de SULLI. CAY T. ^d DUPL. MEZ. LE GEND. ^e Memoires de SULLI. J. THUAN.
P. DAN. ^f Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. ^g Memoires de SULLI. Sir R. WINWOOD's
Memorials, vol. i. p. 385. DUPL. MEZ. ^h Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 406, 407. Memoires de
SULLI. ⁱ Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 407-411.

^a his ministers were not without their faults, the dissolute life that he led (it would be well if princes would consider this) of necessity rendered him contemptible ; but while kings are men, what they do as men will affect their characters as kings. The baron *de Rhosny* was a great minister and an honest man, but he was austere in his temper, haughty in his manners, and had too little complaisance either to his master or to his subjects. Besides all this, the grievances before mentioned were far from being imaginary ; and however necessary taxes may be, they are nevertheless burthensome to those who feel them. The duke of *Bouillon* told the king this upon his expostulating with him, being one of those of whom he had the most suspicion. The king, for this reason, pressed him to remain at court for some time ; he, with great dexterity, offered to go and put his private affairs in order, that he might remain continually about his person, and under this pretence he got out of his reach ¹. The duke *d'Espernon* acted a wiser and greater part. When the king made him the same proposition, he closed with it readily ; and, without making any compliment, said he would stay with his majesty six months ; and that if, in this space, the prospect did not clear, he would leave his two sons as hostages for his behaviour : the king was satisfied, and the duke performed punctually what he promised ². The great point was to get the marshal *Biron* into his hands, of whose treasons he had abundant evidence ; *La Fin*, who had been the principal instrument in conducting them, having made his peace by an ample discovery, the truth of which he justified by producing original papers in the duke's own hand ³, which had been committed to his care, that they might remain safe. The duke had another agent at court, ^c the baron *de Lux*, who was very faithful to him, and whom the king took care to amuse, as *La Fin* likewise did, by assuring him that he had imposed upon the ministers by false informations, and that the marshal had nothing to do but to make use of the time he had gained to put his affairs into such a condition, as that, notwithstanding the king's suspicions, he might have nothing to fear ⁴. This was the situation of the king, who, notwithstanding, was very far from determining in his own mind the destruction of a man who had entered into measures for destroying him.

THE marshal duke *de Biron*, at his return from *Switzerland*, retired into his government of *Burgundy*, having put into most of the strong places governors upon whom he thought he might depend. The king, who could no longer bear that state of uncertainty in which ^d he lived, sent him an order to come to court, which he declined, under pretence that the *Spaniards* intending to march a great body of troops through *Franche Comte* into the *Low Countries*, his presence was absolutely necessary in *Burgundy* ⁵. The king, disliking this excuse, sent to him the president *Jeanin*, and the baron *de Lux*, who was in his secrets and in his interest, whom the king had taken pains to deceive, by throwing out kind expressions of the marshal in his hearing. At the request of these two persons the marshal resolved to go to *Fontainebleau*, through a persuasion that the king held him innocent, or at least had only suspicions ⁶. One circumstance that had great weight with him, was the finding his fortresses defenceless, through the dexterity of *Rhosny*, who, in quality of master of the ordnance, had concerted with him the recasting all the artillery in those places, and had desired ^e that he would send his agent to *Lyons* to see the new pieces embarked the same day the old ones were sent out of *Burgundy* ; but causing the former to be stopped on the road, the marshal found himself disarmed, for which he swore revenge against *Rhosny* ⁷. When he drew near the court he was met by a person of confidence from the duke of *Espernon*, who told him that it was his master's advice, if he knew himself faulty, to have recourse to the king's clemency. He looked upon this as a reproach, laid his hand upon his sword, and threatened destruction to his accusers. He arrived on the 13th of *June* at *Fontainebleau*. He was received in appearance very kindly by the king, who pressed him thrice that day to deal ingenuously with him, and sent the baron *de Rhosny* and the count *de Soissons*, but to no purpose ⁸. *Henry* was extremely unwilling to make a person who had served him so ^f well and so lately the victim of these intrigues : but the marshal insisting on his innocence, demanding the names of his accusers, and at length mingling threats with his protestations, determined, after he had laid his proofs before his council, to cause him and the count *d'Auvergne* to be arrested. At their last conference he said to the marshal, " You know what I have told you ; adieu baron *de Biron*." As he retired out of the king's cabinet he was arrested by *Vitry* captain of the king's guard, as the count *de Auvergne* was in another part of the palace, both being prepared to make their escape, that night, in consequence of repeated hints from their friends of the danger they were in ⁹.

¹ Marshal Biron comes to court and is arrested.

¹ P. MATTH. J. THUAN.

² Histoire de Duc d'Espernon. P. DAN.

³ Sir R. WINWOOD's Memo-

rials, vol. i. p. 403—421.

⁴ J. THUANI. P. MATTH. DUPL. MEZ. P. DAN.

⁵ Sir R. WINWOOD's

Memorials, vol. i. p. 407—409. P. DAN.

⁶ DUPLEIX, tom. v. MEZ.

⁷ Memoires de SULLI. LE

GENDRE.

⁸ Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii.

MEMOIRES DE SULLI. P. DANIEL.

⁹ PREFACE Histoire du Roy Henry IV. DUPLEIX, tom. v. P. MATTH.

His process
formed before
the parlia-
ment, is con-
demned and
executed.

THEY were immediately conveyed by water to the *Bastile*, and the king came to *Paris* ^a the same day. On the 18th of *July* the king directed a commission to the parliament to make the marshal's process. He behaved wildly before the committee that examined him, sometimes denying all, sometimes acknowledging more than could be proved. When the *Sieur de la Fin* was first produced, he acknowledged him for a man of honour, his friend, and his relation; but when he heard his deposition, he charged him, truly enough, with crimes the most infamous ^a. He said, however, that if the secretary of this man had been living, whom the old duke of *Savoy* had seized, and, as he thought, put to death, he would have justified his innocence and *La Fin's* guilt. Upon this that very secretary, who had made his escape out of a dungeon, was produced, which disconcerted the marshal extremely, who concluded from thence that he was betrayed by the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* ^b. His own secretary *Atte- b* *bert*, and a multitude of papers in his own hand-writing were also produced. On the 27th of the same month he appeared before all the chambers of the parliament assembled, of whom there were an hundred and twenty judges present; but, tho' they had been twice summoned, yet none of the peers would assist. The marshal had now recollected himself, and behaved quite otherwise than he had hitherto done. He made a long and eloquent speech, in which he set forth his services, insisted that these were realities, whereas what he was charged with were only hasty expressions, ambitious dreams, and political vapours, that had never manifested themselves in facts ^c. His discourse was so moving, that the first president and many of the judges wept. If they had proceeded to the vote that evening, many believe that his life would have been saved; but, being late, it was deferred, and on the 29th, which was the next sitting, because *Sunday* intervened, they unanimously adjudged him to death ^d. He suffered on the last day of the month, within the *Bastile*, in great confusion, and without shewing any thing of that intrepidity for which he had been so highly and so justly famous ^e (E). The baron de *Fon- tenelle*

^a CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. DUPL. tom. v. Memoires de SULLI. ^b P. MATTH. ^c Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 423, & seq. CAYET, Chronologie Septenaire. DUPL. ^d Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 427. CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. P. MATTH. ^e PEREFIXE Histoire du Roi Henry IV. Suite de la Chronique du *Sieur DU TILLET*. DUPLEIX, tom. v.

(E) It may, probably, gratify the curiosity, and, at the same time, communicate some necessary information to the reader, if we enter here into the personal history of a man so remarkable both in prosperous and adverse fortune. *Charles de Gontaut*, baron de *Biron*, was the eldest son of *Armand de Biron*, marshal of *France*, descended from an ancient and noble, though not a very illustrious or princely family. In his person he was by no means agreeable; he was not tall, but very fat; his head little, his eyes sunk deep, and something very piercing and malignant in his look. It is not true that he was illiterate, though it is owned that he was no great friend to letters. He had read, and was well acquainted not only with *French* and *Latin*, but with the *Greek* historians. Yet, though naturally vain, he chose rather to dissemble than to display his knowledge. He was a great officer in all respects, and as much distinguished by his judicious conduct as for his amazing intrepidity. He had served *Henry* since his accession to the throne with equal spirit and success, more especially at the siege of *Amiens*, where he surpassed all that he had before done, and all that his master expected of him. As his honours were the effects of *Henry's* gratitude, so that gratitude proved *Biron's* destruction. When the king returned in triumph to *Paris*, after raising the siege of *Amiens*, he said to some persons about him, "There is a great general," pointing to *Biron*, "this is the man I present to my friends and to my enemies." The king did not reward him only with praise, he made him marshal, duke, and peer of *France*, gave him estates, pensions, occasional gratifications, the important government of *Burgundy*, with large appointments. But it was impossible to content him, because it was impossible to keep him out of necessity. His foible was play, at which he lost five hundred thousand crowns within the compass of one year. His vanity was so extreme, that the whole tenor of his discourse was either the abuse of others or the praise of himself; so that, except amongst his creatures or his confederates, he was universally hated. He was, however, very sober, slept little, attended closely to affairs, managed them with great dexterity, and, in general, with great success. The king looked upon his

worst qualities rather as foibles than vices, had a sincere affection for, and spoke extremely well of, him upon all occasions. On the contrary, *Biron* treated the king with the utmost disrespect; and, not content with magnifying his own services, which might have been spared, since, by the king's command, they were enumerated in his patent (in which it was said he had thirty five scars visible upon his body), he spoke of the king with distaste and contempt. He said that he was pitifully narrow in things that were absolutely necessary, and scandalously profuse in his amours. He taxed him with negligence in his affairs, want of steadiness in his resolutions, and forgetting the services of his friends. After being pardoned by the king, he said publicly, "Let him take care how he offends me; I know how to make kings, and emperors too, feel my resentment." The king, notwithstanding all this, was very desirous of saving him, and would rather have had any other victim. The marshal talked in this strain himself, when it was too late; he said often to those who saw him, "There are many as guilty, though there are none so miserable, as I." He was strangely addicted to astrology, and yet did not desist from his intrigues, though his ruin was foretold him, rather from the sagacity of his diviners than from their fallacious science. He behaved meanly under his misfortunes, beseeching the chancellor and every body that came near him to intercede with the king, desiring to be immured between four walls, and to pass the remainder of his days in chains, so he might live. But after all he accused nobody, only endeavoured to shift his crimes upon *La Fin*, who he said was a forcerer, and had bewitched him. At his death he was under forty. In suffering the severity of the law to pass upon *Biron* the king did an act of justice against his will, and lost the advantage he proposed, of drawing a full account of the conspiracy from that unfortunate nobleman. But this was repaired by the coming in of the baron de *Lux*, who was master of the whole detail of the conspiracy, and who was two full hours in relating it to the king. He certainly justified what *Biron* had advanced, that there were many as guilty as he. But it put all thoughts of punishing out of the king's head; for the number and the quality of

- a *tenelle* was broke alive upon the wheel as his accomplice: the count *d'Auvergne*, through the intreaties of his sister, madam *d'Entragues*, and on account of his being the last male of the house of *Valois*, was pardoned and restored to favour. The baron *de Lux*, who was in all *Biron's* secrets, surrendered after his death, and made such discoveries as the king took care to conceal, that the number of those who had tampered with the courts of *Spain* and *Savoy* might not be rendered desperate ^f. The queen of *England* and the king of *Scots* sent ambassadors to compliment the king on his escape from so dangerous a conspiracy. The king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* did the like, but their ambassadors met with a very different reception. The king took all the precautions necessary for his own safety, and sent a body of troops, under the command of marshal *Laverdin*, into *Burgundy*, of which province he appointed the Dauphin governor, and made the duke *de Bellegarde* his lieutenant ^g.

- In the month of *September* arrived a solemn embassy from the *Swiss* cantons, and the league of the *Grisons*; it was composed of forty-two deputies, who were received with the utmost respect, and treated with all the kindness and esteem possible: they made three demands; first the augmentation of their annual subsidy of four hundred thousand crowns; next the renewal of their privileges; and lastly, two declarations that had been promised them, one permitting the five lesser cantons to execute their treaty with *Milan* and *Savoy*, and the second importing, that the levies made in the Protestant cantons should never be constrained to act against the Protestants in *France*. The king excused himself as to the first, on account of the low state of his finances; the two last were granted ^h. On the 20th of *October* the treaties were solemnly sworn to in the church of *Notre Dame*, first by the deputies, then by the king. At their departure they were each of them presented with a gold chain, with a large medal of the same metal, out of a mine that had been discovered in *la Bresse* ⁱ. This A. D. 1602. year there were many edicts made for the public benefit, and amongst the rest one against duels, by which all disputes of honour were referred to the judgment of the constable and marshals of *France*, at the marble table; and those who, in contempt of this edict, attempted to do themselves justice, were declared guilty of high treason ^k. It was more than time, certainly, that such a law should be made, since, in one year, more than four thousand gentlemen had fallen in such quarrels. But after all it had little effect, for which the king was deservedly blamed, as having spoke with some slight of such as had refused challenges after it was made ^l.

- The duke of *Savoy* having made an attempt to surprize the city of *Geneva*, in which he was assisted by the count *de Fuentes*, governor of *Milan*, in which, however, he was disappointed, by the presence of mind and intrepidity of the inhabitants. Henry interposed in favour of the Genevese, and introduced the culture of silk into France. Henry found himself obliged to take some share in the quarrel, and he acted therein with such spirit and success, that the pope was forced to interpose, to prevent the king of *Spain's* taking part on the other side, and exciting thereby a new war in *Italy*; so that a negotiation ensued, which ended in a peace ^m. At the opening of the year the king took the first steps in favour of settling the silk trade in his dominions; and, to his immortal honour, this was entirely due to his own judgment and penetration, his great minister *Rhosny* having opposed it with the utmost vehemence, by arguments worthy of that ignorance which will be always the fruit of a limited education, even of the best kind, and altogether unworthy of a true genius and an exten- sive capacity ⁿ. The king's love for his people in general rendered him a superior politician. He did not restrain his cares to this or that body of his subjects, but made the happiness of them all his capital study. His argument to the baron *de Rhosny* was, that the

^f CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. P. MATTH. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 445. ^g CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. DUPL. tom. v. ^h Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. i. p. 441. DUPL. tom. v. P. MATTH. ⁱ CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. PÉREFIXE l'Histoire du Roi Henry IV. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, tom. ii. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. ^k CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. DUPL. tom. v. P. MATTH. ^l Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon. P. DAN. ^m Memoires de SULLI. CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. ⁿ Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon. Sir G. CARRW's Relation of the State of France under King Henry IV.

of the malecontents were so great, that even *Sulli* durst not commit their names to paper; and the king, not knowing in whom to confide, did not barely think it prudent, but found it absolutely necessary to dissemble. Our statesmen were unacquainted with this secret, when they taxed *Henry* with irresolution and timidity, except the baron *de Rhosny*, and he too was accused; the king had not, perhaps, a thorough friend in his court and in his council: no wonder if, in such a situation, he was irresolute. It was on this foundation that the king founded his aversion to the house of *Austria*, and, as we shall see hereafter, he met with many incidents, in the course of

his reign, to confirm him in that aversion (2). He found they were his irreconcilable enemies; that they pursued steadily their scheme of debauching the nobility, in order to divide his dominions; and therefore he very wisely determined to destroy that exorbitant power, in the neighbourhood of which it was impossible for any other power to be safe; but it was necessary for him to conceal this scheme as much as he possibly could, that he might acquire the means of carrying it into execution. This was the issue of *Biron's* conspiracy, and the turn it gave to the policy of *Henry* the Great; and attending to this will render what remains very intelligible.

(2) See a multitude of curious letters on this subject in *Winwood's Memorials*.

common people in *France* were idle, and therefore miserable; he thought it his duty, therefore, to introduce industry, and that particular kind of industry that was likely to reward them most effectually; for *Henry* was one of those few princes that desired to see all his subjects live at their ease, or, as he expressed it himself with great warmth, he wished to see the day when every peasant in *France* could have a capon on his spit or in his pot. *Henry's* honest intentions were crowned with success; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the silk manufacture, in his own time, bring more money into his kingdom, than almost all that were stiled staple commodities put together ^a.

His journey to Metz, alliance with Great Britain, recalls the Jesuits, promotes commerce and manufactures.

In the spring the king made a tour to *Metz*, of which the duke of *Espernon* was governor, and had put in two lieutenants, one of the citadel, and the other of the city, who miserably oppressed the people, and were equally wanting in gratitude to the duke and in duty to the king. *Henry* removed them both, and substituted officers of his own, which seemed to be the principal point he had in view. He was visited there by several *German* princes, whom he treated with great kindness and respect, omitting nothing that was requisite to gain their confidence ^b. It was in this journey that he received the *Jesuits* into his favour, and promised to procure their return into *France*, though that was not so easily brought about. He went from *Metz* to *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, to visit his sister the duchess of *Bar*: he had remained longer in those parts, but for the news of the death of queen *Elizabeth*, which affected him extremely. He was very near following her, for, in the beginning of the month of *May*, he was seized with a retention of urine, which reduced him to the last extremity; however, by the strength of nature, and the skill of his physicians, he happily recovered ^c. He sent over his great minister the baron, now marquis, *de Rhosny*, to negotiate with king *James*, which he did very effectually, since, in the space of a very few weeks, he settled a treaty, which was signed at *Hampton Court* on the 30th of *July*, for the succour of the states as well as for the reciprocal assistance of the two kings, in case either of their dominions should be attacked ^d. At his return *Rhosny* found his conduct arraigned by the count *de Soissons*, but the king defended him, and was extremely pleased with the issue of his negotiations ^e. In order to shew his attachment to the church, and even to the court, of *Rome*, of which, however, many doubted, he procured two great things; the first was the striking out of the article in the Protestants confession of faith, declaring the pope antichrist, which was obtained in a synod held at *Gap*, not without difficulty ^f. The other was the return of the *Jesuits*, warmly solicited by the pope, which the king himself had promised to the order, but which some of his ministers, and even the parliament of *Paris*, strongly opposed; but the king, who had a mind, not so much, perhaps, out of affection as apprehension, to be well with that powerful society, at length, but not without exerting his royal authority, brought it to bear ^g. This year he granted letters patent for the establishment of *Canada*, in which he again differed with *Rhosny*, who declared roundly that all settlements above the fortieth degree of latitude could be of no utility, and that all the pretended advantages insisted upon in their favour were but so many commercial chimeras ^h. Here again the monarch was right and the minister wrong, as we know by experience. The canal of *Briare* was likewise begun this year for uniting the *Loire* with the *Seine* ⁱ. It is really amazing how, in the midst of so many great and perplexing affairs, *Henry* could turn his thoughts to things of this nature, discern their utility, and resolve to break in upon his great scheme of saving, not for his own pleasure or conveniency, but for the common benefit of his subjects ^j. Upon this principle likewise the necessary assistance was given for setting on foot a manufacture of chrystal glass, and for encouraging strangers, who were to be employed in this and other works of the same kind ^k.

A secretary of Villeroy's betrays all the secrets of the court to the Spaniards.

CATHERINE duchess of *Bar*, the king's sister, died at the beginning of this year, after passing her days very uncomfortably with her husband. The king expressed great concern upon this occasion, and his Protestant subjects still more, for she remained firm to her religion, and they were sure of an advocate in her so long as she lived. The pope had just granted a dispensation to the duke her husband to live with her, tho' of a different religion; but it did not arrive till after her decease ^l. This was the last service performed at *Rome* by cardinal *d'Ossat*, whom most of the *French* historians commend as a person of wonderful talents and incorruptible integrity; the former raised him to, and the latter above his dignity. Some, however, have insinuated, that this cardinal was so thorough an ecclesiastic, that he laboured to the utmost to revive in the council of *Henry* the fourth the sentiments of the league, that is, he sought to appease the king with respect to the *Spaniards*, to render him submissive to

^a Sir G. CAREW's Relation of the State of France, &c. P. MATTH. P. DAN. P. CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. DUPL. tom. v. ^q Memoires de SULLI. CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. P. MATTH. ^r PEREFIXE Histoire du Roi Henry IV. DUPL. tom. v. Memoires de SULLI. P. DAN. tom. x. ^s Memoires de SULLI. CAYET. DUPL. tom. v. ^t Memoires de SULLI. MEZ. P. DAN. ^u CAYET. Memoires de SULLI. DUPL. tom. ii. ^w PEREFIXE Histoire du Roi Henry IV. DUPL. tom. v. P. DAN. ^x Memoires de SULLI. PEREFIXE. MEZ. ^y Memoires de SULLI. Sir G. CAREW's Relation of the State of France, &c. DUPL. tom. v. ^z PEREFIXE. CAYET. Sir G. CAREW's Relation, &c. ^a JACOB. THUAN. DUPL. tom. v. MEZERAY.

- a the court of *Rome*, and to lead him, by slow and imperceptible degrees, back to the old system of the house of *Valois*; the fundamental maxim of which was the extinction of heresy, or, in plain terms, the extirpation of the Hugonots ^b. But, in case these softer methods did not succeed, those of another nature were not absolutely laid aside, as appeared by the discovery made by the king's ambassador at the court of *Madrid*, who found that the *Spanish* ministers were sooner acquainted than he with the most secret resolutions of the court of *France*; neither was he long in the dark, as to the manner in which this was brought about. One *Rafis*, of the faction of the sixteen, who had taken shelter at *Madrid*, offered, if he might have a pardon and a reward, to let him into the secret of the whole business. This being agreed, he assured him, that one *Nicholas Hote*, who had the confidence of *Monf. Villeroy*, secretary of state, transmitted all papers of any consequence to the *Spanish* court, in consequence of a pension paid him of twelve hundred crowns a year. Upon this *Rafis* was sent home with the secretary of the embassy; but the *Spanish* court, having some suspicions, letters were immediately sent to the *Spanish* minister at the court of *France* to put *Hote* upon his guard, and they came in so good time, that he had escaped from *Monf. de Villeroy* at the time the king's orders came to arrest him ^c. However, being pursued, and hoping to ford the river *Marne* in the night, he was drowned ^d. Some ^e say this happened through accident, some ^f attribute it to despair, whereas some ^g believe that his guides carried him to a proper place for depositing all his secrets. However it was, common fame accused *Villeroy*, and, if we believe his antagonist *Rhofny*, this imputation was no calumny. *Villeroy* himself wrote an apology, which was afterwards published; but he could never extinguish the suspicion, tho' the state of the king's affairs, and possibly his inclinations, for he had gained a great ascendancy over *Henry*, brought him back to the council, and reinstated him in as high confidence as ever ^h.

- It had been found expedient, in the preceding year, for the king to procure, by some extraordinary step, such as gratifying those who had the reversion of it, the province of *Poitou* for the marquis de *Rhofny*, not so much for his own sake as the king's; and this year he was sent to take possession of that government, in order to keep the Protestants quiet, and to balance the power of the duke de *la Tremouille*, and some other persons of great rank, who, in conjunction with the duke of *Bouillon*, were desirous of rendering themselves formidable, by an appearance of great zeal in the cause of religion ⁱ. In this *Monf. de Rhofny* succeeded, by making the more understanding ministers sensible, that a factious disposition served only to estrange the king, and to do the work of the papists, who were continually insinuating that the principles of the reformed religion led them to cabal, whereas, in truth, they could not be good Protestants without being good subjects. *Spain*, in the mean time, had concluded a treaty with *Great Britain*, but king *James* took care that this should be without prejudice to the defensive league with *France* ^k. However, the *Spaniards*, deviating from their ordinary maxims, and perceiving that they were losers by the *French* trade took a very bold step, and imposed a duty of thirty per cent. on all *French* commodities at once. *Henry* was so much piqued at this, that, notwithstanding his affairs were not yet in the best posture, the public debts having been estimated at three hundred and thirty millions, he made no scruple of expressing his resentment by prohibiting all commerce with *Spain*, which was more than that court expected; and as a war was by no means their aim, they had recourse to their usual method of procuring the pope's interposition, and, in consequence of that, a negotiation, which ended in removing the new duty, and recalling the prohibition which that had occasioned ^l. In the mean time, the king's domestic affairs gave him at least as much trouble as those of his government: in that the jealousies of the papists created continual perplexities; in this he was equally disturbed by the resentments of the queen and the humours of his mistress, so that he might be truly said never to enjoy a quiet moment. As to the queen, she not only made him unhappy by fits of jealousy, starts of passion, and whole days of ill humour, but the *Italians* she had about her were perpetually putting new demands in her head, turning every thing to profit, and, amongst the rest, selling whatever secrets they could hear to the emissaries of *Spain* ^m. As for madame d'*Entragues*, now become marchioness de *Verneuil*, she was grown infinitely more insupportable; she treated *Henry* with insolence, the queen with contempt, mimicked her awkward air, her broken pronunciation, and every little foible to the king's face. Sometimes she gave broad hints that her own children were as well born as the queen's; sometimes she told the king he was grown old and suspicious; and sometimes her conscience was so troublesome, that she could not think of living any longer with him in this manner. At length *Henry*, quite tired out, took this arrogant woman at her word, resolved to part with her, and, to gratify the queen, purchased

^b P. DAN. LE GEND.^c P. MATTH. J. THUAN. Memoires de SULLI.^d P. DAN.^e DU

TILLET. MEZ.

^f DUPL. LE GEND.^g Memoires de SULLI. CHALONS.^h Memoires de

SULLI.

ⁱ DUPL. tom. v. MEZ.^k Memoires de SULLI. Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET.

LE GEND.

^l PEREFIXE. DUPL. tom. v. P. MATTH.^m Memoires de SULLI. P. D. N. tom. x.

that promise of marriage, which had been the source of much discord, by the payment of a twenty thousand crowns in ready money, and the promise of the staff of marshal of France to Mons. d'Entragues her father, who had never been in the field ^a.

A new conspiracy discovered.

WHILE things were in this situation, a new scene of treason was discovered, in which the mistress and her whole family were engaged. The first opening was by some intercepted letter to the count d'Auvergne, who, when pardoned for the share he had in Biron's conspiracy, voluntarily undertook to act as a spy on the court of Spain, and, under colour of carrying on a correspondence for this purpose, betrayed the secrets of the court of France. His own suspicions induced him to fly into Auvergne, where he endeavoured to avoid being seized; but his precautions failed, and, being apprehended at a review, he was sent prisoner to the Bastille, and placed in the same room where marshal Biron had been confined ^b. It quickly appeared that his sister had a share in his correspondencies; that, under pretence of breaking with the king, she meant to retire into England with her children, having held a correspondence there with the Spanish ambassador: upon this her father and mother were sent to prison, and she was confined to her own house ^c. The king seemed to be extremely irritated, and fully determined to leave the criminals to the severity of the law, and, with this view, ordered the parliament to form their process. He continued in the mean time, in the midst of these perplexities, to pursue steadily, and with unwearied application, the schemes that had been formed for discharging the debts of the crown, restoring order and justice in the provinces, and increasing that mass of wealth which he kept in reserve, in the prosecution of which purposes he had recourse to some methods that were not universally approved. The necessities of state were great; but, in raising money, a spirit of accumulating grew too much on the king and his minister.

A. D. 1604.

The criminals are condemned by the parliament, but are gently treated.

THE parliament very quickly dispatched the process of the great criminals. The count d'Auvergne threw all upon his sister, and she, in return, threw it back upon him. Old Entragues acted with great firmness and dignity, taking every thing upon himself, that the load might fall lighter elsewhere. On the 1st of February this great cause was decided, the count, Monsieur d'Entragues, and one Mr. Morgan an Englishman, who had been embarked in these affairs, were condemned to lose their heads; as for the marchioness, her sentence was, to pass the remainder of her days in a monastery ^d. After all this stir, none of these judgments were executed; the king commuted the punishment of the count d'Auvergne into imprisonment for life, for various reasons, but, amongst the rest, one was the delivering up the original association between himself, marshal Biron, and the marshal duke de Bouillon, which shewed the insincerity of his former discoveries: as to this last treason he peremptorily denied his having entered into any treaty with Spain, which was, nevertheless, true; and thought himself very hardly used, that he was not set at liberty to plot again ^e. Old Entragues was ordered to retire to his own estate, the marchioness confined to her house at Verneuil, and Morgan banished the kingdom ^f. These disturbances were no sooner over than they were succeeded by others: the king was now convinced, and, which was of greater consequence, had it in his power to convince the world, that the duke de Bouillon had formed designs against his government; but he was unwilling to proceed till he was secure with respect to the Protestants, who had a very high esteem for, and very close connections with, that duke: for this reason the king sent the marquis de Rhosny to their general assembly at Chatelleraud, where things were to be considered of the last importance. If we may believe that great man, a scheme had been formed for establishing a kind of commonwealth, or at least a body apart from the rest of the kingdom, by an association amongst the Protestants, which he attributes to the duke de Bouillon, Lesdiguieres, du Plessis, D'Aubigne, and some others. The body of the Protestants did not see the thing in this light; when they did they disapproved it. Those who were most sanguine protested, that, if Henry had been immortal, nothing of this kind would have entered their minds; but that their apprehensions for the future, and a just care for their posterity, had induced them to countenance this scheme: however, upon their strong places being left them for three years more, and the strong assurances given them of the king's good intentions, every thing was conducted to his satisfaction, and, amongst many, it was none of the least services that the marquis de Rhosny rendered his master ^g.

A new conspiracy in the provinces discovered by queen Margaret of Valois.

WHILE Henry and his council were in some doubt as to the advices they received of some intrigues in Perigord, Querci, and Guienne, queen Margaret of Valois furnished all the lights they could desire, which gave great satisfaction to the court and to the king, who bestowed upon her the greatest part of the count d'Auvergne's forfeiture, and gave her leave to reside at Paris, which she had much at heart ^h. These commotions, in which the Spaniards had also

^a Memoires de SULLI. P. DAN.

^b P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. MEZ.

^c Sir R. WINWOOD'S

Memorials, vol. i. p. 42. Memoires de SULLI. P. DAN.

^d P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. LE GENDRE.

^e CAYET Chronologie Septenaire. PEREFIXE. P. DAN. tom. x.

^f Memoires de SULLI. MEZ.

MEZ. P. DAN. tom. x. PEREFIXE. LE GENDRE.

^g P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. Memoires de SULLI.

^h a share,

- a a share, and for promoting which they had advanced some money, cost some gentlemen their lives, and would have been more fatal, if they had not had recourse, of their own accord, to the king's clemency, to whom they applied, told him the truth, and obtained his pardon. *Henry*, however, thought it necessary to advance with a corps of troops and some judges into the provinces beyond the *Loire*, in order to reduce the places belonging to the duke of *Bouillon*, and to make examples of such as had entered into engagements with *Spain*: and he did both without trouble; for the duke having withdrawn his principal confidants out of his country of *Turenne*, directed the governors of all his places to surrender upon the king's summons, and, at the same time, wrote the king letters so full of duty and submission, that he scarce knew what to think of his conduct *. In his progress he passed near the town of *Rochelle*, who sent deputies to compliment him. They were introduced by the marquis *de Rhosny*, and, after presenting the keys of the place, they told his majesty, that, tho' at the head of a catholic army, his presence would be no less welcome to the inhabitants than when they had the honour to be in arms for his service; and that, if their gates were too narrow, they were ready to beat down their walls to give him entrance. The king was struck with this unexpected compliment, went thither, was extremely pleased with his reception, and left the people of *Rochelle* perfectly well satisfied with the testimonies he gave them of his affection *.

- THE care of doing justice was left, in a great measure, to the marquis *de Rhosny*. Two brothers, of the name of *Luquise*, gentlemen of good families, in *Provence*, lost their heads for having sold *Narbonne* to the *Spaniards*, and ten or twelve more had the same fate for offences of the like kind †. Upon the whole, it appeared that they had discovered traitors rather than the treason, for those who were guilty could tell nothing more than the particular causes which had drawn in themselves; some being persuaded that the Catholic religion was in danger; others that they were to promote the Protestant cause by taking arms; and not a few were drawn in to revenge the late marshal *Biron*. A galley-slave at *Marseilles* informed the duke of *Guise*, that one Mr. *Mariargues*, a person of rank, and who, the next year, was to be viguer, or prime magistrate, had communicated to him a design of betraying it to the *Spaniards*. The rank of the accuser, and the condition of the accused, rendered it very improbable. The states of *Provence* meeting soon after, *Mariargues* was deputed to carry their resolutions to the court, and being there carefully watched, it was very soon found that he had in reality a close correspondence with *Zuniga* the *Spanish* ambassador. Soon after he was arrested in his own lodgings, in close conference with *Bruneau* the ambassador's secretary, in whose stocking a memorial was found, containing the services expected from *Mariargues*, who was beheaded on the 19th of *December*, and his body quartered for this offence ‡. The same day, as the king was passing over *Pont Neuf*, a man slipped between the guards, caught hold of his arm, and pulled him backward on his horse, having a dagger drawn in the other hand, with which he would have dispatched him, but he was presently seized by the king's servants, and appeared to be one *John de Lisle*. When he came to be examined, he said he was king of the whole world, and *Henry* kept a part of his territories from him. Upon enquiry, he was found to have been many years mad, upon which the king ordered him to be maintained and confined §. The king, under pretence of his great age, took the seals from the chancellor, and gave them to *Monf. de Sillery*, not much to the satisfaction of the old man, who could not help saying, "That a chancellor without the seals was like a body without a soul ¶." The desire the king expressed to see his debts paid induced *Rhosny* to make some enquiry into the rents of the town house at *Paris*; but *Monf. Miron*, the provost of the merchants, opposing it with great vigour, the king thought fit to let the matter fall †. There were three popes this year, *Clement* the eighth, who died in *March*, cardinal *de Medicis*, A. D. 1605; who took the name of *Leo* the eleventh, who survived but twenty-five days, and cardinal *Borgeſe*, who assumed the name of *Paul* the fifth, and who was not at all disagreeable to the king ‡, who, from the time of his conversion, had a great deference for the court of *Rome*, whether out of respect or through fear has not been determined.

THE king, determined to restore the peace of the kingdom, and to put an end to that *Henry* spirit of independency and intrigue which was the source of his own and the nation's troubles, resolved, if his health permitted, for he was now much troubled with the gout, to march directly to *Sedan*, in order to convince the duke of *Bouillon* that he was but a subject. He judged it however, necessary, to raise the marquis *de Rhosny*, who he intended should command the army, in case he found it inexpedient to go in person, to a superior rank, and accordingly created him duke and peer of *France*, by the title of duke of *Sulli*, the name of

* P. MATTH. Memoires de SULLI. MEZ.

† Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Epemon, tom. ii. DUPLEIX.

‡ P. MATTH. Memoires de SULLI.

§ P. MATTH. J. THUAN. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 182.

¶ P. MATTH. J. THUAN. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 182.

† Memoires de SULLI. DUPL. tom. v. MEZ.

‡ Memoires de SULLI.

§ DUPLEIX.

one of his estates, in which quality he was received by the parliament at the end of *February* ^a. The king immediately after declared his intention to employ his arms against *Sedan*, and ordered *Sulli* to prepare a competent train of artillery for that enterprize. It was four years since that prince had been at court, and during this time he had contracted close engagements with several of the princes of *Germany*, whose intercession, he hoped, would have had some weight with the king; but *Henry* having rejected something of the like nature from the *Swiss* cantons, the duke did not find it easy to get other potentates to interpose. He wanted not, however, mediators at court; the queen and *Villeroy* interceded for him; and when the king, with his army of twenty-five thousand men, was advanced within a league of *Sedan*, the duke demanded a treaty, which was concluded on the last of *April* ^b. By this the duke consented that the king should put a garrison into *Sedan* for four years; and on the other hand, the king granted him an abolition of whatever he might have said or done, which was to be verified in parliament ^c. The treaty was no sooner concluded than the duke came to pay his respects to the king, who afterwards made his public entry into *Sedan*, remained there a few days, and then returned in triumph to *Paris*. The duke of *Bouillon*, soon after, followed him thither, and, to the surprize of all the world, was not only very kindly received, but entered so far into the king's good graces, that, in a month's time, the king withdrew his garrison out of *Sedan*, and left the duke in the very same situation in which he found him ^d.

He runs an
imminent dan-
ger of his
life, and falls
into new
amours.

QUEEN *Margaret* instituted a suit before the parliament of *Paris*, against the count *d'Auvergne*, who was still a prisoner, as he continued during the remainder of this reign, for that county which he enjoyed in virtue of the will of queen *Catherine de Medicis*; but queen *Margaret* insisted, that, by the queen's contract of marriage with *Henry* the second, the lands settled upon her, upon default of issue male, were to pass to females. She had already had a suit before the parliament of *Thoulouse* for the county of *Lauragois*, and had recovered it, and the parliament of *Paris* did her like justice ^e. After she was put into possession, she conveyed it, by a deed of gift, after her own demise, to the Dauphin, and some time after, accepted a pension instead of the revenues ^f. In the midst of these felicities, and when the king seemed more at ease than at any time during his reign, an unlucky accident was very near putting an end to his life; for, in returning from *St. Germain*, where he had been to see his children, having with him in the coach the queen, the duke of *Vendosme*, the duke *de Montpensier*, and the princess of *Conti*, the horses, in going into the ferry-boat, fell into the water, and pulled in the coach, by which they were all in peril of their lives. The king delivered himself by swimming; the *Sieur de Chasteneraye*, with great difficulty, drew out the queen by the hair, and all the rest were likewise saved, for which, besides a present in jewels and an annual pension, he had soon after a company of the guards ^g. A new chamber was erected to enquire into the forgeries of the financiers, for that crime was excepted in the abolition granted after the former enquiry. These chambers were the dishonour of this reign and of the minister: the richest and the most guilty saved themselves by paying six hundred thousand crowns, and were permitted to tax their under officers, upon whom they raised twice as much ^h. The marchioness was now in as high favour as ever, and yet the king had a new mistress, to whom he gave the title of countess *de Moret*. His foibles in this respect were highly prejudicial to his character, and hindered him from having that absolute authority, which, otherwise, his great qualities would certainly have gained; for he who cannot command himself, will never be well obeyed.

Birth of the
duke of Or-
leans, an in-
quiry into the
conduct of the
financiers, and
other occur-
rences.

POPE *Paul* the fifth having quarrelled with the state of *Venice*, and proceeded, without any great cause, to an excommunication, the king sent the cardinal *de Joyeuse* to *Rome*, to accommodate matters, or, at least, to put them in a way of accommodation, in which, to the great satisfaction of the king, he succeeded. The birth of the duke of *Orleans*, on the 16th of *April* ⁱ, gave the king great satisfaction, as it fortified the succession, and contributed, as he conceived, to his ease and safety, from a persuasion that the *Spaniards* would be less inclined to enter into intrigues, when they saw his family daily increase. It relieved him also from some other inquietudes, and made it less necessary for him to dissemble with the princes of the blood, who were none of them much in his favour; the prince of *Conti*, who was the eldest, was far from being a man of great parts, and besides was almost deaf. The prince of *Condé* his nephew, and who, till the birth of the Dauphin, had been looked upon as the presumptive successor, was young and wild. The count *de Soissons*, brother to the prince of *Conti*, did not want understanding, but he had a kind of *Spanish* gravity, and was so extremely sensible of his high quality, that the king, who was quite of a different temper, had never any affection for him, though, upon some occasions, that prince had rendered him ser-

^a Memoires de SULLI. ^b P. MATTH. DUPL. tom. v. SIR R. WINWOOD'S Memorials, vol. ii. p. 182.
^c J. THUAN. P. DAN. tom. x. ^d Memoires de SULLI. P. MATTH. MEZ. LE GENDRE. ^e DUPL.
tom. v. ^f P. DAN. tom. x. ^g P. MATTH. MEZ. P. DAN. ^h DUPL. tom. v. ⁱ Me-
moires de SULLI. MEZ. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 237.

a vice °. The disputes in his councils ran sometimes very high; the keeper of the seals, *Sillery*, and the secretary *Villeroy*, were always on one side, and the duke of *Sulli* on the other. The latter considered the former as creatures of the court of *Rome*, and no great enemies to the *Spaniards*. On the other hand, they sometimes made the king acquainted with the murmurs of his people against the taxes, and were not always favourable to *Sulli's* projects for squeezing the financiers, which he did almost every year; notwithstanding which it appeared, that many of them, after having passed several of these purgations, died immensely rich, which shews, to how great a degree the poor people must have suffered, since the king was also in possession of a greater treasure than any of his predecessors ^p. The Protestants held this year a synod at *Rockelle*, where the duke *de Sulli* rendered the king great service; for, b though many of the Protestants thought him too little attached to their party, yet they seldom heard his apologies without being convinced; knowing, at the same time, that he was thoroughly hated by all the zealots of the popish party, and by the remains of the *Spanish* faction ^q, who were now in too great credit at court.

In the month of *July* the king, by an edict, united his patrimonial estates, the principality of *Bearn* excepted, to the crown of *France* ^r. He had once designed to have given them to his sister, which had been opposed, as incompatible with his dignity: the death of that princess put an end to that dispute. The affairs of the *Low Countries* created him great embarrassment, for the states, notwithstanding the continual supplies they had received, declared themselves in such distress, that they were no longer in a condition to carry on the war. On c the other hand, their making peace was not at all consistent with the views of *Henry* at that juncture; some propositions there were of the states putting themselves under the protection of this crown, which were received in such a manner, as induced the *Dutch* politicians to believe this was the thing aimed at. Their best patriots considered this in a very indifferent light; they remembered that, in their greatest distresses, queen *Elizabeth* had supplied them with men and money, and refused the offers of the sovereignty of their provinces which were made her. They considered a great part of the supplies which they received from *France*, as arising, in reality, from *England*, in consequence of the treaty which *Henry* had made with king *James*, and remembering the succours they had given this monarch in the time of the league, they thought there was something very self-interesting in these new proposals ^s. They d thought, therefore, in earnest of treating with the archdukes, but of treating with them as a free state; and we shall see hereafter what share the king took in this negotiation. At present he was busy in establishing two manufactures, one of tapestry, for which he drew his workmen from the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the other of linen, the principal artists of which came from the territories of the *United Provinces*. He gave high wages and good settlements to all ^t. *Sulli* acknowledges very frankly, that he was no great judge of these things; that he thought them in some measure unnecessary, and very expensive, and sent the king word so, who had directed him to examine the first fruits of his manufactures. But *Henry*, according to his custom, differed from him in his judgment, and, when he had considered them attentively, sent him word in his turn they were wonderfully fine, and excessively e cheap ^u. The king's conduct in these matters was highly applauded by foreigners ^v, in his own time, as well as by posterity; and it must be acknowledged to his honour, that, as no prince had ever warmer views of this kind, so scarce any hath carried them on with so great steadiness and with so much success, which was owing to his contempt of expence; for though he loved money, and was in some things very frugal, yet, in matters of this kind, his notions were perfectly just. He knew that, without the temptation of great profit, people would not leave their native countries; and that, when they had done so, they would be inclined to return, if they were not fixed by such gratifications as over-balanced those desires. The duke *d'Epemon*, under pretence of sickness, had procured leave to enter the court of the palace in his coach; and, when the king saw in what light this honour was considered, he f immediately granted it to the duke *de Sulli* ^x: it was before restrained only to the princes of the blood, but has been, in succeeding reigns, extended to all dukes and peers, and to the great officers of the crown.

THE great affair now upon the carpet was the negotiation in *Holland*, not only with regard to the powers immediately concerned, but in respect to *France*, *England*, and more remotely to all *Europe*. There is a natural propensity in all states, and in the historians of them, to justify their own conduct, at the expence of all the world, whence the *French*, the *English*, and the *Dutch* accounts of this matter, are very different. In this place it becomes us to take our accounts from the *French*, who say that the king and his ministers were at first averse

Henry unites his patrimony to the crown, assists the Dutch, and encourages trade at home:

A. D. 1607:

A league offensive and defensive concluded with Holland.

° DUPLEIX, tom. v. Sir G. CAREW's Relation of the Court of France, &c. P. D. N. Sir G. CAREW's Relation, &c. P. P. MATTH. MEZ. Memoires de SULLI. DUPL. tom. v. Suit de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. S. DUPL. tom. v. Memoires de SULLI. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii. P. MATTH. PEREFIXE. P. DAN. tom. x. M. Memoires de SULLI. W. Sir G. CAREW's Relation of the Court of France, &c. H. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Epemon, tom. ii.

to a peace; but finding that *Barnevelt*, and the patriots in *Holland* were bent upon it, they a held it advantageous for them that it should be treated under their mediation, in conjunction with the king of *Great Britain*. The ministers charged with the management of this important affair on the part of *France*, were the president *Jeanin* and monsieur *Buzenval*, the former one of the best negotiators in *France*, and the latter a man of great abilities. But the states, believing it highly necessary to convince the *Spaniards* that they had not either tired out or disobliged their friends, were very desirous of concluding a new defensive alliance with *France* and *England*, that it might appear they had something to trust to in case the negotiation should fail, or should be ill observed on the part of *Spain*, in case it took effect. This affair was drawn into a great length, but, in the beginning of the year, his *Britannic* b majesty not being yet ready, such an alliance was concluded between the crown of *France* and the states general, being indeed very suitable to both their interests; for, though the *Spanish* power was much declined, and *Philip* the third had not either the spirit or the application of his father, yet, so long as any of the generals or statesmen of the old court remained, the *Spanish* power was still formidable to its neighbours^y. *Henry*, therefore, very wisely chose to have the dominions of the states for his barrier, and, by this act of complaisance, to attach them the more strongly to his alliance, which was so much the more necessary, as their naval power was becoming every day the more considerable, in which point (though *Sulli* was thoroughly informed of its importance), *France* was still very deficient. The schemes of the king, and the discharge of the crown debts, would not admit of such an expence.

On the 25th of *April*, the queen was delivered of a third son, stiled, for the present, duke c of *Anjou*^z, but who became afterwards, by the death of his brother, duke of *Orleans*. A little before died *Henry de Bourbon*, duke of *Montpensier*^a, who, by his wife, the heiress of the rich family of *Joyeuse*, left only one daughter, who afterwards espoused the duke of *Orleans* last-mentioned. His Catholic majesty, under colour of sending an ambassador to the princes of *Germany*, directed *Don Pedro de Toledo* to pass through *France*, and to make some proposals to the king. These were a double match between the Dauphin and the Infanta, and a daughter of *France* with the prince of *Spain*; he likewise added a hint of a catholic league, by which the king might be enabled to compel his protestant subjects to change either their religion or their habitations. There was a party in the *French* council not at all averse to these projects, and it was believed the double marriage was a thing no way displeasing to the queen; but *Henry*, and those who had his confidence, rejected both^b. The truth is, the king was never easy while he remained at *Paris*, having a strange apprehension, not without reason, of the *Spanish* contrivances, which was not a little fortified by the popular rumour of plots and conspiracies against the king's person, which went so far, that some were executed for attempting his life by magic. At length *Don Pedro* took his leave, and returned home, by which it plainly appeared that his business, whatever it was, lay in *France* and not in *Germany*^c. The king's domestic disquiets rather increased than diminished; the marchioness d of *Verneuil* was sometimes in as high favour as ever, which the queen bore very ill, though when she was out she bore it worse, because this produced still stronger proofs of the king's affection; who, though he could forgive the prejudice done to his crown, and the insults e offered to his person, by the house of *Lorraine*, yet lost all patience when they interfered with his amours, and shewed such resentment as was equally irreconcilable to his natural temper and to his dignity^d. This behaviour in the king was not like to produce any good effect on his court, or on his subjects; so that their manners grew more and more corrupt, and this chiefly by his example: gaming ran higher than ever; people of all ranks were dissolute beyond expression; duels were as frequent as ever, and superstition and atheism clouded the aspect of religion. This is the character the writers of this age give it^e, and it is necessary it should appear in this place, because we shall speedily come to transactions that, these circumstances duly considered, will appear natural, and for which no tolerable, at least no credible, account could be given any other way. f

He rejects the
submissive ap-
plication of the
Morelcoes,
on their being
expelled Spain.

HENRY, as he grew old, grew suspicious, and was more apprehensive, now his affairs were in so good order, than when he was surrounded by enemies abroad, and in the midst of factions at home. He entertained doubts even of the duke of *Sulli*, not so much for his own times, as for those that might come after, and therefore, to bind that noble lord to him the faster, he offered him one of his natural daughters for his son, the marquis of *Rhosny*, with an immense fortune, two of the best governments, and the constable's sword for himself, on the death of old *Montmorency*, on condition however; that he and his son became Catholics. This *Sulli*, with great humility, refused, and as occasion offered, prevented the king from listening to the calumnies that were continually whispered to him of the Protestants; sometimes

^y DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. tom. vi. P. DAN. tom. x. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande, par LOUIS AUBERY MAURIER. ^z Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 250. ^a Histoire

de la Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, tom. ii. p. 133. DUPL. ^b Memoires de SULLI. MEZERAY. P. DAN.

^c DUPL. PEREFIXE. CHALONS. ^d Memoires de SULLI. DUPL. tom. v. ^e P. MATTH. MEZ.

- a hindered him from marching forces to stifle insurrections that never happened, and sometimes enabled him, by very small courtesies, to keep the Protestants in good humour ^f. It was with this view that he assisted at the assembly they held this year at *Gergeau*, where every thing passed quietly, and to the king's satisfaction, though there wanted not some very warm hot-headed men, who were disposed to set up demands that might have created a great deal of trouble ^g. The truth is, this jealousy of the Protestants, however ill-founded, hindered *Henry*, otherwise a prince of great penetration, from giving a mortal wound to *Spain*, and rendering his own more flourishing than any other kingdom in *Europe*. About three years before the *Morescoes*, who were miserably oppressed, and who sighed under the apprehension of greater evils than they had yet suffered, applied to him for support, and offered
- b to raise twenty-thousand men, if he would countenance their taking arms. Upon this proposition, one captain *Pannissant*, a *Gascon*, and a Hugonot, was sent into that country to gain an exact knowledge of their force and condition. This man found them ready to accept of any terms the king would prescribe; and though, from their aversion to the priests, they were at that time very bad Christians, yet he found there would have been no difficulty in making them good Protestants, their dislike to Christianity being, in truth, no more than an abhorrence of the idolatry and superstition of the Papists. His report was not at all pleasing to *Henry*, or at least to his ministers; and thereupon captain *Clavarie*, a *Gascon* Catholic, was sent on the same errand, and *Pannissant* recalled; and from the account given by him, the king thanked the *Morescoes* for their offer, but absolutely declined either supporting them in
- c *Spain*, or giving them any settlements in his own territories when expelled. This the most impartial of the *French* writers ^h acknowledge to have been a great error in politics; and confess that, if they had been suffered to seat themselves in the marshy country about *Bordeaux*, a supply of six hundred thousand industrious persons had been as great an acquisition to his power, as it was a loss to the *Spaniards*. This was distinguished in *France* by the name of A. D. 1608. the hard winter, and the effects of it were very severely felt; insomuch, that the people in many provinces were disabled from paying their taxes, and, upon their applications for relief, the king himself wrote to the duke of *Sully*, requiring that all possible regard might be had to their distresses, not only, as he expressed it, from the tenderness he owed to his subjects, but as an act of humanity, that could not but be acceptable in the eyes of his and their creator ⁱ.
- d We find in the works of an inquisitive writer ^k of these times, that the net revenues of this year were computed at sixteen millions of livres.

THE opening of this year was distinguished by two marriages, which the king had very much at heart; the first was that of his natural son *Cæsar*, duke of *Vendosme*, with the daughter of the deceased duke of *Mercoeur*, which, though in appearance long ago settled, yet the duchess dowager laboured all in her power to prevent, and had carried things sometimes so high and so far, that the king was extremely perplexed; but at length, by the interposition of Father *Cotton* his confessor, and a jesuit, all things were adjusted, the marriage celebrated with great pomp, and the young couple sent soon after into the duke's government of *Bretagne*. The other was that of the prince of *Condé* with the daughter of the constable *Montmorenci*, an event that ought by no means to find a place here, if it had not been the source of others that cannot be omitted ^l. This prince's had been promised to *Bassompierre*, the prince of *Condé* was on the point of marrying the daughter of the duke of *Mayenne*; the king broke both these matches, and was the author of this, which was attended with so many circumstances of extraordinary favour for the young prince's, that the clear-sighted courtiers began to suspect that there was something more. This was presently carried to the ears of the queen, as it had been before obvious to the eyes of the marchioness *de Verneuil*; so that the king was exposed to the most violent reproaches on one side, and to the most severe raileries on the other ^m. It is not our purpose, and not at all our design, to report either; we are not writing the history of an amorous adventure, but pointing out to the reader the true causes of some great and terrible events. But, before we enter into these, it is necessary to resume the account we have given of the negotiations in *Holland*, under the mediation of this monarch, which were conducted with equal sagacity and success.

WE have before observed, that *Henry* had at first opposed this peace, and afterwards promoted it. He had his reasons for both. If the states had continued the war with vigour, and had conducted it according to his views, it would have corresponded perfectly with his interests; but, when he found that *Barneveldt*, who was the oracle of the states, and that potent party of which he was at the head, otherways inclined, he changed his measures; and, since he could not direct a war, sent his ministers to manage a peace, in which they acted with great dignity and discretion, till, finding it absolutely impracticable, they made another turn, and negotiated a truce for twelve years, which they brought to bear almost against the senti-

He brings on himself fresh uneasiness by giving way to his passions.

A truce between the Dutch and the archduk.

^f Memoires de SULLY.

^g DUPL. tom. v. PREF. P. DAN.

^h DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. LE GEND.

ⁱ Memoires de SULLY.

^k Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii.

^l DUPL. tom. v.

MEZ. P. DAN.

^m Memoires de SULLY. MEMOIRS pour servir à l'Histoire de France.

ments of both parties ^a. *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, who had very quick parts, temporized as long as he thought the negociation impracticable; but, as soon as he saw it was likely to be brought to a conclusion, he opposed it vehemently, and, in the course of that opposition, expressed himself with such vivacity, that he disoblige both the *French* monarch and the king of *Great Britain*, and this too, without being able to carry his point. After all, the truce was concluded upon terms which the archdukes were glad to accept, which were highly advantageous to the states, their sovereignty being clearly acknowledged, very honourable for the *French* ministers, more especially the president *Jeanin*, and very acceptable to the court of *Great Britain*, as it gave hopes of obtaining part at least of that immense debt which was due from the states ^b. If we may have leave to look into the secrets of princes, it should seem that *Henry*, who was all this time meditating an attack on the house of *Austria*, was at first desirous that the states should continue the war, till it was in his power to act; but finding he could not succeed in this without disclosing to them his designs, to which he was not at all disposed, he struck into the scheme, with a view to render it subservient to his own; first by persuading the *Spaniards* that he had no thoughts of entering into a war, and next to engage them, by the conclusion of this long truce, to disarm in the *Netherlands*; but in these, tho' well contrived, he did not, as we shall see hereafter, gain his ends, partly from accidents which he could not foresee, but chiefly by suffering his politics to be directed by his passions.

A Spanish
faction in the
king's council
gives him
great disquiet.

An earnest desire the king had to enjoy domestic tranquillity, at the same time that his manner of living rendered it almost impracticable, had drawn him, upon particular occasions, to do and suffer such things, as were by no means compatible with his understanding as a man, or with his dignity as a monarch, at the same time that they proved mere temporary expedients, and after a calm of a few days, produced storms of a much longer continuance; storms from all quarters, storms that affected his subjects as well as himself, and storms which it was not in the reach of his skill or of his power to appease ^c. There was a Catholic faction in his council, composed of able and of active men, who could not bear to see the Protestants enjoy the public profession of their religion, and in the person of *Sulli* the peculiar confidence of the king. These people had insinuated to the queen, who, like all *Italians*, was a bigot to her religion, that she could expect no safety to herself or to her children, but by putting herself at the head of the Catholics, engaging the king to change his system, and unite in a close alliance with *Rome* and *Spain* ^d. It may be the queen was the more ready to fall in with these sentiments, from the knowledge of the intrigues between the marchioness and the court of *Madrid*, and a desire of detaching the Catholic king from the support of that lady and her family, as well as to unite the views of that court to her own; but, whatever the motives were, the fact is certain, that the queen had her agents at the court of *Spain*, and that the ambassadors of the great duke seemed as well or better informed of what passed in his most Christian majesty's cabinet, than the minister who represented his person at that court, which, when it came to *Henry's* knowledge, and it could not be long concealed, affected him exceedingly, more especially when he saw what an influence it had upon his own subjects, and that a Jesuit, who preached before him, had the assurance, under colour of refuting the position held by many Protestants that the pope is anti-christ, to cry out, in his pulpit, "If the pope be truly anti-christ, what becomes of your abjuration and absolution? What validity in the dissolution of your marriage? What of the legality of your second espousals? Or what will be thought of the legitimacy of the Dauphin?" The double marriage was the common topic of discourse at both courts, and yet it was the farthest of any thing from the king's inclinations, who feared the friendship of *Spain* more than the resentment of any other power. These circumstances did not only disturb and distract him in the management of his own affairs, but likewise affected him with regard to his allies, by raising great jealousies in *England* and *Holland*, and by exciting a suspicion of a doubleness in his conduct, which very much lessened that confidence with which he had been hitherto treated by both nations, and which was absolutely necessary to the success of his own measures. Than such a suspicion nothing could be more contrary to these, as will fully appear by giving a succinct account of those designs ^e.

Henry's
schemes for
reducing the
power of
Austria.

At the time that *Henry* made the peace of *Vervins*, he made the strongest professions to queen *Elizabeth*, and to the states, of inviolable friendship, and of the deep sense he had of the assistance he had received from both. These were understood at that time as words of course; and the more pains that *Henry* took to impress them, the less meaning in reality there was supposed to be in them. It was to remove this coldness, and, as far as possible, to give a true idea of his system, that certain communications were made to queen *Elizabeth* the year

^a DUPL. tom. v. MEZ. AUBERY MAURIERE Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. ii.
pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. Memoires de SULLI. WINWOOD's Memorials.

SULLI. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. P. DAN.
^b Memoires de SULLI. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. MEZ.
moires pour servir à l'Histoire de France.

^c Memoires de

^d DUPL. P. MATTH. MEZ.

^e DUPL. P. MATTH. Me-

- a before her death, and in a clearer and much stronger manner to king *James*, who seemed to be very well satisfied with, and to have a much better opinion of, the then marquis *de Rhosny's* scheme than any of his ministers¹. The states also, from the hints they had received, made no scruple of giving him to understand, that the truce which had been concluded under his mediation should last no longer than was consistent with his convenience. *Henry* was persuaded that the house of *Austria* meant nothing less than universal monarchy; and, if he had entertained any doubts of it before, the projects they concerted with marshal *Biron*, the count *d' Auvergne*, and marshal *Bouillon*, appeared to him in the light of certain evidence: he resolved therefore to return by all means the usage he had received, to lay the very foundation of this house's greatness, to emancipate the *German* princes, to restore the kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* to their entire right of election, to circumscribe the imperial authority, while it remained in the princes of this family, to restore the electors to their freedom, and to prescribe to *Spain* the bounds which nature seemed to have intended². But he knew very well that this was not to be done while *France* remained in that broken, weak, and embarrassed condition, exhausted in strength, her coffers empty, and her people more than ever prone to discord and disaffection. He laboured, therefore, to remove all these difficulties, and he laboured with great success; he actually discharged a great part of the crown debt, he pacified intestine disorders, he gave the strongest assurances to his Protestant subjects, he omitted nothing that might attach the honestest of the Leaguers to his service, and, with equal application and spirit, he cherished agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, that his subjects might be in a condition to exert their strength, whenever a proper occasion offered: he had accumulated treasure, and he had renewed his alliance with the *Swiss*³. His amours and the consequences of them had, in the mean time, exceedingly lessened his character; and the eagerness he shewed in amassing money, together with the harsh and severe disposition of *Sulli*, were the principal obstacles to that political influence which he laboured to attain.

- THE ministers of the popish faction made all the use they could of these, and that was not a little⁴. Marshal *Ornano*, who was much addicted to them, but withal a man of honour, and sincerely attached to the king, took the liberty of addressing himself to him about this time, and of telling him plainly his sentiments. He assured him that in *Guienne* the people were infinitely more discontented than under the last reign; the king upon this, talked high, but the marshal talked higher; he said that the people had reason; that then they were pillaged of thousands for a few minions, who spent what was given them as soon as they got it; but that now they were plundered of millions, without knowing which way it went. He said that the love of his subjects was the strength of a prince, and not his treasures or his armies; that he remembered the barricades of *Paris*, and trembled to think that what had once happened might happen again. The courtiers were astonished at the marshal's insolence; the king said that he had spoke like an honest man; that his rough zeal was preferable to servile complaisance; and that it was time his people should know to what end money raised upon them was to be employed⁵. A very favourable opportunity offered itself for carrying his design into action, and he resolved not to let it slip unimproved, though scarce seconded therein by any of his ministers, except the duke of *Sulli*, who had been the confident of all his councils, and had incurred much hatred by his endeavours to promote them⁶.

- THIS great event was the death of *John William* duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without issue, by which his sisters and their representatives all pretended to the succession; besides these there were two pretenders of another kind, the elector of *Saxony*, who claimed the whole as devolved to him by a family compact in case the house of *Cleves* came to be without heirs male, and the emperor, who insisted that they were fiefs, and consequently either belonged to him, or at least ought to be sequestered into his hands, till it should be evident to whom else they belonged⁷. Amongst the other claimants, ten or twelve in number, there were two princes who seemed to have clearer titles than any of the rest. These were the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the duke of *Newburgh*, the one in quality of son-in-law to the eldest sister of the last duke, and the other as husband to the second sister. These two princes thought it better to enter into an amicable agreement than to run the hazard of a dispute; and, having once settled this point between themselves, they next agreed to demand the protection of *Henry*, more especially against the violence of the emperor, who had sent the archduke *Leopold* to surprize *Juliers*, a thing of no great difficulty, the governor of the city having been long a creature of *Spain*⁸. The king readily accepted the proposition, promised the princes all they could desire, and began instantly to put in motion all the instruments that he had been preparing in the space of so many years, for the humiliation of the house of *Austria*; and all

¹ Memoires de SULLI. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials. Memoires Historiq. & Politiques, de AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE. ² P. MATTH. P. DAN. MEZ. ³ Memoires de SULLI. Sir G. CAREW's Account of the Court of France, addressed to King James. DUPLEIX. ⁴ Memoires du SULLI. ⁵ Vide auct sup. citat. ⁶ P. MATTH. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. DUPLEIX. ⁷ Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TILLET. P. MATTH. DUPLEIX. ⁸ Decade de Henry le Grand, par M. LE GRAIN.

the powers to whom he applied were so well disposed, the offers he made were so acceptable, and the plan of execution so admirably contrived, that history can scarce afford us an instance of a confederacy so quickly formed, and into which all the parties ran with so much alacrity and spirit ^a. That it was not simply the securing the succession of *Cleves* which induced the king to depart so suddenly from that pacific disposition, in which he had so long remained, is very little, if at all, disputed; and that he aimed at achieving this great project, as we have described it, is, by the ablest historians, held probable; but that there was still a greater, though infinitely a less practicable design, is affirmed by one who, if it really existed, had the best title to be thought the author of it, with the substance of which, as is highly requisite, the reader will be made acquainted at the bottom of page ^d (F). A scheme, which, how singular soever, with a speculative politician, will be found not only curious but useful. ^b

An additional motive arises from the prince of Condé's retiring into the Low Countries.

BUT, in the midst of these negotiations and preparations, another incident fell out, which, it is likely, might quicken the king's motions, and which, thro' the noise it occasioned, many of the writers of those times make their principal source. The king's passion for the princess of *Condé*, which he pursued with all the vehemence and indiscretion of a young man, had very much changed the face of affairs at court; for the queen and the marchioness *de Verneuil*, who, in the spring of the year, were more embroiled than ever, being equally provoked, either began to hate one another less, or at least seemed to do so, and bent their endeavours to defeat the progress of the king's new amour ^c. The prince of *Condé*, whose jealousy distracted him, that he might have a pretence for withdrawing the princess from court, went into *Picardy* in the autumn, and left her at *Breteuil*, where the king going to make her a visit in disguise, and his folly, by accident, becoming publickly known, grew the common ^c

^a Memoires de SULLI. PREFACE. P. MATTH. de SULLI. PREFACE.

^d Suite de la Chronique du Sieur DU TIL. Memoires par P. ETOILLE. LE GRAIN. DUPLEIX.

(F) This grand design, for so it is generally stiled, and so it seems to have been stiled by himself, was, if we may yield credit to the duke of *Sulli*, and if not on him, in a case of this nature, on what writer can we ever rely, was entirely the work of the king's own genius, and the object of his perpetual meditation. We are further told by the same author, that, when the king first mentioned it, he took it for a political sketch, that manifested rather the vivacity of his fancy than the solidity of his judgment; but that afterwards, when the king came to explain himself more fully, to exhibit his reasons, to answer objections, and to propound the means of accomplishing this great design, *Sulli* entered into it more deeply, and saw it in quite another light. After all, however, this grand design has, even with politicians, passed only for a royal *Utopia*, and as such we shall briefly describe it (1). The king conceived that the powers of *Europe* might be reduced into a kind of Christian commonwealth, by rendering them as near as possible of equal strength; and that this republic might be maintained in perpetual peace, by bringing all their differences to be decided before a senate of wise, able, and disinterested judges; and then he conceived it would be no difficult thing to overturn the *Othman* empire. The number of these powers was to be fifteen; viz. The papacy, the empire of *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Hungary*, *Great Britain*, *Bohemia*, *Lombardy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, the republic of *Venice*, the states general, the *Swiss* cantons, and the *Italian* commonwealth, which was to comprehend the states of *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, *Modena*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, and *Monaco*. In order to render the states equal, the empire was to be given to the duke of *Bavaria*, the kingdom of *Naples* to the pope, that of *Sicily* to the *Venetians*, *Milan* to the duke of *Savoy*, who, by this acquisition, was to become king of *Lombardy*; the *Austrian Low Countries* were to be added to the *Dutch* republic; *Franche Comte*, *Alsace*, and the country of *Trent*, were to be given to the *Swiss*. By this distribution, *Henry* reserved nothing to himself, but the glory resulting from so great an action, and the satisfaction of seeing *Europe*, or rather *Christendom*, freed, for the future, from discord and from war. It was in consequence of this alliance, if it had ever taken effect, that those

prodigious armaments by sea and land, mentioned in the text, were to have been made. Statesmen of a cooler turn have conceived this in the light of an agreeable vision, contrived by the king to recommend this serious and single scheme of pulling down the house of *Austria*, by uniting in it princes of every rank and every part of *Europe*, and of all the religions which held the fundamentals of Christianity, and which he thought might be reduced to the three capital denominations. The duke of *Savoy*, though the greatest politician of his time, became enamoured of this beautiful phantom, and paid for it dearly upon the death of the king, when he was left to the mercy of *Spain*. It may, however, be safely collected from hence, that *Henry* adhered to his original sentiment, and despaired of either peace or safety so long as the house of *Austria* possessed the power of hurting him. It was this that gave him an absolute dislike of the double marriage, which appeared so desirable a thing to the queen and some of his council, whereas he intended to marry the dauphin to the heiress of *Lorraine*, and to have given a daughter of his to the prince of *Piedmont* (2). We cannot conclude this note better than by explaining what were called the ten wishes of *Henry* the fourth (3), which he so often mentioned, that the phrase became proverbial, whereas the project before-mentioned was hardly so much as guessed at in his own time. He said he had earnestly desired of God, 1. His grace and spiritual assistance. 2. The preservation of his sense and strength to the hour of his death. 3. To see the Protestant religion, though he had quitted it, placed on a secure basis. 4. To be separated from his first wife, and to be joined in marriage with some other, with whom he might live in peace, and educate his children himself. 5. To restore *France* to its antient splendor. 6. To recover from *Spain* either *Navarre* or *Flanders* and *Artois*. 7. To gain a battle in person against the king of *Spain*, and another against the grand signor. 8. To reduce his Protestant subjects to his obedience without recurring to force. 9. To see the dukes of *Espenon*, *Bouillon*, and *Tremouille* reduced to implore his clemency. 10. To be enabled to execute his great design, the only wish he concealed.

(1) In the new edition of the duke of *Sulli*'s memoirs, what before was scattered through the whole work is collected into what is stiled the thirteenth book, according to the manner in which they are ranged in order of time. (2) Preface. Dupleix. P. Matthieu. Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de France. (3) Memoires de *Sulli*, liv. xxviii.

a topic of discourse at *Paris*. The prince returning soon after was given to understand, that, in order to put an end to these injurious reports, it was expected he should bring back the princess to court^f. He seemed to listen to the arguments offered on this head, and having taken all the precautions necessary, he, under pretence of going to fetch her, took her from the place where she was, and, on the last day of *November*, carried her to *Landrecy*, in the territories of the archduke. At this the king was so much alarmed and provoked, that he instantly dispatched *Monf. Prasslin*, captain of his guard, with so rough a message to the archduke *Albert*, that he began to doubt whether he should give them protection, and had probably declined it, but that the marquis *Spinola*, who had the confidence of the *Spanish* court, determined him to change his conduct, and to send for them to *Brussels*^g. Upon this the king sent the marquis *de Cœuvres*, who was a great favourite with the prince, to try if he could persuade him to return, and, if he failed in that, to carry away the princess. The scheme for this, which was given out to be by her father the constable's command in order to put her into the hands of *madame d'Angoulesme*, with whom she was brought up, was so well laid, that the king thought it impossible to fail; and, in the joy of his heart, most unaccountably told it to the queen, who was just risen from her lying-in of *Henrietta Maria*, afterwards consort to our *Charles* the first. The queen seemed to be very well pleased with the news, and certainly was so with the discovery, which she immediately communicated to the nuncio *Ubal dini*, and pressed him to send a courier immediately, with advice of it to the marquis *Spinola*. This courier arrived at *Brussels* a little before noon on the very day in the evening of which the princess was to be carried away, and the only expedient that could be found to prevent it was for the archduchess to take her immediately under her own care, and lodge her in the palace^h. The king bore this disappointment with great impatience; and as his military preparations were carried on with extraordinary vigour in the midst of these transactions, it is no great wonder that, at the time, the world in general, and the populace more especially, should attribute to this amour a war, the reasons of which they did not understand, or that this should be countenanced, after the king's death, by such as were wise enough to penetrate the real motivesⁱ. In the midst of these confusions, which fixed the eyes of all *Europe* on the court of *France*, ended the present year.

THE new year discovered the grandeur of the king's project, and the means taken to carry it into execution; he had an army of forty thousand men, composed, for the most part, of old troops, and commanded by officers of great experience, exclusive of six thousand *Swiss* who were to join them on the frontiers, and four thousand of the noblesse, who were to attend the king to the army, which was to assemble at *Chalons*, about the middle of *May*^k. The negotiations requisite for the general league were conducted with so much silence, that the first news that transpired to the public of them was their conclusion^l. *Monf. de Lesdiguières* was chosen to treat with his old antagonist the duke of *Savoy*, and upon his proposing the conquest of the duchy of *Milan*, upon condition that *France* should enjoy *Savoy*, the duke made no difficulty of entering into the king's views^m. The princes of *Germany* held an assembly in spite of the emperor, in which they approved the king's proposal for restoring the liberty of the empireⁿ. In *England* his minister met with no less success, and the *Italian* princes^o shewed a strong inclination to accept the offers that were made them, to concur in his design. According to some computations the forces of the allies were to have amounted to two thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, together with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail. It is much more certain that *Sulli* assured him he had more than forty millions ready for this service, and that, all the expences of his government defrayed, seven millions annually entered into his treasure of reserve. The train of artillery that was to attend the army consisted of fifty pieces of brass cannon, which, though not very extraordinary now, was what had not been seen till then. As the king was to command in person, the queen was appointed regent, and a council assigned her, besides which, there was a particular council fixed for the management of every one of the great governments in *France*, that, during the execution of these mighty schemes abroad, provision might be made for preventing any untoward accidents at home^p. All these dispositions being made, the king, by a short letter, expressed in very strong terms, demanded of the archduke *Albert* a passage for his forces through his territories, in order to march into the duchy of *Fuliers*, in order to expel the archduke *Leopold*; which was granted, because it could not well be refused^q. In the

^f D'AUBIGNY, Histoire Universelle. Mercure Francois, Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials. ^g Memoires de SULLI. ^h Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, P. DAN. ⁱ PEREFIXE, Histoire de Roy Henry IV. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. Decade de Henry le Grand, par LE GRAIN. ^j D'AUBIGNY Histoire Universelle. P. DAN. MEZ. CHALONS. Pr. Henault. ^k P. MATTH. DUPL. MEZ. ^l Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 120. P. DAN. ^m Memoires de SULLI. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. MEZ. tom. vi. LE GEND. ⁿ DUPLEIX, tom. v. Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. Memoires de SULLI. ^o Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France. DUPLEIX. tom. v. Memoires de SULLI. ^p P. MATTHIEU. DUPL. tom. v. PEREFIXE. P. DAN. ^q Memoires de SULLI. MEZ. PIERRE DE L'ESTOILLE.

mean time the prince of *Condé*, doubting of his own safety in the *Low Countries*, retired first into *Germany*, and from thence to *Milan*, where the conde *Fuentes*, the king's old determined enemy, under colour of doing him honour, and providing for his safety, placed a numerous guard of horse and foot about his person^r; to colour which, he spread a report that 200,000 crowns were set upon his head: and, at the same time, it was whispered, by the emissaries of *Spain*, that for many reasons, none of which were new, the king's marriage to *Mary de Medicis* was absolutely null, and therefore the prince of *Condé* ought to be considered as the presumptive heir of the crown. A very poor device; and yet upon this the *Spaniards* seemed to rely; and, to the amazement of all the world, while such vast preparations were making against them, the house of *Austria* scarce seemed to take any precautions for its

The king's ap- own defence.

p-ehension from
the ceremony
of the queen's
coronation.

As the season of action drew nearer, the king spent a great part of his time in conferences with the duke of *Sulli* at the arsenal, where every thing was digested that regarded this great expedition, or the settlement of the administration in the king's absence^s: but with these there was intermixed another affair that gave the king infinite concern, and disturbed him more than all the mighty projects that were now upon the carpet. This was the earnest desire the queen had to be solemnly crowned. Whence this desire arose cannot, with any certainty, be determined; but that she used many plausible pretences to support it cannot be denied. She was a princess not easily dissuaded from any thing she had once resolved upon, and the king was not of a disposition to refuse her any thing, though it was ever so much against his own sense of things. There were besides many other persons to whom a ceremony of this kind was very displeasing, particularly queen *Margaret*, who could not refuse to assist thereat, without injuring the queen's character, or be present without debasing her own^t. The count *de Soissons* had his discontents, which affected him to such a degree, that he retired from court. However, nothing came up to the king's disquiet, more especially after he had given his orders in consequence of the queen's importunity, when the day was fixed. If we may credit the duke of *Sulli*, the king was more distressed and disordered with the thoughts of this coronation, than with any thing that had happened to him through his whole life. He went so far as to presage he should not survive it, that he should never live to get out of *Paris*, where he thought himself less safe than at the head of his army, and yet he could not bring himself to countermand the orders he had given, or to resolve not to take a share in that idle pomp, of which he had such a dread^u. It was supposed that this arose from the rumours that were spread of conspiracies formed against his person^v, of which, as there had been many, there was the greater probability; and, as a great historian says^x, they had at this time advices from more than twenty places, that such a one was then in agitation. As to these rumours, and a variety of prognostics, many of which, very possibly, were invented after the tragedy of the king's death, we shall say nothing, since they make a great part of a voluminous work^y. But, with respect to the king's apprehensions and the public rumours, they are facts that cannot be denied, and therefore it was necessary to mention them, though they are matters for which we can give no rational account. As to what the duke of *Sulli* tells us, and which seems yet more unaccountable, that the king expressly told him he had been forewarned that he should be killed in some public ceremony in a coach, and that it was this circumstance that made him so much abhor the thoughts of this cursed coronation, it is in some measure explained by *Sulli's* answer, that he from thence collected the reason of his majesty's starting and being so much alarmed even at the slightest jolting in a coach, though he had the greatest steadiness and presence of mind in the midst of the most imminent dangers^z. This shews that the prediction, whatever it was, did not regard any ceremony, but was barely confined to a coach, and the king had applied it twice before, once to a great risk he ran in going to visit the duchess of *Beaufort*, and next to his narrow escape from drowning, when his coach fell with him into the river at *Neuilly*. It was therefore his dislike to the coronation that dictated this new prediction, and associated the ideas of his peril in assisting at this ceremony with the apprehensions he had been accustomed to have in a coach; and yet this was not exactly fulfilled; for, though he was slain in a coach, yet not in the procession, or in any thing that regarded the coronation. His fears therefore, were confused, and served only to trouble his mind, and suggested nothing towards his preservation.

This solemnity
is celebrated
with prodigious magni-
ficence.

On the twelfth of *May*, through the extreme importunity of the queen, notwithstanding the duke *de Sulli* had once prevailed to have the preparations countermanded, solemn proclamation was made that the next day, which was *Thursday*, the queen would be publicly

^r Sir R. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 149. *Memoires de Marechal de Bassompierre*, tom. i. *Memoires du Cardinal Bentivoglio*. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* par LE VASSOR, tom. i. p. 19—21. ^s *Memoires de SULLI*.

^t *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. *Memoires de SULLI*. DUPL. P. DAN. ^u *Me-*

moires de SULLI.

^v P. MATTH.

^x MEZ. tom. vi.

^y P. MATTH. *Histoire de la Mort*

deplorable de Henry IV.

^z *Memoires de SULLI*.

crowned

a crowned at *St. Denis*: the ceremony was accordingly performed by cardinal *Joyeuse*, with all possible order and magnificence; the queen appearing extremely gay and well pleased^a. The *Sunday* following was fixed for her public entry into *Paris*, for which vast preparations were made, many triumphal arches erected, and all those circumstances of parade which *Henry* the fourteenth, the king was observed to pray longer than usual. When he came out of his closet, he sent to the duke of *Sulli*, to desire he would come and speak with him in the garden of the *Thuilleries*; but being informed that the duke was ill, and that the person he sent had found him in the bath, he sent him another message to come to him the next morning, but in his night-gown and cap, that he might not catch cold^c. He conferred in the morning with b *Villeroy*, *Nerestan*, and *d'Escoures*, who had been sent to reconnoitre the passages into the duchy of *Juliers*, and who assured him they were much better than they had been represented, which intelligence the king seemed to receive with great satisfaction^d. He went next to hear mass at the *Feuillans*, followed by *Ravilliac*, who confessed his intention to have stabbed him there, but said the duke of *Vendosme* hindered him. After dinner, the king conversed some time with the president *Jeanin*, and *Monf. Arnaud*, intendant of the finances, about the reformatations he intended to make after the war was over, the reduction of the officers employed in the revenue, and the suppressing such taxes as were most burthensome to the people. After they left him he grew extremely uneasy, went to a window, and leaning his head upon his arm, was heard to say softly, "My God, what is this within me, that will not suffer me to be quiet^e?" About four o'clock he ordered his coach, in which having seated himself, he placed the duke of *Espernon* next him on the right hand; at the boot on that side set *Messieurs de Ravardin* and *Roquelar*; opposite to them sat the duke of *Monthazon* and the marquis de *la Force*; *Monf. de Liencourt* and the marquis de *Mirebeau* sat forwards. The coachman asking where he was to go, the king answered, "Drive me from hence." *Ravilliac* followed the coach, intending to have struck him between the two gates, but was hindered by finding the duke of *Espernon* where the king used to sit^f.

WHEN the coach was without the court of the king's palace, the king cried, "Drive to the *Extraordi-*
"cross of *Tirocy*:" when he came thither, he said, "To *St. Innocent's* church-yard." Turning nary circum-
into the *Rue de la Ferroniere*, which was then a very narrow street, by reason of the shops built stances pre-
d against the wall of *St. Innocent's* church yard, there was a stop occasioned by two carts, one ceding the
loaded with wine, the other with hay^g. The king had before sent away his guards, and or- king's death,
dered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry, in- who is stabbed
tending afterwards to have driven to the arsenal to discourse with the duke of *Sulli* on the in his own
intelligence he had received from *d'Escoures*. The pages who followed the coach went coach.
round by the church yard, except two, one who went before to get the way clear, and the other stopped behind to garter up his stocking; *Ravilliac* took this opportunity, mounted on the wheel, and, with a long knife, which cut with both sides, struck the king over the duke of *Espernon's* shoulder, while that monarch listened to a letter the duke was reading^h, or, as othersⁱ say, was whispering something to the marquis de *Lavardin*. The king, as most
e writers affirm, said, "I am wounded;" upon which the assassin struck him again with greater force, so that the knife, penetrating into his chest, divided the vena cava, and immediately deprived him of life^k. Some^l say, that he made a third stroke, and that one of the lords caught it upon his arm; but this is liable to great doubt. They were, on the contrary, so little acquainted how the thing was done, that they did not so much as see the murderer; so that, if he had thrown the knife under the coach, he might have passed on: but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the knife bloody in his hand; till a gentleman who followed the coach came up, seized him, and was going to put him to death; but the duke of *Espernon* prevented him, crying out, "Save him on your life^m." He then directed that the coach windows should be drawn up, and the coachman to drive back to the *Louvre*, giving out that
f the king was wounded, but not dangerouslyⁿ (G).

As

^a DUPLEIX, tom. v. *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 304.
SULLI. PIERRE D'ESTOILLE, tom. ii. p. 302.

tom. v. ^c *Memoires de SULLI*. MEZERAY, P. DAN.

^e *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 305, & seq. P. DAN.

^g *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 158. *Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron*. MEZ.

^h R. WINWOOD'S *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 158. DUPLEIX. P. DANIEL.

ⁱ *Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron*, tom. ii. P. MATTH.

^b *Memoires de*

^d P. MATTH. DUPL.

^f P. MATTH. DUPLEIX. LE GEND.

^h Sir R. WINWOOD'S

ⁱ P. MATTH.

^k Sir

^l PEREFIXE. MEZERAY.

ⁿ P. DANIEL.

(G) *Henry* was of a middle stature, rather tall than short, his eyes lively, his nose aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his hair brown in his youth, but began to turn grey at thirty-three. He had an excellent constitution, and, notwithstanding his free manner of living, enjoyed

a good state of health, except that he was attacked sometimes by the gout. He was very gallant, and an exceeding good officer. He was naturally familiar, but, when it was necessary, could put on a very majestic air. Upon great occasions he shewed that he understood magni-

What follows
upon this oc-
casion.

As soon as the coach came to the palace, the king was carried into his cabinet, and laid a upon a bed, where, if we may believe *Mezeray*, he was quickly left by the great ^o; so that those who had a mind to see him met with no interruption, only *Monf. le Grand Bassompierre* and the duke of *Guise*, instead of going to pay their court, went to weep over their dead master ^p, the duke of *Guise* embracing him passionately. When his body was opened, it appeared that he had two wounds, one slight and the other mortal; but there is some doubt which was the first or the second. All the surgeons and physicians, and there were upwards of twenty present, gave it as their opinion, from the soundness of the vital parts, that the king might have lived many years ^q. His entrails were immediately sent to *St. Denis*, and interred without ceremony; his heart was delivered to the Jesuits, and deposited, according to his desire, in their college at *la Fleche* ^r, which he had founded; the body was embalmed, in order to be interred with the accustomed ceremonies. This melancholy scene put the dukes of *Espernon* and *Bellegarde* in mind that their old master *Henry* the third was yet uninterred; upon which they went to the church of *St. Cornelia*, at *Compeigne*, and having brought away the coffin from thence, caused his remains to be buried, with great honour, at *St. Denis* ^s, eight days before those of his successor, by which a prediction was verified, made, in all probability, after the fact. On the 29th of *June* the king's body was interred with the accustomed ceremonies at the same place ^t, with the highest demonstrations of sorrow amongst the people, and with the universal concern of those in foreign nations who wished well to the liberties of *Europe*, and the Protestant interest.

Thus ended the life of *Henry*, the fourth of that name, and the first of the house of *Bourbon*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, the thirty-eighth of his reign over *Navarre*, and the twenty-first since his accession to the crown of *France*, to whom strangers as well as his own subjects gave the surname of great, which was certainly due to him as a monarch, tho' not as a man. What he was in his person appears from the fine equestrian statue in brass of him on the *Pont Neuf* at *Paris*, which was cast by the order of the grand dukes *Ferdinand* and *Cosmo de Medicis*, and on which all good *Frenchmen* still look with an eye of reverence.

^o *Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, tom. vi. p. 388.

^p *DUPL.* tom. v. *Memoires de*

Marechal Bassompierre.

^q *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. *P. DAN.*

^r *P.*

MATTH.

^s *DUPLEIX*, tom. v.

^t *Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon.*

magnificence, though he did not love it. In general, his speech was frank, and his habit plain. He was naturally eloquent, wrote well, and with great ease. He rallied very agreeably, and he bore not only that but even reproofs without impatience, provided he thought they were well meant. His fortitude enabled him to overcome, and by his dexterity he often avoided, danger. He loved his subjects, and did many things for their advantage: amongst others he encouraged manufactures and commerce, countenanced by his authority the sending ships to the west, and granted letters patent for establishing an *East-India* company. With these great qualities he had also great failings, amongst which his passion for women was certainly the greatest. However, he did not suffer them to govern him, to recommend or discard his ministers. He was likewise too favourable in regard to duels, against which, though he made laws, yet he treated with contempt such as paid respect to them. He had a great passion for play, which had terrible consequences, as it rendered this destructive vice fashionable, which is alone sufficient to throw a kingdom into confusion. He also loved money, but then he knew how to use it; and having observed how much his predecessors suffered from the want of it, he was desirous of avoiding their misfortunes by a contrary conduct. He

had, besides these failings, a mixture of levity and vanity in his temper, but it appears from his letters, that he knew his own foibles as well as any body, and that, how ill soever he succeeded, he studied to mend them. He affected popularity, and he acquired it; he dissembled without malice; on the contrary, he pardoned so readily and so sincerely, that his bitterest enemies, at the time of his death, were become his firmest friends. By his first queen *Margaret of Valois* he had never any issue; by his second *Mary de Medicis* he left three sons, the dauphin, the duke of *Orleans*, who died the year after him, and *John Baptist Gaston*, who bore the same title. He had also three daughters, *Elizabeth*, who became the consort of *Philip* the fourth king of *Spain*; *Christina*, who espoused *Victr Amadeus* duke of *Savoy*; and *Henrietta-Maria*, who became queen of *England* by her marriage with *Charles* the first. We have mentioned his natural children by the duchess of *Beaufort* and the marchioness of *Verneuil*; he had also by *Jaqueline de Beuil*, countess of *Moret*, a son, *Anthony de Bourbon*, count of *Moret*, supposed to be killed in the battle of *Castelnaudari*, in 1632, though others say that he lived as a hermit in *Anjou* to the year 1693; and by *Charlotte des Effarts*, countess of *Romarin*, he had two daughters, one of which was abbess of *Fontevrault*, and the other of *Chelles*.

S E C T. XI.

The reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, surnamed the Just, from his accession to the Throne to the putting to death the marshal d'Ancre, and the banishment of the queen-mother to Blois.

- ^a **T**H E first news of the king's death threw the queen into tears ; but the chancellor *Sillery* made use of some very singular arguments to soften the violence of her grief : he told her that the king of *France* never died, that there were enough to weep for her and themselves too, and therefore it became her to think for herself and them too ^a : he added, that councils and not tears were requisite at that juncture. His advice was taken : the parliament was assembled that very evening at the convent of the *Augustins*, and the queen declared regent by the management and menaces of the duke of *Espernon* ^b. The duke *de Sully*, going from the arsenal to the *Louvre*, received such advices as engaged him to retire into the *Bastile*, to carry into it what bread he could collect, as if he intended to keep it at all events. He was, however, afterwards prevailed upon to go to court, where, in all appearance, he was so well received, that he desisted from the measures he had taken ^c. The very next day the king went to the parliament to hold his bed of justice, and there the tutelage and the regency were confirmed to the queen, who promised that the young king should have special regard to the advice of that illustrious body. The prince of *Condé* and the count *de Soissons* being absent, rendered these measures less difficult than they would have been. The latter arrived the very next day, and began to talk in a very high strain, but it was too late ; and, tho' he wanted not either friends or parts, yet the affability and the promises of the queen put it out of his power to make any great disturbance, and he was afterwards prevailed upon to unite himself to the court, though this was upon his own terms ^d. On the 22d of *May* the edict of *Nants* was confirmed, and a proclamation published to quiet the Protestants. These provisions being made for the benefit of the living, they were more at leisure to consider what was due to the dead ; so that on the 27th that assassin, by whose desperate hand *Henry* the Great had been dispatched, was put to a death as severe as such cruelty deserved (A). He declared

^a *Mercuré François. DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH.* ^b *Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. p. 164. DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. Decade contenant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. depuis l'ann. 1610, jusqu'an. 1617, par BAPTISTE LE GRAIN, Maître de Requêtes de l'Hôtel de Marie de Medicis, fol. Paris, 1619.* ^c *Mercuré François. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^d *Histoire de la Mere & du Fils. P. MATTHIEU Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.*

(A) This infamous assassin, *Francis Ravilliac*, was a native of *Angoulême*, and, at the time of his execution, about one or two and thirty years of age. He was the son of parents who lived upon alms. His father was that sort of inferior retainer to the law, to which the vulgar give the name of a pettifogger, and his son had been bred up in the same way. He had set up a claim to an estate, but the cause went against him : this affected his mind deeply. He afterwards taught a school, and, as himself said, received charitable gifts, though but of a very small value, from the parents of those whom he taught ; and yet his distress was so great, that he had much ado to live. He once proposed to enter himself amongst the *Feuillans* ; but the superior, understanding that he pretended to visions and revelations, which he committed to writing, turned him out. He had been likewise in prison, and some say condemned for an assassination ; but, upon an appeal to the parliament, the sentence, as to capital punishment, was reversed, and he was condemned only to make submission, and to testify his grief and concern (1). When he was seized for the king's murder, he was very loosely guarded, that is, all were permitted to speak with him who pleased ; and it was thought very remarkable that a jesuit should say to him, " My friend, take care, whatever you do, that you don't charge honest people (2)." He was removed the next day from

the house of *Espéron*, to the *Conciergerie*, which is the proper prison of the parliament of *Paris*. When he was first interrogated, he answered with great boldness, " That he had done it, and would do it, if it were to do again." When he was told that the king, tho' dangerously wounded, was living, and might recover, he treated it with derision ; he said, that he had struck him home, and that he was sure he was dead (3). In his subsequent examinations, he owned, that he had long had an intention to kill the king, because he suffered two religions in his kingdom ; and that he endeavoured to obtain an audience of him, that he might admonish him. He also said, that he understood the king's great armament to be against the pope, and that, in his opinion, to make war against the pope was to make war against God (4). He talked very idly and simply of revelations that he had had. He pretended to have spoken to, and received the sacrament from, Father *Aubigne*, a Jesuit, but, when confronted with him, that Father told him he was an impudent liar, and that he never saw his face till that moment. We have no distinct account of the three last examinations ; but he is said to have persisted, in the most solemn asseverations, that he had no accomplices ; that nobody had persuaded him to the fact ; that he had but three quarters of a crown and a few halfpence in his pocket, and that, if he had missed of doing the fact as he did, he must have gone

(1) *Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.*

pour servir à l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 321.

(2) *Matthieu. Dupleix. Mercuré François.*

(4) *Matth. Dupl. & al.*

(3) *Memoires*

declared to the last that he had no accomplices; that no body had persuaded it; and that he had never acquainted any one with his intention to kill the king; which, however, from a variety of circumstances, has been doubted, though the truth of that execrable act was never yet known^c (B).

As

^c *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 321, & seq. *MALINGRE Histoire de Louis XIII.* *DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.* Sir R. WINWOOD'S *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 170—174.

back into his own country for want of subsistence (5). He appeared surprized at nothing so much as at the universal abhorrence of the people, which, it seems, he did not expect. They were forced to guard him strictly from his fellow prisoners, who would otherwise have murdered him. The butchers of *Paris* desired to have him put into their hands, affirming that they would slay him alive, and that he should still live twelve days. When he was put to the torture, he broke out into horrid execrations, and always insisted that he did the fact from his own motive, and that he could accuse nobody (6). On the day of his execution, after he had made the amende honourable before the church of *Notre Dame*, he was carried to the *Greve*; and, being brought upon a scaffold, was tied to a wooden engine in the shape of a *St. Andrew's* cross. The knife with which he did the murder being fastened in his right hand, it was first burnt in a slow fire; then the fleshy parts of his body, such as breasts, arms, thighs, &c. were torn with red-hot pincers, and melted lead, oil, pitch, and rosin, poured into the wounds, and through a clay funnel, into his bowels, by the navel. The people refused to pray for him; and when, last of all, according to the sentence pronounced upon him, he came to be dragged to pieces by four horses, one of those that was brought appearing to be but weak, one of the spectators offered his own, with which the criminal was much moved: he is said to have then made a confession, which was so written by the greffier *Voisin*, that not so much as one word of it could ever be read (7). He was very earnest for absolution, which his confessor refused, unless he would reveal his accomplices; "Give it me conditionally," said he, "upon condition that I have told the truth," which they did. His body was so robust, that it resisted the force of the horses; and the executioner was at length obliged to cut him into quarters, which the people dragged through the streets (8). The house in which he was born was demolished, and a column of infamy erected; his father and mother were banished from *Angoulesme*, and ordered to quit the kingdom, upon pain of being hanged if they returned, without any form of process; his brothers, sisters, uncles, and other relations, were commanded to lay aside the name of *Ravilliac*, and to assume some other, on the like pain (9). Such was the fate of this execrable monster, who, according to his own account, suffered himself to be impelled to such a fact, by the seditious sermons and books of the Jesuits, whom *Henry*, rather out of fear than love, had recalled and caressed, and to whom he had bequeathed his heart.

(B) It is certain that, in those days, the world did not credit the dying words of *Ravilliac*, or so much of his process as was published. An eminent prelate, who wrote the life of *Henry* the fourth (10), speaking of *Ravilliac*, says, "If it be demanded who were the demons and furies who inspired him with so damnable a thought, and who pushed him on to so iniquitous a resolution, history answers, that she knows nothing, and that it is a thing so important, that it is by no means allowable to impose suspicions and conjectures

"on the world, as if they were certain truths. The very judges themselves, who interrogated him, durst not open their mouths, or explain their sentiments otherwise than by heaving up their shoulders." Another eminent historian (11) says, that there were in those days two different opinions concerning this assassination, the one that it was conducted by some grandees, who sacrificed that monarch to their old resentments; the other that it was done by the emissaries of the *Spaniards*. In proof of this he mentioned what many other writers have asserted, that letters from *Brussels*, *Antwerp*, *Mechlin*, and other places, were received before the 15th of *May*, with a report of the king's death. There has been a third opinion (12), that a very deep design was laid, which fell not very short of another *St. Bartholomew*, but when the first step, which was the death of the king, had taken place, it was not thought necessary to push it any farther, and it might be that which astonished *Ravilliac*: the universal abhorrence of the people might also astonish them, and incline them rather to turn what was done to the best accounts they could, than to risk the discovery of that and their own safety, by pushing things farther. We must also observe, that though nothing occurs in the examinations of *Ravilliac* that were first published, in reference to his journeys to *Naples*, and other places, yet as these are set down as certain truths by good authors, so there are probable grounds to believe that they were not fictitious (13). There is one circumstance preserved in a very curious and authentic work, published in our own language, which is not to be found in any *French* writer, which is, that *Ravilliac* had been not long before at *Brussels* (14). Amongst other circumstances that created a very great doubt, whether the assassin spoke truth, were the things found in his pocket at the time he was seized, amongst which was a chaplet, the figure of a heart made in cotton, in the centre of which he said there was a bit of the true cross, but when cut there was none, which he affirmed was given him by a canon at *Angoulesme*, a piece of paper with the arms of *France* painted upon it, another full of characters, and a third containing verses for the meditation of a criminal going to execution (15). Soon after he was put to death, a boy of thirteen years of age, who lived with a weaver, declared, that, if he had *Ravilliac's* knife and his papers, he would do as much for the young king as that regicide had done for the old one. For speaking these words he was condemned to be hanged by the provost of *Paris*, but whether he was executed or not does not appear (16). But the case of the provost of *Pluviers*, or *Petiviers*, in *Beauce*, about six miles from *Paris*, was much more extraordinary; he had said openly on the day that *Henry* the fourth was murdered, "This day the king is either slain or dangerously wounded;" for which, after the king's death was known, he was seized and sent prisoner to *Paris*; but, before he was examined, he was found hanged in the strings drawn out of his drawers. His body was, notwithstanding, hung up by the heels on the common gibbet, on the 19th of *June* (17). What increased the suspicions grounded on this man's end, was his having two

(5) *Interrogatoire de Ravilliac*, *Mercure Francois*, *Le Grain*, *Dupleix*, *Malingre*.

(6) *Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.* *P. d'Essoille Journal de Henry IV.*

(7) *Mercure Francois*, *Journal d'Essoille*, *Matthieu Hist. Louis XIII.*

(8) *Arret contre Ravilliac*, *Dupleix*, *P. Matthieu*, *Le Grain*.

(9) *Memoires de la Regence*, *Dupleix*, *P. Matthieu*, *Le Grain*.

(10) *Nic. Rigalt*, ann. 1610, tom. vi. p. 492.

(11) *Nic. Rigalt*, ann. 1610, tom. vi. p. 492.

(12) *Journal de l'Essoille*, p. 150, & suiv.

(13) See the Note marked XVII. to the new Edition of the *Memoires of Sulli*, tom. vii. p. 393.

(14) Sir Ralph Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 158.

(15) *Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.*

(16) *P. Matthieu Histoire de Louis XIII.*

(17) *Mercure Francois*, ann. 1610, fol. 193. *Journal du Regne de Henry IV.* p. 193.

- a As soon as the news arrived at *Milan* of the death of the king, the conde *Fuentes* left no method untried to induce the prince of *Condé* to think of turning it to his own advantage; but he resisted all temptations with great firmness, and resolved to return into *France*, as he did. He arrived at *Paris* on the 1st of *July*, and had a long conference with the duke of *Sully* before he went to court, and was far from being pleased with the measures that had been taken: but, for a person of his rank, his circumstances were narrow, and this induced him the more readily to accept the offers that were made him of a convenient palace, a large sum of money, a pension, and the first government worth his acceptance^f. A council of regency was established, which was very numerous, and composed of all who could pretend any reasonable title to enter it; but there was a cabinet council composed of a very small number, in whom the queen, or *Conchini*, in whom she trusted every thing, could confide. A body of twelve thousand men, under the command of marshal *de la Chatre*, was sent to the assistance of the *German* princes, to whom the city of *Juliers* surrendered on the second of *September*. As for the duke of *Savoy*, he was left to make his peace with *Spain* as well as he could, and he was forced to send his son prince *Philibert* to demand pardon of his catholic majesty, a circumstance less dishonourable to him than to the court of *France*^g. On the 17th of *October* the young king was solemnly crowned at *Rheims* by the cardinal *Joyeuse*. The face of the court was, by this time, intirely changed, the faithful servants of the late king being coldly received, and the partizans of *Spain* having the ear of the queen-regent. The direction of public affairs, honours, governments, survivances, pensions, and immense sums of money, were distributed amongst those who were most likely to create trouble^h. As to the duke of *Espernon*, who was above every thing of this kind, he had an apartment given him in the *Louvre*, that the queen might have it always in her power to ask his advice, and the secretaries of state reported to him the contents of the dispatches they received. Amongst the solemn embassies that were sent to condole with the queen, and to congratulate the young king, the public was best pleased with the arrival of the lord *Wootton* from *England*ⁱ, and testified the greatest dislike of the duke *de Feria*, who came with a like commission from *Spain*, because he was the son of that duke *de Feria* who had commanded the *Spanish* garrison in *Paris*, during the time of the league^k. A. D. 1610.
- d THE disputes between the princes and the great lords of the court gave the queen great inquiet, and no less disturbance to the state; but, in the midst of these misunderstandings amongst themselves, they could agree well enough in pushing a very bad measure, when they apprehended it to be for their common benefit. The duke *de Sully* had tried every method possible to give the queen a right idea of the state of her affairs, and to prevail upon her to govern with moderation and steadiness. His advices were sometimes extremely well received, and at others but coldly. His differences with the princes, with many great lords, and the principal favourites, openly in council, his opposing warmly the dissipation of the money with which he had been intrusted, and the counsels he gave the queen not to put herself into the hands of any party, raised a very strong one against himself^l. The chancellor, the secretary *Villeroy*, and the president *Jeanin*, who had never been his friends, now placed themselves at the head of his enemies, and his known aversion to that dissipation, which was become the

^f *Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, MALINGRE. DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^g *Histoire de la Mere & du Fils*, P. MATTHIEU *Histoire de Louis XIII.* LE GRAIN. ^h WINWOOD'S *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 227. DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* MALINGRE. ⁱ *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes*, by Dr. BIRCH, p. 325. DUPLEIX *Histoire de Louis XIII.* LE GRAIN. ^k P. MATTH. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* Mercure Francois. *Journal de l'Estoile*. ^l Mercure Francois. *Journal de l'Estoile*. DUPLEIX *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

sons Jesuits, and his being a dependent on the family of Monsieur *d'Entragues*. But after all, perhaps a better account will scarce be found, than occurs in a late writer of our own, to whom the world is much obliged for his judicious and laborious collection; his words are these (18), "I shall insert a remark which I transcribed from the original memorandums, occasionally noted down by Robert Sidney, the second earl of Leicester, who was ambassador in France from the year 1636 to 1641. Monsieur *de Bouillon*, says he, at *Paris*, in 1636, and I, discoursing of many things of the king, Henry IV. and his death, I said, I thought that blow came out of *Spain*. He said he believed the *Spaniards* had no more hand in it than you or I. That came some other way; insinuating, as I imagined, the queen-mother, with the help of *le petit collet*, that

"is, the Jesuits. And I know something of this, for the president *Jeanin* and I were the two appointed to examine the villain *Ravilliac*, and to take orders for all things in that business, but he would confess nothing; only we observed this, which was very true, that though he was *scholar*, that is, in a manner mad in all things else, yet, in defence of what he had done, he used all the subtle arguments that any doctor amongst the Jesuits could allege, and would never be put out from the opinion that the king was a heretic in his heart, and so out of the church, and therefore might lawfully, and ought to be, killed. It seems, said *Bouillon*, he had been taught his lesson well." It seems, however, that he had been taught another lesson, how to keep a secret, still better.

(18) Dr. Birch's *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes*, p. 312. See also the Letter from Mr. Colvert to Mr. Trumbull, in Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 181.

ruling maxim, left him no resources: he made the best terms he could; and, having surrendered his important employments of sur-intendant of the finances, and captain of the *Basilie*, he, in the month of *February*, retired to his own house of *Sulli*^m. Upon this the treasury was put into commission, though, in effect, this department fell into the hands of the president *Jeanin*, with the title of comptroller-general. The duke *de Bouillon*, not satisfied with the disgrace, aimed at the destruction of *Sulli*; and, with this view, persuaded the queen to permit the Protestants to hold an assembly at *Chastellerault*, where he undertook to engage them to abandon the duke of *Sulli*ⁿ. Afterwards, pretending that this place was within the government of that duke, he got the assembly transferred to *Saumur*, where, notwithstanding all his intrigues, he failed in the very first instance; for, instead of being chosen, as he expected, president of that assembly, this honour was conferred on Monsieur *du Plessis Mornay*; nor was he more fortunate in the rest of his proceedings, since the assembly first exhorted the duke *de Sulli* not to resign either his government of *Poitou*, or his post of master of the ordnance, and next, by a solemn act, recommended the duke to the queen's favour, as an able minister, and faithful servant to the crown: the only remarkable event it produced was continuing to them their places of surety for five years^o; for, though the queen-mother and her favourites hated, yet they feared them exceedingly^p.

Attempts to
discover the
authors of the
late king's
murder.

WHILE the court was intirely taken up with private intrigues, and the greatest man in France was no Frenchman but an Italian, *Conchini*, now stiled marquis *d'Ancre*, from an estate of that name which he had bought soon after the king's death, there wanted not some affairs of an unpleasant nature, that disturbed that air of gaiety which was very improperly affected by the great at this time. These were the proceedings in parliament upon discoveries said to be made of the true authors of the late king's murder, which, however, turned upon the discoverer; and those who had been charged being either free from fault, or too great to be declared guilty, were dismissed without punishment^q (C). On the third of *October* died the duke

^m *Memoires de SULLI. Memoires de la Regence. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII.* ⁿ *Memoires de Henry Duc de Rohan, Mercure Francois, DUPLEIX, Histoire de Louis XIII. Journal de l'ESTOILE, MALINGRE.* ^o *DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.* ^p *Memoires de Rohan, Memoires de la Regence, Negociations of Sir Thomas Edmondes.* ^q *Memoires de SULLI, Journal de l'ESTOILE, Mercure Francois.*

(C) The discoverer mentioned in the text was *Jaqueline le Voyer*, of the village of *Orsin*, between *Epernon* and *Ablis*, the wife of *Isaac de Varennes*, Sieur de *Coman*, or *d'Escoman*, or, as some write it, *d'Escouman*, a woman of a loose and infamous life, who had been often in prison, and who was then in the deepest distress, circumstances that highly discredited any evidence she could give: she framed a memoir in writing, in which she pretended to give a distinct account of the whole conspiracy, which ended in the death of *Henry* the fourth; and the persons upon whom she charged it were the duke *d'Espernon* and the marchioness *de Verneuil*. This memoir she presented to the king and queen, and to several other great personages, who treated her as a person out of her wits, and would not condescend so much as to hear her story. At length she addressed herself to queen *Margaret*, who, tho' she knew the profligate life this woman had led, yet thought the relation she gave was a thing of too great importance to be stilled; she sent, therefore, for some persons of quality, to hear this woman's story, who repeated it again punctually, and with great firmness. Upon this she was taken into custody, and, upon her examination before the parliament, several persons were taken up and confronted with her. The queen-mother, while this prosecution was going on, is said to have spoke of her as a very vile woman, who accused all the world, and who, for any thing she knew, might, in the end, accuse herself. Amongst the persons she named, and who were confronted with her, were *la Villers-Hotman*, the wife of the president *St. Andre*, and *Charlotte Du Tillet* her sister. On Sunday the 30th of *January*, the marchioness *de Verneuil* was examined four hours, but not taken into custody. On the 5th of *March* judgment in this cause was adjourned, but at the same time, such persons as had been committed were set at liberty, and, on the 30th of *July*, the parliament, by an arret, declared the marchioness *de Verneuil* and madame *du Tillet*, *Gaudin*,

who was valet de chambre to Monsieur *d'Entragues*, the father of the marchioness, and *Savage*, innocent, and condemned *Jaqueline d'Escoman* to be immured between four walls; and the proceedings to be suppressed. A writer of those times, however, mentions several circumstances to prove that this was a false and wicked accusation; and particularly insists on this, that the discoverer was a prisoner in the *Conciergerie*, when *Ravilliac* was brought in there, which put her upon this invention; and that all who were confronted with her convicted her of many falsehoods; and that, amongst the rest, she gave a very bad description of *Ravilliac* (1); which, however, is not very reconcilable to what he had before said of her being in the same prison with him, where, it is certain, he was but indifferently guarded. But it happens unfortunately for those, who would represent the whole of this discovery as a calumny, that the duke *de Sulli* treats it in another light, from circumstances consistent with his own knowledge; he says that, some time before the death of *Henry* the fourth, Monsr. *Schomberg* being at his house, a page delivered him secretly a billet, which he shewed him, from Mrs. *de Gournai*, desiring to see him immediately, upon an affair of importance. He went to her; returned in half an hour, and reported, that a woman, who was this very Mrs. *d'Escoman*, had discovered a conspiracy against the king's life, the authors of which she charged to be the marchioness of *Verneuil*, and Monsieur—for whose name a blank is left, probably Monsieur *d'Espernon*, with some others. The king was actually informed of this by Monsieur *Schomberg*. The duke *de Sulli* adds, that *Escoman* continued firm in the assertion of all she had advanced as long as she lived, and even at the point of death (2). Besides this, there is an account given by one captain *de la Garde*, who saw *Ravilliac* at *Naples*, who told him that he brought a letter from the duke *d'Espernon* to the viceroy, of which the captain gave immediate notice to the French minister at *Venice*, so that it

(1) *Mercurie Francois, l'ann. 1611, p. 14.*

(2) *Memoires de Sulli.*

- a duke *de Mayenne*, who had made so great a figure at the head of the league, which was looked upon as a great misfortune to *France*; for he had not only shewn himself extremely faithful to *Henry* the fourth, but under the present reign had behaved himself with equal honour and integrity, declaring openly in council, that it little became princes and great men to act intirely from motives of interest, and upon his death-bed he charged his son to remain firm in his principles of religion and loyalty, and on that condition, and not otherwise, gave him his blessing^r. Soon after died the duke of *Orleans*, the king's brother, who was but four years and a half old; and yet this had a great effect on the situation of things at court, his younger brother *Gaston*, who had hitherto borne the title of *Anjou*, succeeding to that of *Orleans*, and being regarded as the presumptive heir of the crown; the queen had shewn a remarkable coldness for the deceased prince, and as remarkable a fondness for him who succeeded to his title^b. The Jesuits, who were in great credit at court, were far from being in the same situation with respect either to the parliament or the people; *Mariana's* book had been burnt in the most infamous manner, for teaching those principles upon which *Ravilliac* had acted; another piece of cardinal *Bellarmin* was seized and suppressed, as being injurious to the power of the civil magistrate: on the other hand, Dr. *Richer*, a member of the *Sorbonne*, wrote a celebrated treatise on the subject of ecclesiastical and political power, in which he treated the exorbitant claims of the pope to a superiority over kings with great freedom, at which the clergy were extremely nettled, and, as we shall see hereafter, the court of *Rome* could not rest, till, many years after, they found means to force that learned person to make a submission^c. At the close of the year, the Jesuits presented a petition for leave to open their college for the instruction of youth, which the parliament refused, upon the application of the university of *Paris*. The Jesuits, finding it was impossible to prevail any other way, subscribed and promised obedience to those statutes: but the parliament, however, could not be brought to grant their request; so that the opening their college was suspended for some years^d. A. D. 1611.

At length the great change that had happened in the councils of *France* since the death of the king became public, by the declaring of the double marriage with the court of *Spain*, which had been chiefly negotiated by the pope and the duke of *Florence*, and, for this reason, was less acceptable to many; but the queen flattered herself, that it would give a permanent support to her power, and a stable security to her family. In order to give this measure all the lustre possible, the duke of *Mayenne* was sent ambassador extraordinary to *Madrid*, where he signed the contract of marriage with the Infanta; and, on the other hand, the duke of *Pastrana* came with the like pomp to *Paris*, to sign the contract between *Philip* prince of *Asturias* and the princess *Elizabeth*^e. It was thought necessary to send over the duke of *Bouillon* to *England*, to pacify king *James*, and to propose a marriage for the princess *Christina* with the prince of *Wales*: he was also charged with other affairs of great importance, in all of which, though he succeeded but indifferently, yet he did his own business very effectually, for what he had chiefly in view was proposing a marriage between his nephew the elector *Palatine* and the princess *Elizabeth*, the king's eldest daughter, which was well re-

^r *Memoires de la Regence*, DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* P. MATTH. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^s *Journal de l'Estoile*, P. MATTHIEU *Histoire de Louis XIII.* LE GRAIN. ^t *Journal de l'Estoile*, ^u DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* P. MATTH. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* LE GRAIN. ^v *Memoires de la Regence*, *Mercure Francois*, MALINGRE.

arrived time enough in *France* to be communicated to the king, who saw the captain after his return, thanked him for this service, told him he had taken measures for his own security, and sent him with a commission into *Germany*, on his return from which he met with the news of the king's death, and upon his entry into *France* was attacked himself, and left for dead. Afterwards he was put into prison, he knew not for what; and when the judges were on the point of setting him at liberty for want of prosecution, an exempt of the guards came and took him out of confinement, made him a present of an order, by which he received an annuity of six hundred livres, and of a commission which fixed him in a good office in the excise; besides, though the last examinations of *Ravilliac* are suppressed, yet the minutes of them remain in the *French* king's library, and we are from thence told, that it appears he endeavoured to amuse his judges, and that on the other hand his judges were afraid to ask him how he came to be known to the duke of *Espernon*. It seems, however, that he positively denied his having been in *Italy*. We are also told that the marchioness *de Ferneuil* and the duke

d'Espernon had several meetings, in which things fell from their mouths that sufficiently indicated a design against the king's life, which were overheard and reported to *Henry* the fourth, who either through insaturation or an excess of clemency, took no notice of it (3). We are never like to have this matter entirely cleared up, if the advice given by the editor of the late edition of *Sulli's* memoirs, that a veil ought to be drawn over this mystery of iniquity, should be taken, and he is pleased to press this very strongly in the following words; "We ought even to take this method, even if it should be true, as some people seem to be persuaded it is, that there are a few cabinets in *Paris* from whence new lights might be furnished. Those who have such sort of pieces in their custody are very commendable in keeping them secret, and ought to prevail upon themselves to commit them to the flames." We should have been obliged to this writer, if he had furnished us with his reasons for being of this opinion, since the want of these lights may leave the memories of innocent persons under heavy imputations, which the publication of them might remove.

(3) *Pieces Justificatives à la Suite du Journal de l'Estoile*, vol. iv.

ceived, and afterwards took effect *. At home as well as abroad the double match was very far from being universally applauded; on the contrary, in the autumn, the prince of *Condé* and the count of *Soissons* left the court^y, and published their reasons, which were very strong: they said that the queen communicated her counsels to them for form sake only, and not to receive or follow their opinions; that the double marriage was concluded without their advice; that her majesty listened to foreigners, who were ignorant in, and disaffected to, the true interests of *France*; that the treasure collected by the late king had been sacrificed to base purposes; and that governments were given to persons without merit, and almost unknown; while the ancient and faithful servants of the crown were left without recompence. All this was true; but they seemed to forget that they were, in a great measure, authors of these mischiefs themselves, and therefore had the less right to complain^z. In reality, the complaint itself, though founded in truth, was a mere amusement, not at all calculated for amendment, but rather to increase the evil, by obtaining fresh favours and gratifications for themselves, as appeared from their speedy reconciliation afterwards; for the marquis *d'Ancre*, having hitherto governed by trimming between the ministers and the princes, but being privately united to the latter, began now to steer another course, and to flatter the princes, who, upon the hopes he gave them, returned, though not thoroughly satisfied; but the count of *Soissons* dying at his house of *Blandi*, made things easier to the favourite, who began then to incline to the prince of *Condé*. These were not all the troubles of that year; for the feuds amongst the Protestants were productive of new disturbances^a.

Disturbances
amongst the
Reformed; ex-
traordinary
edict.

If we speak impartially, we must acknowledge, that, even amongst the Reformed, political were rather stronger than religious motives, and that the public frequently gave way to private interest. They had at their head at this juncture some of the greatest men in *France*, and perhaps in *Europe*, such as the duke of *Bouillon*, the duke of *Tremouille*, marshal *de Lesdiguières*, the duke of *Sully*, the duke of *Rohan*, and Monsieur *du Plessis Mornay*^b. But they were extremely divided in their sentiments, which rendered them very troublesome to the court, and much more so to themselves. The duke of *Rohan*, who was a man of great fire, upon some plausible pretences, seized the town of *St. John de Angeli*, which some have regarded as the first act of hostility in this reign, though probably that was what the duke did not intend, and the matter was afterwards compromised. But the marshal duke *de Bouillon*, who now sided with the court, and gave them hopes of a marriage with *England*, till prince *Henry* died, and even then revived the proposition, with respect to his successor *Charles*, gave the queen and her ministers great lights into the affairs of the Reformed, and made his court at their expence, representing their assemblies at *Privas* and *Rochelle* as seditious meetings^c. As for the general situation of things, and the state of the common people, though immediately after the king's death some heavy taxes were taken off, yet, by the example of the court, luxury and idleness were every-where so generally diffused, that universal poverty ensued; which produced a singular edict, forbidding all persons, upon severe penalties, to give alms in the streets, or to relieve common beggars; as if the shutting up mens bowels for the miseries of their fellow creatures, could in any degree lessen their distress. It might, indeed, oblige such unhappy creatures to leave *Paris*, and thereby remove from the eyes of the ministers a sight that continually reproached them with want of capacity and want of concern^d.

The chevalier
de Guise kills
the two barons
de Lux, father
and son, in the
space of a
month.

It was very difficult, even for the wisest and most expert person embarked in the intrigues of the court, to pursue his journey long through these labyrinths of dissimulation and deceit with any tolerable safety. The baron *de Lux*, esteemed in that respect one of the ablest men in *France*, having quitted the party of the *Guises*, then attached to the ministers, in order to join himself to the princes, this so provoked that family, that the chevalier *de Guise* (to whom the people of *Paris* gave the name of their city, on his being baptized there, soon after the execution of his father at *Blois*), attacked the baron in the streets, though an old man, who shewed great unwillingness to fight, and, before he was well in a posture of defence, killed him on the spot^e. The queen shewed herself very much, as indeed she was very justly, displeased; ordered the prosecution of the chevalier before the parliament, and dispersed, by her authority, the meetings that were held at the house of the duke of *Guise*; but the chancellor was so dilatory and timid, and the prosecution was drawn into such a length, that the queen's anger began to cool. However, a fresh accident, one would have thought, must have kindled it again: the young baron *de Lux*, perceiving that the high quality of his father's murderer would secure him against the stroke of justice, notwithstanding the ample promises made him

* DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. Journal de l'ESTOILE. Negociations of Sir Thomas Edmondes. y Memoires de la Regence, MALINGRE, Memoires de Rohan. z DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE, LE GRAIN. a Vie de du Plessis Mornay, Memoires de la Regence. b Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Vie de du Plessis Mornay, WINWOOD'S Memorials, vol. iii. c Memoires de la Regence, Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Mercure Francois. d MALINGRE, Memoires de la Regence, WINWOOD'S Memorials, vol. iii. e DUPLEIX, Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.

- a by the queen when he went to throw himself at her feet, resolved to follow the mode of the times, and to seek justice himself. Accordingly he challenged the chevalier *de Guise*, and met with the same fate from his hand that his father had done^f. Instead of regarding with horror a man who had killed a father and son, both highly in her favour, in the compass of a month the queen concurred in the judgment of her court, that it was a high act of generosity for a person of the chevalier *de Guise*'s quality to fight a gentleman, and not only granted him his pardon, but made him the king's lieutenant-general in *Provence*; after this, to make the inconsistency complete, issued a severe edict against duels^g. The chevalier *de Guise* did not triumph long; for, about two months after, as he was firing a cannon, it burst, and he was killed by a splinter^h.
- b THE marquis *d'Ancre* continued still very closely united with the princes, and gave them all the assistance that was in his power to ruin the ministers; but in this he failed, for they found means to have an audience of the queen, in which they made her sensible that her favourite preferred his own interest to her's; that, by abandoning them, and resigning himself into the hands of the princes, she must necessarily have ministers of their appointing, and, in a very short time, lose all her power, and preserve only the empty title of regentⁱ. The queen, fully convinced of this, withdrew her favour from the marquis, to whom it had been extended, not for his sake, but for his wife *Galigai*'s, who had such an amazing influence over this princess, that the vulgar, and, in complaisance to them, as we shall see hereafter, the parliament, ascribed it to witchcraft^k. In this situation the marquis found himself extremely embarrassed, and at length advised the princes to have recourse to the old expedient of quitting the court, promising to watch every opportunity to render them service in their absence. They took this advice; and the prince of *Condé*, the duke of *Mayenne*, the duke of *Bouillon*, and the duke of *Nevers*, quitted the court at the instigation of a man, with whom, ten years before, they would scarce have conversed^l. This measure not taking the effect they expected, the marquis had recourse to another; treated with Mr. *de Villeroy* for the union of their interests, by the marriage of his daughter into *Villeroy*'s family, in consequence of which he proposed to reconcile the ministers to the princes, of which new conjunction the duke *d'Espèrnon* and the house of *Guise* were to be the victims^m. By this short turn he recovered his credit with the queen, and, towards the close of the year, upon the death of marshal *de Fervaques*, his bâton, being first offered to Monsieur *de Souvre*, the king's governor, for form sake, was at length bestowed, to the amazement of all *France*, on *d'Ancre*, who now thought himself too great to marry his daughter into the family of *Villeroy*, and therefore, without much ceremony broke that negociationⁿ. As a proof of the luxury and spirit of dissipation that now prevailed, an edict was published to forbid the wearing of gold and silver, and a new court of justice erected for reforming the abuses in hospitals, infirmaries, and other charitable foundations, which are always most liable to misapplication in a season of general distress^o. A. D. 1613.
- ON the last turn of affairs, the duke of *Espèrnon*, who understood the intrigues of a court as well as any man of his time, retired to *Metz*, full of discontent. But the breach between the marshal *d'Ancre* and Monsr. *de Villeroy* having again changed the face of things, the princes, without consulting the marshal *d'Ancre*, resolved to retire from court, to assemble in a body, and to threaten a civil war, if the queen did not comply with their terms. The pretence for taking this measure was respect to the public good, and a desire of restoring the laws to their ancient vigour. The genuine motive was the near approach of the king's majority, when actions of this kind might become less safe^p. The prince of *Condé* retired first, after him the duke of *Mayenne*, then the duke of *Nevers* and the duke of *Luxembourg*, and, lastly, the duke of *Bouillon*, who had kept a correspondence all the while with the court, and, at his departure, promised to use his good offices in order to prevent the princes from departing from their duty. As for the duke *de Vendosme*, he had gone too, but that the queen caused him to be arrested^q. It was not long before the princes assembled at *Mezieres*, from whence the prince of *Condé* sent the queen a manifesto, in form of a letter, in which the old griefs were dressed in a new form, and represented with all the solemnity possible. The queen, by the advice of the ministers, published an ample answer to this manifesto, in which she declared her intention to call an assembly of the states, when the king her son came of age, denied most of the facts charged in the letter, and turned the artifice of profusion, which could not be

^f *Memoires de la Regence*, *Mercure Francois*, *WINWOOD's Memorials*, vol. iii.

moires de la Regence, *DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.*

Louis XIII. *MALINGRE.*

morials, vol. iii.

^g *Memoires de la Regence*, *DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.* *MALINGRE.*

mercure Francois, *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, *MALINGRE.*

Bassompierre, *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.*

^h *MALINGRE.* ⁱ *DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.*

de Mere & du Fils, *Memoires de la Regence.*

WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii.

^k *MALINGRE*, *Me-*

^l *Mercure Francois*, *DUPLEIX Histoire de*

Histoire de Mere & du Fils, *Memoires de la Regence*, *WINWOOD's Me-*

moires de la Regence, *DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.* *MALINGRE.*

^m *Histoire de Mere & du Fils*, *Memoires de*

de Mere & du Fils, *Memoires de la Regence*, *WINWOOD's Memorials*, vol. iii.

ⁿ *Mercure Francois*, *P. MATTH.* *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

^o *Mercure Francois*, *P. MATTH.* *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

^p *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

^q *Histoire de Louis XIII.*

denied, upon themselves, on whom the greatest part of those profusions had fallen^r. But a things did not go long at this rate, the queen's council being divided. The duke *de Espernon*, who had been recalled from *Metz*, the duke of *Guise*, and Monsieur *de Villeroy*, were for supporting the queen's manifesto by arms, the rather, because none of the parliaments in the kingdom, to all of whom the princes manifesto had been sent, had returned them any answer; and many of the nobility had brought their packets, sealed as they were, to the queen. But the chancellor and the marshal *d'Ancre* were for a negociation; the former through the natural timidity of his temper, and the latter that he might gratify the princes^s. This last counsel, though certainly not the best, prevailed; and the duke *de Ventadour* was dispatched to enter into a treaty, which was first begun at *Soissons*, and afterwards concluded at *St. Menehould*, and the Sieur *de Bouillon* sent with it to the queen. By this treaty it was stipulated, that an assembly b of the states should be called, and other grievances redressed; but the principal articles were of a private nature. The prince of *Condé* was to have the town of *Amboise*, as a place of surety, and four hundred and fifty thousand livres in ready money; the duke *de Mayenne* three hundred thousand livres, and the sur vivance of the government of *Paris*; the duke *de Longueville* a pension of one hundred thousand livres; and the rest, in like manner, what they thought fit; and, besides all this, an approbation of their conduct from the government^t.

The treaty of
St. Menehould
confirmed.

THIS treaty was but ill relished at court. The princes had but a small force, and the queen had, by this time, assembled a considerable body of troops, and, by giving the duke of *Rohan* an equivalent in money, had obtained the resignation of his post of colonel general of the *Swiss*, which was bestowed upon Monsieur *Bassompier*^u. The dukes of *Guise*, *Espernon*, and *Belle- c garde*, cardinal *Joyeuse*, and secretary *Villeroy*, were for rejecting the treaty, as derogatory to the royal authority, for the support of which they professed themselves extremely zealous. The chancellor, marshal *d'Ancre*, and president *Jeanin*, who had been one of the queen's commissioners, were for peace, to which, at first, the queen herself was not inclined; though, on the first breaking out of those disturbances, she was so much alarmed at the scandals that were given out by the malcontents, that she had thoughts of going to the parliament and resigning the regency. *Barbin*, steward of her household, after all her ministers failed, prevailed upon her to lay aside this scheme, by remonstrating that she was about to sacrifice her ease, her reputation, and her son's safety, to gratify her enemies^v. But now, having superior forces, and hearing every day the sentiments of *Espernon*, who in these matters was looked upon as an d oracle, she expressed a firmness suitable to her dignity. Her inclinations were, however, quickly altered; the chancellor, who saw it was the postponing the double marriage that she regretted most, suggested that this might be qualified to her satisfaction: marshal *d'Ancre* let her into the secret, that, though they spoke exactly the same language, the dukes of *Espernon* and *Guise* hated each other mortally; and that all their loyalty proceeded from their desire of having the constable's sword, *Montmorenci* being just dead; but the president *Jeanin* had greatest weight with her^x. He observed that the princes had many secret friends; that the duke of *Rohan* would infallibly engage the Protestants to favour them; that the princes of *Germany*, the duke of *Lorraine*, and even his Catholic majesty, had offered them assistance; so that it was better to pacify things, till the king was of age, more especially as that was so e near^y. After all, it is doubtful what turn things might have taken, if *Villeroy* had not altered his sentiments: he had broke of late with the chancellor, and had endeavoured to get him removed; but, finding this was not relished, he struck in again with the other party, and, in consequence of the arguments he used, the queen, after the modification of the article as to the marriage, consented to the treaty, which was signed, concluded, and published, about the middle of *May*^z.

Troubles in
Bretagne, by
the endeavours
of the duke of
Vendosme.

THE troubles of *France* were not yet at an end: the duke of *Vendosme*, who, as we have observed, had been confined to the *Louvre* about the middle of *February*, made his escape from thence, about the end of the month, and went directly into *Bretagne*, where he found the whole country in arms against him, the duke of *Montbazon* vested with the king's authority, and the parliament inclined to support it. He wanted not friends however, or, to speak with greater propriety, he found so many well affected to the house of *Merceur*, that he made himself master of *Blavet*, and began to fortify it, and, by degrees, his power increased so much, that he took no manner of notice of the treaty of *St. Menehould*, though expressly included in it by the princes^a. It also appeared in the space of a few weeks, that the prince of *Condé*, though in possession of *Amboise*, was labouring also to seize *Poitiers*. The queen then, for the first time, listened to wiser counsels; and, having assembled a small army of f

^r Histoire de Mere & du Fils, DUP. Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.
DUP. Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

de Louis XIII. Memoires de la Regence.

^s Histoire de Mere & du Fils, Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, Memoires de la Regence, LE GRAIN.

^t P. MATTHIEU Histoire de Louis XIII.

^u Memoires de Bassompierre, Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

^v Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

^w Mercure Francois.

^x DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII.

a good troops, conducted her son first to *Poitiers*, and then into *Bretagne*, the consequence of which convinced her that the presence of the king at the head of his troops was the shortest and the safest way of appeasing commotions. The prince of *Condé*, who but a little before had complained of the bishop and mayor of *Poitiers* for their insolence in keeping that town for the king, now submitted, and demanded letters of abolition ^b. The duke of *Vendosme* he thought it convenient to take the like course, and desired to be comprized in that treaty which he had so lately treated with contempt. The queen, having caused the fortrefs of *Blavet* to be demolished, returned to *Paris* about the middle of *September*, and the king, being entered into his fourteenth year, went to the parliament, and, as the first act of his majority, expedited a declaration, confirming the edict of *Nantes*, the laws against blasphemers, and against duels ^c. The next day he went with great solemnity to the parliament, and, by a short speech, declared that he took upon himself the government of his dominions, and decided that the cardinals should take place of the ecclesiastical peers, upon which the latter retired. According to the late treaty the states were assembled at *Sens*, and from thence transferred to *Paris*, where they sat long and did little. The queen-mother was now much more at her ease than she had hitherto been, for, though the king did nothing but by her advice, yet all was done in his name, and by his authority ^d.

A. D. 1614.

THE true design of the princes, in their insisting so much on the assembly of the states; was their firm persuasion that they would enter into the capital points couched in the prince of *Condé's* letter. But the ministers understood them better; they left them intirely free to act at their pleasure, convinced that the three corps would embarrass one another, as they actually did, and separated about the 23d of *February*, without performing any thing worth mentioning. One thing was thought very extraordinary; tho' they had complained loudly of the multiplicity of officers, yet the marshal *d'Ancre* created three treasurers of pensions, while they were sitting, and, for that favour, exacted from them a very large sum of money ^e. The princes then turned their eyes towards the parliament, who, having been grossly affronted by the duke of *Espernon*, listened the more readily to their insinuations, and gave some trouble to the ministers by their remonstrances ^f. The prince, as a mark of his cordiality, delivered up *Anboise*, which had been accorded him only to the sitting of the states. Marshal *d'Ancre*, who had nothing so much in view as the preservation of his own power, now raised to a degree of wonder, even against her will prevailed upon the queen to bestow this government upon a young man, who seemed to be rising in the king's favour ^g. This was Monsieur *de Luynes*, whom he endeavoured to attach to his interests by this favour, not without hopes of obliging the king at the same time (D). The parliament went on with their deliberations, notwithstanding they knew with what eye

An assembly of the states in which nothing of importance is done.

^b DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE. LE GRAIN. ^c Mercure Francois. DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de Mere & du Fils. ^d Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^e Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. ^f DUPLEIX, Histoire de Louis XIII. ^g Mercure Francois. LE GRAIN. ^h Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

(D) If we may credit those who had reason to be well acquainted with the history of those times, they assure us that the king's favourite, in point of birth, was rather inferior to his mother's. His grandfather was one Mr. *William Segur*, who was a canon of the church of *Mar-seilles*; he had a housekeeper or chambermaid, whose name was *Albert*, by whom he had a son, to whom he gave the name of *Luynes*, from a little house he had between *Aix* and *Mar-seilles* (1). He had also a second son, who became a soldier, and having acquired some reputation, was known to the world by the name of captain *Luynes*; he acquired, in the course of his life, a small fortune, not exceeding twelve hundred livres a year, arising from a meadow called *Brante*, and a little island in the *Rhone* called *Cadenet*. His eldest son was page to the count *de Lude*, and he quickly brought his two brothers into the same family, where, by their affability and diligence, they rendered themselves respected, and were, in process of time, recommended by *Monf. de la Varenne* to *Henry* the fourth, who gave the eldest a pension of four hundred crowns, upon which, however, all the three brothers lived till they were put about the Dauphin, and then the appointments of the eldest were advanced to twelve hundred crowns. The likeness of the two names *Albert* and *Albret*, made *Monf. de Luynes* assume the airs of a person of high quality, and induced him to give his brothers the titles of *Monf. de Cadenet* and *Monf. de Brante*. He had so fine a person, that it was a common answer in *France*, when any body asked how he came to rise so soon and so high, "You never saw him;" as if the sight of him was sufficient to have justified the favour of his master. *Monf. de Luynes* meddled at first only with his master's pleasures; and the first marks of distinction that were shewn him arose from his presenting the king with a couple of magpies, that he had trained to strike little birds in the same manner as hawks. It was by services of this nature that he gained the good graces of *Lewis*, and it was by the shew he made of studying nothing beyond boyish plays, that he wrought himself into the confidence of those who otherwise would have taken immediate umbrage at his favour; but, believing that he was capable of nothing beyond what he made a shew to affect, and, not dreaming that this young falconer had a spirit to fly at higher game, they were the dupes of their own refinements, and of his dexterous artifice. This is very elegantly painted by a noble *Venetian* (2); but then the beauty of the colouring depends so much upon the expression, that there is

(1) Histoire de Mere & du Fils, tom. i. p. 282. Bernard Histoire de Louis XIII. liv. iv. Le Labcartuz Ad-ditions aux Memoires de Castelnau, liv. vi. p. 455.

(2) Historia della Repubblica di Veneta, par Batt. Nani.

eye they were looked upon at court, and that the king had forbid the prince of *Condé* to assist a at their debates, and, in the end published an arret, which was suppressed by another of the council of state. But notwithstanding this, the reverence to the parliament by the people held the court in awe ^b.

The prince of *Condé* revolts afresh, and lays open the ill conduct of the regent.

ALL the time these disputes subsisted, the prince of *Condé* remained in a kind of retreat, but soon after he began to give fresh marks of discontent. He was at that time in *Picardy*, where marshal *d'Ancre* had lately taken possession of his government of *Amiens*, caused the mayor of the town, upon some slight dislike, to be assassinated, and ordered the provost marshal to be hanged, without any form of process; but, upon the officers of the garrison protesting that they would quit the place, if he persisted in his design, he ordered the man to be dismissed, though the rope was about his neck ¹. The prince of *Condé*, upon this, published a b manifesto, assigning the causes of his fresh discontent, at the head of which were the insolences of this marshal, the dissipation of the royal treasure, the little care taken to discover the authors of the late king's murder, the introduction of *Jews*, sorcerers, and magicians, the disregard of the natural allies of *France*, and the violation of the edicts in favour of the *Hugonots*, were likewise specified; and, in the conclusion, he desired that the king would postpone his marriage till the domestic affairs of his government were settled ^k. The king, or rather the queen his mother, persisting in her design of accomplishing the double marriage, and of marching with an army to the frontiers for that purpose, engaged the young monarch to go in person to the *Bastile*, in order to take out two millions and a half, which he did, and at the same time made a visit to the count *d'Auvergne*, to whom he promised his liberty, c tho' he did not obtain it till some years after. The princes who followed *Condé* were the dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne* and *Bouillon*, and many of the nobility; on the other hand, the king had about him the dukes of *Guise*, *Elbæuf*, *Espéron*, and *Uzes*; and, having provided in the best manner he was able for the security of *Paris*, he began his journey, or rather his march, towards the frontiers, about the middle of *August*, escorted by twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot ¹.

Civil war carried on without much effusion of blood on either side.

THE army of the crown that was to oppose the princes, while the king marched to the frontiers, was commanded by the marshal *Bois Dauphin*, and consisted of about twenty thousand men; notwithstanding which the discontents of the people were so strong, and the pretences of the malecontents so plausible, if they had really intended what their manifestoes contained, d that their forces increased every day, several advantages were gained over the king's army, and the dukes of *Nevers* and *Vendosme* having at length ventured to own their cause, and the duke of *Bouillon* having procured a reinforcement of *German* horse, the prince of *Condé* resolved to pass the *Loire*, in order to join the protestant army, commanded by the duke of *Rohan* ^m. In the heat of the civil war, the exchange of the two princesses was made in the island of *Pheasants*; and the king, with his bride, having made their solemn entry into the city of *Bordeaux*, received the nuptial benediction in that city, on the 27th of *November*. The remainder of the year was spent on one side in the conclusion of a treaty between the princes and the Protestants, notwithstanding the king had declared the former rebels, and specified the acts which he stiled high treason ⁿ. On the other hand, the king prosecuted his march from *Bordeaux*, escorted by a small force, commanded by the duke of *Guise*, which e was so much the smaller, as all the Protestant *Swiss* had quitted the king's service, and retired home; which conduct of theirs is highly exclaimed against by some historians, tho' it was clearly consistent with their capitulation, since they did not retire till after the Protestants in *France* had taken a part in the war; and consequently, if they had acted at all, they must have acted against their brethren of the same religion. At the entrance of these troubles died queen *Margaret* of *Valois*, who, during this reign, had lived upon extreme good terms with the court ^o (E), and never took any share in the factions or intrigues of state.

It

^b MALINGRE. *Mercure Francois*. DUPLEIX, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ¹ *Mercure Francois*. *Memoires de la Regence*. DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^k MALING. *Memoires de la Regence*. P. MATTH. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^l *Memoires de la Regence*. MALINGRE. *Histoire de Mere & du Fils*. ^m *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*. *Histoire de Mere & du Fils*. DUPLEIX, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ⁿ *Mercure Francois*. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*. *Histoire de Mere & du Fils*. ^o DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* LE GRAIN.

no translating it: *Prevaleva, il Signor de Luines, gentil-huomo d'Avignon, di non alti natali, appunto introdotto appresso il re, acciò che con le caccie, non gli uccelli, e con altri minuti piaceri lo trattenesse. Ma egli con questi Pireti, in modo tale, che face presto tutto il regno sua preda.* Fortune was no less fond of him than she had been of *Conchini*, raised him much sooner and much higher, and, when she could soar with him no farther, killed him at a

very critical conjuncture, as if she had studied to prevent his fall.

(E) We have spoken so often and so largely of this princess, considered in her public character, that here we are to confine ourselves to her private life. In her person the historians of those times are unanimous, that her rank as the daughter, the sister, and the wife of a king, did not raise her higher above the rest of her sex than her

- a It has seldom happened that a prince so young, having his kingdom so embroiled, should be able to put an end to such domestic troubles without injury to the royal authority, and therefore we ought to be the less surprized at the issue of this war, which was, indeed, no other than what might well be expected. There were some about their majesties who pressed them to prosecute the war with vigour, and, once for all, establish the royal authority on the ruin of whatever opposed it^p. But others represented that the ruin of the whole or of any part of France could never be advantageous to the king; that the issue of war was always uncertain; that the Protestants would have recourse to foreign assistance; that a conquest would elevate the power of certain persons to a dangerous height: and that, after all, a pacification, even upon indifferent terms, was better than a long and ruinous war. On the other hand, the prince of Condé, the duke of Bouillon, and some others, as the French writers say, were desirous of peace, for the sake of private advantages; but the dukes of Rohan, Sulli, and Tremouille, with all the Protestants, were averse to any accommodation. The truth of the matter is, the latter acted with wisdom and spirit: they told the prince of Condé, that, having gone so far, he could never trust the court any more; that, having drawn his sword against his master, there was no sheathing it, but by procuring such terms as left him nothing to fear, and living for the future in his government, where, being surrounded by the Protestants, it would be no easy matter to force him^q. But, perceiving that he was inclined to a negotiation, they insisted upon prescribing such terms as might conduce to a solid peace.
- b Some on the court side, and the Protestants on the other, are averse to peace.
- c In the beginning of the year the king came to his army, as if he meant to signalize his first campaign by a battle, and yet, soon after, consented that some overtures of accommodation should be made by the interposition of Sir Thomas Edmonds, the British minister. Upon this occasion a meeting of the princes was necessary, and a very deep scheme was laid for surprizing them when together, the execution of which was committed to the duke of Guise; and, because it failed, it is supposed that he gave them notice, in which, if he did, he shewed more honour than those who, under colour of a treaty, would have done what they despaired of doing by open war. At length London was fixed for the place of treaty, and a suspension of arms agreed upon^r. The duke of Vendosme, who had affected a kind of neutrality, and had obtained some supplies of money from the court, upon professions of service, took no notice of the suspension, upon which the king sent a body of forces to attack him, which forced him to throw off the mask, and to declare on the side of the princes, that he might enjoy their protection. It
- d A treaty concluded at London.

^p Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèron. DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.
^q Memoires du Duc de Rohan. MALINGRE. LE GRAIN. ^r Mercure Francois. Memoires de la Regence.
 Histoire de Mere & du Fils. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmond.

her beauty, or that than her accomplishments. The vivacity of her wit, the sweetness of her voice, the affability of her manners, the facility of her address, the grandeur of her air, and that distinguishing dignity which accompanied all her actions, and attended her to her grave, made her esteemed incomparable, notwithstanding all the errors in her conduct. Her brother Henry the third, who hated her, made her gallantries so public, that it was impossible for her husband to continue so much as the exterior marks of a fair correspondence. She was sent to the castle of Usson, in Auvergne, where she was under the care of the marquis de Cannillac, who quickly became her prisoner, and is said to have lost his liberty by looking too long on the arms of this Venus; she resided there many years, and passed her time in a manner that history does not oblige us to relate. She gave her consent to the declaring her marriage with the king null in terms that did her honour; "It is fit," said she, "that my will should submit to his, who has even subdued fortune by his valour." After the birth of the Dauphin she came to Paris, and lived at first in the Hotel de Sens, till one of her favourites was stabbed at her coach door, and she would never enter the house afterwards. She removed to the suburb of St. Germain, where she built a new house, and kept her little court in more magnificence than order. She was the last of the royal house of Valois, and possessed the distinguishing quality of that house, beneficence, in a supreme degree. She never gave but she excused the meanness of the gift, which, however large, how much soever surpassing the expectation of the person upon whom it was bestowed, never satisfied herself, or left her unwilling to give more. It is true, she often gave improperly; but

that proceeded from her established maxim, that it was better to gratify appearances often, than to disappoint merit once. Her palace was the sanctuary of the learned; and, by conversing constantly with men of parts and letters, she attained a facility and correctness in speaking, to which few women have attained. Her poems are incontestable proofs of her genius; her memoirs, in point of elegance and delicacy, have not been equalled; and, if she had not been deficient in one virtue, she might have been, with propriety, stiled either a muse or a grace. It was amazing with how much spirit and constancy she bore her misfortunes, or rather her change of fortunes, in which, if her condition was singular, she sustained that singularity of station in a manner altogether extraordinary. The duchess of Valois drew all the duty and respect that could have been paid to a queen of France. Instead of shunning the king, the queen, or the court, she secured their esteem, and even conciliated their affection. By making the Dauphin her heir, he became, in some measure, her son: she visited him and the rest of the king's children constantly, regularly, and with a decent degree of tenderness. In return, Henry sometimes visited her, the queen more frequently, and, after the king's death, they lived like sisters. She was unequal in her temper to the last, mingling pleasures with devotion, the love of letters with that of vanity, a high spirit of charity with not a little injustice; for though she visited churches frequently, bestowed more or less upon almost every religious house in Paris, and directed her remains to be interred in the chapel of a monastery of her own foundation, yet she left her debts unpaid. She expired the 27th of March, 1615, when she was upwards of threescore (9).

(9) Dupleix. P. Daniel. Le Gendre.

is unnecessary to enter into a long detail of these negotiations : it is sufficient to say, that the princes prevailed in almost all their demands; the redress of public grievances was promised, the most ample security given to the reformed, the government of *Amiens* taken from the marshal *d'Ancre*, and all the edicts and declarations, by which those in arms had been stigmatized as rebels, were recalled^a. What pleased the prince of *Condé* best was his being placed at the head of the council, which he took to be placing him at the head of the government, but which those who prevailed upon the queen to pass this article placed in quite another light. This treaty was concluded in the beginning of *May*; and, what was very extraordinary, exclusive of fifty-seven articles, contained in the edict which was sent to the parliament of *Paris*, in order to confirm it, there was a schedule of secret articles, which contained the private gratifications that were sent to them sealed up. The parliament were very unwilling to grant their verification to they knew not what, but upon assurances given them that they contained nothing beyond the secret articles of the edict of *Nantes*, and, for the sake of restoring peace to the kingdom, they at length consented to let them pass^b. The prince of *Condé* was in reality the dupe of this negotiation, and that through his own fault, since he parted with his government of *Guienne* for that of *Berri* and *Touraine*, and a gratification of a million and a half of livres.

Marshal
d'Ancre
receives a se-
vere check
from the par-
liament of
Paris.

ON the conclusion of the treaty the prince did not come immediately to court, where some considerable changes were made. The chancellor had formerly done the secretary *Villeroy* some prejudice, and the secretary, in conjunction with the president *Jeanin*, had taken so much pains to expose his timidity and want of general knowledge, that the queen resolved to be rid of him^c. The chancellor no sooner perceived this, than he addressed himself to *Villeroy* and *Jeanin*; he told them they were mistaken in respect to themselves, to him, and the person they intended for his successor, and that his disgrace would only prove a prelude to their own. They laboured upon this to preserve him, but to no purpose; the queen took the seals from him, and gave them to *William du Vair*, president of the parliament of *Aix*, a man of great abilities in his profession, and who would have been thought superior to the dignity, if he had never enjoyed it. Marshal *d'Ancre* met with a great mortification from the parliament; during the absence of the court he had resided at *Paris*, and attempting to go out of town one day, with a great retinue, he was stopped at one of the gates by the city guard, commanded by a shoemaker, who told him that he could not go out without a proper passport, pursuant to the king's orders: the marshal had recourse to offers of money and threats, but all in vain, upon which he returned. Now seeing the peace made, he ordered two of his footmen to take an opportunity of chastising the shoemaker, and they did it so severely that they left him for dead; the people assembling upon his cries, seized them, and carried them to prison; but the upper servant who delivered them the orders made his escape. By due course of law the footmen were brought to the gallows by sentence from the parliament; and though the marshal and his wife spared no pains to save them, it was to no purpose, and served only to increase the violence of that hatred which was borne them^d. The dukes of *Mayenne* and *Bouillon*, by their intrigues, hindered the prince of *Condé* from coming to court, that they might have the greater power, which piqued the marshal *d'Ancre*, who had a fond reliance on the prince of *Condé* without any just grounds. At length the prince arrived, and chiefly by the influence of the marshal, had almost the sole direction of affairs, to which they both proved themselves very unequal; for the marshal, proud of the prince's protection, first slighted his new friends, the dukes of *Mayenne* and *Bouillon*, and then, with a view of making court to the prince of *Condé*, broke with his old friends the dukes of *Guise* and *Espernon*^e. The duke of *Bouillon*, who absolutely governed the prince, obliged him to send marshal *d'Ancre* a message that he was no longer his friend, which so frightened that favourite that he retired immediately into *Normandy*, and his wife fell sick^f.

Condé arrest-
ed, and the
ministry
changed.

THE prince, who had it in his power to do every thing, did nothing; he affected to shew that he had separated from the Protestants, and yet remained as much as ever in the hands of *Bouillon*, who, in some of their consultations, hinted the possibility of the prince's being placed upon the throne, provided he would have recourse to *Biron's* old scheme, and canton out the kingdom into independent governments. This coming to the ears of the court, the queen-mother caused the prince of *Condé* to be arrested in the *Louvre*, by *Monf. Themmis*, who, for this service, was made marshal of *France*^g. At this time lord *Hay*, afterwards earl of *Carlisle*, was ambassador extraordinary from king *James*, to compliment the king on his marriage, and he demanded an audience upon this occasion, to know the reasons of treating in this manner the first prince of the blood; and being not pleased with his answer, for the

^a Memoires de la Regence. DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.

Rohan. Memoires de Bassompierre. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de Bassompierre.

^b MALINGRE. Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

Histoire de Mere & du Fils. MALINGRE.

Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

^c Memoires du Duc de

^d Memoires de la Regence. Histoire

^e Mercure Francois. DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^f Memoires de la Regence.

^g Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de la Regence.

- a court had a suspicion of his having some intelligence with the prince of *Condé*, obtained leave from his own court to return home^a. The prince of *Condé*'s imprisonment alarmed several great men to such a degree, that the dukes of *Vendosme*, *Guise*, *Mayenne*, *Nevers*, *Rohan*, *Sulli*, *la Tremouille*, *Candale*, the eldest son of the duke of *Espernon*, the marshal *de Bouillon*, the marquis *de Cœuvres*, and *Nicholas le Jay*, president of the parliament of *Paris*, retired from court. After some weeks confinement, the prince was transferred to the *Bastile*, and some farther changes were made in the ministry; *Du Vair* was removed from being keeper of the seals for speaking his mind too freely, and was replaced by *Mangot*, who had been made secretary of state in the room of *Villeroy*, who was now succeeded by the bishop of *Lucon*; afterwards the famous cardinal *de Richlieu*; and *Barbin* who had been steward of the queen's household, was made comptroller of the finances^b. These were all brought in by marshal *d'Ancre*, whose house, with that of his secretary, was pulled down to the ground by the mob of *Paris*, on the first news of the prince's confinement, of which there is no doubt that he was extremely glad, and of which, for that reason, he was presumed to be the author. His vanity made him not unwilling to be thought so, and, forgetting how lately he was deceived when he fancied himself absolutely secure, and under the protection of the prince of *Condé*, he fell into the same error again, believing that the princes being retired from court, and having the seals, the pen, and the treasure in the hands of those to whom he had confided them, his fortune was secure, seeing the queen-regent, in whom he had so great an interest, was, for the present, triumphant, and the detaching the duke and family of *Guise* from the confederate princes confirmed him so strongly in this sentiment, that he no longer preserved any measures, but spoke and acted as if all was at his command^c. His A. D. 1616.

- THE queen mother, who, though she really loved *Galigai*, and for her sake suffered the impertinencies of the marshal, took, in all affairs of importance, the advice of abler heads, and more especially of *Barbin* and the bishop of *Lucon*: by their counsel she caused a declaration to be published in the king's name, in which, after setting forth all the compliances that had been used to quiet the princes, there was a specific account of what had been paid them in ready money, that the people of *France* might apprehend clearly the motives and merits of these patriots. This step was taken for restoring domestic quiet. In regard to foreign affairs the baron *de Tour* was sent to *London*, to satisfy king *James*, who had a great regard for the prince and for the duke of *Bouillon*^d. M. *de la Noue* was sent into *Holland*, to prevent the republic from interesting themselves in these disputes, and the count *de Schomberg* was sent to the elector *Palatine*, and other princes of *Germany*, not barely to acquaint them with the motives of the king's conduct, but also to raise a small corps of horse and a great body of foot. Lastly, three potent armies were formed and received orders to act against the princes, in the king's name, and with the utmost vigour; the first, which marched into *Champagne*, was composed of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, commanded by the duke of *Guise*, and the marshals *Themmis* and *Praslin*: they took the field about the middle of *February*, and reduced several places belonging to the duke of *Nevers*, and particularly *Chateau Porcin* and *Rethel*, which occupied them till towards the end of *March*. The second, which acted in the *Nivernois*, was composed of about nine thousand men, and was commanded by the marshal *de Montigne*, who proceeded with the like success, having made the second son of the duke *de Nevers* prisoner, and reduced the duchess to capitulate^e. The third army was commanded by the count *d'Auvergne*, whom the queen had taken out of the *Bastile*, after his long confinement, and placed at the head of an army of about fourteen thousand men; with which, having first cleared the *Isle of France*, he at length blocked up the duke of *Mayenne* in *Soissons*. Having received a train of artillery from the *Bastile*, he battered the place; and, having made a sufficient breach, was on the point of making a general assault, when the face of affairs changed in so extraordinary a manner, that those who had hitherto been considered as rebels, were, all of a sudden, owned for the king's friends and his best subjects; but some of the wisest heads in *France* saw not the necessity of making this short turn^f.

WE have already mentioned the strange conduct of the marshal *d'Ancre*, who was every day soliciting and hastening his own ruin, by the very methods he took to divert and prevent it. He had raised *Barbin* and the bishop of *Lucon* to the great employments they held; he became suspicious of them, traduced and did them so many private injuries, that, for the sake of peace, they were desirous of laying down their employments^g. He could not but know how much he was hated by the common people, and yet he was remarkably busy in pushing whatever might exasperate them: he procured the baron *de Huertevan* to be beheaded for high treason, for corresponding with the princes who were in arms, tho' he had often done

The queen-mother prepares to reduce the princes by force.

Marshal d'Ancre believing himself secure, gives a loose to his own temper.

^a Memoires de la Regence. Mercure Francois. Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes. ^b Memoires de Bassompierre. Histoire de Mere & du Fils. ^c DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. ^d Negotiations of Sir Thomas Edmondes. ^e Mercure Francois. Memoires de la Regence. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^f Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

the same thing, and interfered more warmly to procure the like fate to one *Stuart*, a perfect youth, esteemed one of the handsomest men of his time, who had been extremely well received at court ^a. At the same time he was upon very ill terms with *Luynes*, who had entirely engrossed the king's favour, and who had offered to match his brother with the marshal's niece, which was hindered by his wife, who was jealous of his having any interest in the king's court, for fear he would be then less dependent on her. *Luynes*, who took it in quite another sense, and apprehended that the marshal rejected his alliance because he intended to remove him, whispered all his suspicions to the king, who, tho' but fifteen years of age, began to discover that jealousy which was the predominant quality in his constitution ⁱ.

The Sieur
Luynes con-
trives the
marshal's de-
struction.

He told him that this *Italian*, whom his father hated, but could never remove, now governed his kingdom; that the ministers were all of his choice or recommendation; that the princes were persecuted only because they would not tamely submit to this arrogant stranger; that, not contented with being at the head of the government, and disposing of great employments at his pleasure, he was on the point of removing his majesty's own servants, and surrounding him with his own creatures. When he saw what impression this made on the young monarch, he went farther, and threw out hints of the queen's exorbitant love of power, of the little share that she allowed him to take even in the placing of his own servants, and her extraordinary fondness for the duke of *Orleans*. What, though in itself a trivial and accidental thing, seemed to give a colour of truth to these reports, was the queen's stopping a troop of horse, that bore her name, in their march to the camp before *Soissons*, to remain about her own and the king's person, as they had then no cavalry to cover the little excursions of pleasure which the king now and then made into the country, and to this *Luynes* gave the malicious turn of her making use of them to secure his royal person ^b. The first expedient devised by this young prince for delivering himself out of what was now stiled a captivity, was to put himself at the head of this troop of horse, to go in person to the siege of *Soissons*, and finding means to get into that place, to declare the duke of *Mayenne* his lieutenant general against marshal *d'Ancre* and his adherents. This, upon examination, was found to be impracticable. In the mean time some overtures were made to the queen-mother by her faithful servants, to part with the marshal and his wife, as persons grown absolutely insupportable, to which she shewed herself very inclinable ^c. Some of the friends of *Galigai* insinuated to her the prudence of a retreat, to which she willingly consented, and immediately begun to order her most valuable effects to be sent to *Italy*. But when this matter came to be mentioned to the marshal, he was so far from hearing it with any tolerable patience, that he is said to have made this strange answer; "I have hitherto been the minion of fortune, who has never deserted me, nor will I desert her, but, following where-ever she conducts, will let the world see to what height a man may be raised, who has the courage to pursue her ^d." It is not impossible but he might have been brought in time to alter his sentiments: but *Luynes*, who had the same ambition, did not leave him that time; he was continually pushing his master to rid himself of all restraints, and at length pointed out the means by which it was effected.

Marshal
d'Ancre is
arrested and
slain.

He proposed to the king giving his orders to have the marshal either dispatched or delivered to the parliament, that they might have no more trouble with him; the king chose the latter, and his favourite immediately proposed that *Vitri*, who was captain of the guards, should arrest him, to which the king assented ^e. *Luynes* spoke to *Vitri*, and asked him if he had the courage to execute whatever the king commanded; *Vitri* made no scruple of promising, even upon oath; upon which *Luynes* told him that there might be danger in their holding a long conversation, but that, at such an hour of the night, in such a place, he should meet with certain men, and directed him to receive and follow their orders, as if they were given by the mouth of the king, *Vitri* was punctual to the appointment, and saw with amazement *Tronson*, a man of a very indifferent character, *Marillac*, who had betrayed the prince of *Condé*, *Deagen*, who was clerk to the comptroller-general *Barbin*, and a gardener of the *Tuilleries*. However, he was embarked, and of them he learned what was expected from him. The thing was three weeks in agitation, during which it was communicated to a great many persons, without ever being divulged. At length the 24th of *April* was fixed, and *Vitri* caused several gentlemen of determined courage to be introduced, under various pretences, into the *Louvre* ^f. Amongst these was his brother *Hellier*, his brother-in-law *Persan*, *Bournonville*, *Persan's* brother-in-law, *Guichaumont* and *Rigaud*, exempts of the guard, and some others. About ten in the morning the marshal came to the *Louvre*, preceded by about forty gentlemen, to whom he gave pensions, and followed at a distance by as many more, but the gates of the *Louvre* being shut as soon as he was in, excluded the latter. He stopped upon the bridge of the *Louvre*, and

^b DUPLEIX, Histoire de Louis XIII.

ⁱ DUPL. Hist. de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Hist. de Louis XIII.

L'E GRAIN.

^k Mercure Francois. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

^l Memoires de la Regence. Histoire

de Mere & du Fils.

^m Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

ⁿ Memoires de la Regence. Historia della Republica

Veneta di B. NANI.

^o Mercure Francois. MALINGRE.

Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

^p Memoires

de la Regence. MALINGRE. Memoires de Bassompierre.

^a leaning his arm upon the rail, was reading a letter, when *Vitri*, followed by his friends, for whom the marshal's gentlemen, supposing the king behind, had made a lane, laying his hand upon his shoulder, "I arrest you, Sir, in the king's name!" "What me," returned the marshal, in a quick tone; "Yes, you, Sir," replied *Vitri*, with a loud voice and an oath. The marshal, retiring back, laid his hand on his sword; *Vitri*, turning his head, cried, "Kill him," upon which *Hellier* discharged a pistol through his heart, *Perfan* another through his head, and *Guicbaumont* a third into his belly ².

Vitri's associates began immediately to cry *Vive le Roy*, till the king appeared at a window, made a signal with his hat that he accepted their services, and then they were silent. The *marquis de Pene*, son to the marshal, was immediately arrested; and his wife *Galigai* was ^{All his employments, together with his estates, are bestowed upon the Sieur de Luynes.} conducted to the room where the prince of *Conde* had been confined ³. The queen's guards were removed, and those of the king placed in their stead, by which she understood herself to be a prisoner. The king wrote the same day three letters to the parliament, the first with an account of the death of the marshal, the second to avow that what had been done was by his order, the third to create the office of counsellor of the short robe in favour of the *baron de Vitri*, that he might be secured a seat in that assembly, before he took his oath as marshal of *France*, taking up the baton that *d'Ancre* had let fall ⁴. A total change followed; *Mangot* was removed, *Barbin* was confined, the seals were restored to *du Vair*, *Villeroy* returned to his office as secretary of state, *Jeanin* came again into favour, the king wrote to the duke of *Longueville*, who was nearest, to come to court: he wrote also to the rest of the princes; the duke of *Mayenne* sent his majesty the keys of *Sciſſons*, after setting the gates open to the king's troops, and returned in a few days with the count *d'Auvergne*. The process was made for the unfortunate *Galigai*, who fell with a fortitude that buried all her follies in oblivion, and the queen-mother was exiled to *Blois* ⁵. *Monſ. Luynes* had the confiscation of the marshal's estate, to an immense value; he likewise succeeded him as first gentleman of the chamber, as the king's lieutenant in *Normandy*, and in his governments. *Vitri*, as we before observed, had his staff, *Hellier* had the company of guards which the new marshal had commanded, and *Perfan* was intrusted with the *Bastile*. *M. de Luynes* would have preserved *Richelieu*, but it was not in his power, the old secretaries were to be restored; but he kept his seat in the council, and was ordered to attend the queen-mother ⁶.

^d ALL the princes who had engaged in the league were received into favour, without the ceremony of a treaty, and the king was prevailed upon by his new favourite to send a declaration to the parliament, in which he affirmed himself satisfied with their services, and annulled whatever had been done against them: this was registered, as the former letters had been, without any dispute; for there seemed now to be a great disposition of doing honour to the king's entrance upon his government, of which spirit we may judge by the attributing to him the surname of *Just*, from the fate of the marshal *d'Ancre*, and that of his widow, though at the same time there happened some other strokes of justice, which, in order to set this period of history in its true light, it is necessary we should mention ⁷. Amongst those who had been intrusted with the secret of the marshal's ruin, there was one *Travail*, who ^{Some singular events which followed the death of d'Ancre.} had abjured the Protestant religion, turned Capuchin, and had done no credit to that order. This man had great parts, without the least tincture of probity. He had been promised, or at least he had promised himself, the archbishoprick of *Bourges*; but, when the prelate who possessed this see was constrained to resign it, and *Travail* saw it bestowed upon another person, it inflamed him with such resentment, that he went to the *Sieur Bressieux*, one of the queen-mother's principal officers, and confided to him an infamous design he had formed. He was arrested upon this, and condemned upon positive testimony, that he had laboured to persuade *Bressieux* to poison the queen; others say, with more probability, that he acquainted him with his resolution to dispatch *Luynes*, out of pure compassion, as he pretended, for the queen-mother; however that might be, he was broke alive ⁸. One *Gignier* amused *Luynes* with a pretended conspiracy of the princes against him, and against the king; and even went so far as to charge the duke of *Vendosme* with an intention to poison them both at his daughter's christening, to which they were invited. The king being informed of this, pretended to have the cholic, to avoid going thither; but the duke observing some symptoms of distrust, went to *Luynes*, insisted upon making himself prisoner, and examining the matter, whatever it was, to the bottom. This brought the whole business to light, which cost *Gignier* his head, who, at his death, fairly confessed, that, seeing plots in fashion, he had made one for his own benefit, which, taking a wrong turn, had brought him to the block ⁹.

^p *Memoires de la Regence. MALINGRE. Histoire di BATT. NANI. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.* ⁹ *DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE.* ^r *Memoires de la Regence. Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Memoires de AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE.* ^s *MALINGRE. Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de Mere & du Fils. Hist. ria di BATT. NANI.* ^t *Histoire de Mere & du Fils. DUPL. Hist. de Louis XIII. MALINGRE.* ^u *Historia di BATT. NANI. DUPLEIX Hist. ire de Louis XIII. MALINGRE.* ^v *Mercure Francois. Memoires de la Regence. Hist. de Merc & du Fils.* ^x *MALIN. Hist. de Louis XIII.*

Marshal
Lesdiguières
saves the duke
of Savoy from
being over-
whelmed by
the power of
Spain.

WHILE the affairs of *France* were thus strangely embarrassed, the *Spaniards* had attacked the duke of *Savoy*, not without some plausible pretences; but the real motive was to establish their sovereignty in *Italy*, and to bar the entrance of the *French* into that country for ever. The marshal duke *de Lesdiguières*, the duke's old antagonist, levied an army for his assistance. The *Spanish* ambassador complained of this at court, before the queen was divested of the regency. Upon this orders were sent to *Lesdiguières* to disband his forces. The marshal, who had been long accustomed to think for himself, and who was also persuaded that he understood the interests of his country much better than those who sent him such orders, put them in his pocket, and marched directly into *Piedmont*^y. His appearance saved the duke, but, after he had rendered him great service, he was obliged to return into *Dauphine*, upon the revolt of the princes: that being suddenly over in the manner which we have before related, *Lesdiguières* received fresh orders from court to return into *Savoy*, and, while he was preparing for it, was joined by some of the noblest and bravest persons in the kingdom, who piqued themselves on learning the trade of war under such a commander. The marshal found the duke of *Savoy* on the very point of being undone, *Don Pedro de Toledo* being in the heart of his country with a superior army. *Lesdiguières* saw, from the manner in which these troops were posted, that they might be attacked almost without hazard. The duke left him at liberty to act as he pleased; and, in the space of a week, the old man dissipated them all, and made between four and five thousand prisoners. After this he assembled twenty thousand men, and was on the very point of entering the duchy of *Milan*, when a courier from court brought him a peace, which, as things then stood, the duke of *Savoy* thought it his interest to sign^z.

An assembly of
the states held
at Rouen,
which gives
de Luynes an
opportunity of
taking posses-
sion of his go-
vernment of
Normandy.

IT was natural for *Monf. Luynes* to desire the settlement of his administration on the firmest basis possible, to wish the entrance on his new post of the king's lieutenant in *Normandy*, and yet he saw the necessity of not leaving the king's person. He had either good parts or was capable of listening to right counsels, since he found the means of uniting all these, by engaging the king to call an assembly of the notables to be held at *Rouen*, in the month of *December*^a. There he obtained every thing he could desire with respect to the approbation of that revolution which he had brought about; many good things were likewise proposed for the benefit of the nation, which the king received in the most gracious manner, and promised to advise with his council of state how they might best be carried into execution. The royal presence restored tranquility to the province, and gave *Monf. de Luynes* the opportunity he wanted of securing his several governments. In this journey of the court died the famous *Monsieur Villeroy*, who, with some interruptions, had executed the office of secretary of state upwards of fifty years; a man of great parts, unassisted with learning; an able negotiator, and a consummate minister; difficult in making promises, but punctual in the performance of them; born to a good fortune, to which, in his long service, he did not add above two hundred pounds a year^b. This year was also fatal to the president *de Thou*, whose reputation as an historian will last for ever.

He marries the
daughter of
the duke of
Montbazou,
and becomes
the object of
public envy.

To support his greatness, *Monf. de Luynes* saw nothing wanting but a proper marriage. He had thoughts of espousing madame *de Vendosme*, and becoming thereby, in some sort, the brother-in-law of the king; but perceiving that this would be attended with great envy, he very prudently yielded that princess to the duke *d'Elbæuf*, and contented himself with the daughter of the duke *de Montbazou*^c. In all this, though he conducted himself with much address, and considering the power he had over his master, confirmed by the management of his confessor, a Jesuit, who is said to have sworn him to do nothing without the consent of *Monf. de Luynes*, he could not secure the applause of the public, or entirely silence the voice of envy. On the contrary, there ran whispers every-where to his prejudice, and, amongst other censures, the populace took the liberty of saying that the same tavern was still open, and that they had only burnt the old bush; while others, with equal acrimony and less reverence, lamented that the tyranny was unextinguished, and that the nation had only changed one tyrant for another. His two brothers sharing his favour and his power, a ticket was fixed on their apartment in the palace with these words; "Here dwell the three kings." But he might easily pardon these strokes of satire, which, in reality, did him service, if they had taught him caution^d.

A. D. 1617.

^y LE GRAIN. MALINGRE. Historia di BATT. NANI.

Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de Mere & du Fils.

P. DANIEL. Journal Historique de Louis XIII. & du Fils.

^z Memoires de la Regence. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Bassompierre.

^a P. MATTHIEU Histoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI. MALINGRE.

^z Memoires de Lesdiguières. DUPLEIX

^a DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.

^b Mercure Francoiſ. MALINGRE. Histoire de Mere

S E C T. XII.

The remainder of the reign of Lewis XIII. surnamed the Just, from his assuming the government to his death.

^a **T**HE queen-mother, who had seen herself a kind of prisoner in the palace of her son, found herself not at all in a better situation at *Blois*, though at her departure, the king had given her the strongest assurances of behaving towards her with all the respect and duty possible. The favourite *Luynes* endeavoured also to recover her good graces, and made use of his father-in-law the duke of *Montbazon*, and the duke of *Rohan*, to whom he was allied by marriage, and who was one of the wisest and worthiest men in *France*, to this purpose ^a. But as in reality he had no such intentions, from an apprehension that, if once a reconciliation was brought about, the queen would quickly recover her authority, he had recourse to measures of another kind, and which he thought would answer his purposes better. In the first place, he held it necessary to remove *Richelieu*, bishop of *Lucon*, from about the queen, though a person for whom he had expressed great kindness, not only because he knew that he had lived in a strict intimacy with marshal *d'Ancre*, but because he was thoroughly persuaded of his attachment to the queen, and of his superior capacity, so that nothing was to be expected from his practices, while a person of so much penetration was near her, and therefore he had orders to retire to an abbey of his in *Anjou* ^b. There, that he might find some employment for his active genius, he composed a book of devotion : his application to his studies being known at court, they had so little idea of things of that nature, that they took it for granted he must be composing memoirs for the service, and apologies for the conduct, of the queen regent, and therefore banished him and his brother to *Avignon* ^c. When he was at this distance, *Luynes* thought he might begin his operations with safety. He bribed most of the ladies and women about her ; he suffered *Barbin*, who was all this time a prisoner in the *Bastile*, to receive letters from, and to write to, her, which papers, passing through the hands of a bishop, he betrayed them to *Luynes*, who, when he had made all the use of them he thought proper, directed a criminal prosecution against *Barbin*, and, not being able to reach his life, caused him to be condemned to banishment, and, under pretence of alleviating, engaged the king to aggravate, the sentence, by changing it into perpetual imprisonment ^d. He then posted troops at some distance about *Blois*, restrained the queen-mother more strictly than he had done, and at length sent Father *Arnoux*, a Jesuit, and the king's confessor, to reconcile her to this usage, and to persuade her that he was taking all the pains possible to restore her to the king's favour, in order to which it was necessary to draw up an act of submission upon oath, in which she promised to submit to enter into no intrigues, to discover any that came to her knowledge, to hold no foreign correspondencies, and not to attempt to leave *Blois* without the king's leave ^e. With this instrument *Arnoux* returned to court ; and the queen's confessor, who was a Jesuit also, perceiving his brother's artifice, assured her her oath was void, and that, as *Luynes* would probably depend much upon this instrument, she might from thence find means to facilitate her escape ^f, as her emissaries would be less exposed to danger.

WHILE *Luynes* was taking so many precautions to secure the king entirely to himself, as the only means of maintaining his power, and amused alike those who wished the deliverance of the prince of *Conde*, and those who desired the deliverance of the queen, with fair but false promises, he opened the way to both by the measures he took to prevent them. The duke of *Espernon* had fallen out with the keeper of the seals about precedence, and had brought several dukes and peers to concur with him, which at length rose so high, that some warm words passed in the king's presence, who upon that occasion, though alone, spoke to the duke in very quick terms, and did more than his ministers could have done ; for it struck him with such fear, that he resolved to quit the court, and having procured leave, retired to *Metz*, of which, though the king's governor, he lived and acted therein as a sovereign ^g. The true reason of his quarrelling with Mons. *du Vair* was to conceal the real motive of his differing with the court, which was that *Luynes* had procured for Mons. *de Gondy*, so well known afterwards by the title of the cardinal *de Retz*, a hat, which had been promised to the duke's son, the archbishop of *Thoulouse* ^h.

Artifices used by Luynes to keep the queen-mother from court and in confinement.

Duke of Espernon quarrels with du Vair, and retires to Metz.

^a Histoire de Mere & du Fils. DURL. Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ^b Memoires de Bassompierre. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. Decade contenant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. ^c Mercure Francois. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GEND. ^d Histoire de la Mere & du Fils. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. P. DAN. Journal Historique de Louis XIII. ^e DURL Histoire de Louis XIII. ^f Memoires de Bassompierre. ^g Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon tom. ii. liv. vii. Histoire de Mere & du Fils. DURL. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^h Memoires de Bassompierre

The abbe de Ruccellay engages him to attempt the queen's deliverance from Blois.

AMONGST the agents of the queen-mother was the abbe *Ruccellay*, an *Italian*, whose father having been employed in the finances, had procured him benefices to the amount of thirty thousand livres a year, and left him, at his decease, as much more. He was of a restless busy temper, capable of assuming any character, and, except the qualities before-mentioned, had none of his own. He had been a favourite with the marshal *d'Ancre*, and had followed the queen to *Blois*; but, not liking so melancholy a situation, returned to court, where he lived under the protection of *Bassompierre*ⁱ. He had persuaded himself that the duke *de Bouillon*, who had been always esteemed the ablest head, in point of intrigue, in *France*, was the only person that could restore the queen; he caused such informations to be given against himself to *Luynes*, as induced the favourite to order him to retire to his abbey, which being but a small distance from *Sedan*, gave him the opportunity he wanted, of entering into a correspondence with that duke. *Bouillon*, though he had, by no means, any good opinion of him, yet received him civilly, and in a little time, he acquired a certain degree of confidence; insomuch that he told him, his age, his infirmities, and his great distance, rendered it impossible for him to act; but that he would indicate a proper person to procure the queen's freedom, and this was the duke of *Espernon*^k. This was far from being acceptable to *Ruccellay*, who had differed with the son of the duke, who, upon hearing something of it, had threatened to chastize him, and besides, the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Espernon* were not friends; so that no assistance could be received from this quarter. He returned however to his abbey, and, charging the secretary of marshal *d'Ancre*, who was just released from prison, with the queen's commission, sent him to *Metz*, where, by the assistance of the marquis *de la Valette*, and the archbishop of *Troulouse*, he succeeded with their father beyond all expectation^l. When things were pretty far advanced, *Ruccellay* went himself to a village not far from *Metz*, and sent a message to the duke, who flew into a violent passion, and declared to his sons, he would have nothing to do with that *Italian*, who, he knew, owed him a grudge, and would not therefore put it in his power to take his revenge. *Ruccellay* being told this, informed the duke that the secretary was but his agent, that he was possessed of his cyphers, had seen his letters, and therefore, if he had sought revenge, had him intirely in his power^m. Upon this the duke sent for him to *Metz*, concealed him a whole month in his palace, and having settled with him the scheme of operations, sent him away as secretly as he came; so that, notwithstanding *Luynes* had spies at *Metz*, and about the person of the duke, they were not able to give him any intelligence, though, for other reasons, he held the abbe *Ruccellay* in the greatest suspicionⁿ.

The Paulette suppressed, and the Jesuits open their college of Clermont.

IN respect to affairs of a more public nature, *Luynes*, at the beginning of the year, had caused the tax called the *Paulette* to be suppressed, and promised to put an end to the venality of officers, which, however, he did not perform^o. In *May*, the resignation of his government of *Guienne* was demanded from the prince of *Conde*, in prison at *Vincennes*, and immediately bestowed upon the duke of *Mayenne*. The king's lieutenancy in those parts was given to marshal *Ornano*, who presently exchanged it for the lieutenancy of *Normandy*; and the Sieur *de Luynes*, who had that, obtained the government of the *Isle of France*, which the duke of *Mayenne* had quitted^p. The king proposed restoring the church lands to the popish clergy in *Bearn*, which met with great opposition; it was, in truth, one of the projects of *Luynes*, to form a party for his own support, and was the specimen of that design which characterized his administration, the destruction of the Protestants. He knew well enough that this would recommend him to the clergy, and to the violent Catholics; and, by sowing dissensions amongst the Protestants, and a dexterous application of bribes and promises, he thought the thing might be gradually performed, without exciting a new civil war, in which, though he was somewhat mistaken, yet his schemes, as we shall see hereafter, fatally prevailed^q. Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* becoming, by the death of his brother, prince of *Orange*, offered his homage to the queen, but, under pretence of finding some new title, the king refused to accept it in the old manner, and the prince, not being disposed to comply with the method prescribed, this homage was not received at all^r. A chiaux arrived from *Constantinople*, to renew the antient treaties, and to make some excuses for the ill usage the *French* minister had received at the *Porte*; and, towards the close of the year, to reward the good services of Father *Arnoux*, the Jesuits, by the sole interposition of the royal authority, had leave to open their college for the instruction of youth^s.

The queen-mother escapes

AFTER having endeavoured in vain to procure the king's leave to quit *Metz*, to go to his government of *Xaintonge*, the duke of *Espernon*, at the opening of the new year, took the

ⁱ LE GRAIN. BERNARD.

^k Memoires de AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE.

^l DUPLEIX Histoire

de Louis XIII. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon, tom. ii. LE GEND.

^m Histoire de Merc & du

Fils. Memoires de Bassompierre Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espernon.

ⁿ DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis

XIII. Hist. du Duc d'Espernon.

^o Mercure Francois. MALINGRE.

Histoire de Louis XIII.

^p Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

^q P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^r DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.

^s Mercure Francois. BERNARD. LE GENDRE;

- a resolution of proceeding in his design, notwithstanding the king's express orders not to leave *Metz*. He took very extraordinary precautions; he caused his equipage to parade every day for a fortnight together, going out every day at a different gate; in the mean time, as if he had laid aside all thoughts of departing, he sent away his son the archbishop of *Thoulouse*. At length, confiding the care of the city to the marquis *de la Valette*, with strict injunctions not to suffer the gates to be opened for three days, and to keep a constant patrol round the place, he put himself at the head of one hundred horse, and began his march¹. In his passage by *Dijon*, he conferred with the duke of *Bellegarde*'s lieutenant, and bid him write his master word, that hunger had driven him out of *Metz*, pretending that he was not able to subsist there for want of money, adding, that he should take it as a favour if he made no great haste to write, which he promised, but dispatched a courier immediately to his master, and this was the first news the court had of his leaving *Metz*. As it was to no purpose to pursue him, *Luynes* dispatched one of his gentlemen with a very kind letter to the duke, including the king's approbation². *Espernon* executed his design happily, but was surprized to hear nothing from the queen. This was occasioned by a very extraordinary accident: one *de Lorine*, a servant, whom the abbe *Ruccellay* had often trusted before, being dispatched with letters containing the scheme of the duke's design, and promised great things if he delivered them safe to the queen, thought he might bring them still to a better market if he carried them to the *Sieur Luynes*. Accordingly, instead of going to *Blois*, he took the route to *Paris*, and was, for three days together, at the house of *Luynes*, soliciting an audience. A counsellor of the parliament of *Paris*, who was deeply in the queen's interest, hearing of this by chance, and suspecting the truth, sent a gentleman to speak to him, who, by the help of a considerable sum of money, obtained the letters, and the man was disposed of soon after in such a manner as prevented his telling tales³. This was the reason that the queen-mother had no intelligence of the duke's arrival, till brought by one of his domestics; however, she was no sooner informed of it, than she took a resolution of escaping from *Blois*, which she effected on the 22d of *February*, by getting out of a window so high, that two ladders were requisite in her descending⁴; and being met upon the road by the archbishop of *Thoulouse*, son of the duke, was conducted to *Loches*, where he received her in person, at the head of 300 gentlemen on horseback, and conducted her in safety to *Angoulesme*⁵, at the very time they were concerting measures at court to remove her to *Amboise*, and to make her a close prisoner in the castle there; so that her escape was as well-timed as it was happily executed.

In the midst of the rejoicings at court for the marriage of the prince of *Piedmont* with the princess *Christiana*, the king's sister, there came advice of the queen-mother's escape, which struck the court with the utmost astonishment: at first that monarch and his ministers gave a loose to passion, talked of marching one hundred thousand men to recover the queen, and punish the duke of *Espernon*, orders being given on one side to the duke of *Mayenne* and the count *de Schomberg* to begin the war, and on the other to the duke of *Nevers*, to form an army to besiege *Metz*⁶. The king, however, thought it requisite to consult the duke of *Bouillon*, who, after representing to him, in the most respectful manner, that any who should give him such counsels, as making war upon his mother, and declaring persons of the highest quality rebels, barely for giving a widow, and the mother of their king, protection, were enemies to the state: he suggested that there was no suitable method but that of an accommodation, and concluded with the strongest assurances of his own fidelity⁷. A negotiation was accordingly set on foot, and carried on, notwithstanding the declarations published by the queen, conceived in the most bitter terms, accusing *Luynes* and his brethren of abusing the king's tender years, subverting justice in the death of the marchioness *d'Ancre*, and several other persons, procuring their confiscations, robbing the king's treasury of millions, banishing the widow of *Henry IV.* proposing to thrust her into a monastery, or a prison for life, and keeping the prince and princess of *Conde* in prison, of whose innocence she was long ago convinced⁸. The treaty going on very slowly, *Luynes* proposed the recalling the bishop of *Lucon*, and the king thereupon wrote to him with his own hand⁹. This prelate was but ill received at *Angoulesme* by every body but the queen. *Ruccellay* hated him as a rival, *Espernon* had no confidence in him. At first they refused him a seat in the council; then they excluded him, after consenting to his admission. But things soon changed their face; *Ruccellay* advised the queen to seize

¹ Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. Mémoires de Bassompierre. ² Mémoires du Duc de Rohan. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron. MALINGRE. ³ DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. ⁴ Mémoires de Bassompierre. Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron. MALINGRE. LE GRAIN. ⁵ DUPL. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. ⁶ Mémoires du Duc de Rohan. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. liv. viii. ⁷ Histoire de Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 335. Lettres du Marechal de BOUILLON au Roy, le 4 Mars, 1619. ⁸ Extrait des raisons & plaintes que la Reine Mere du Roy fait au Roy son Fils, in 8vo. 1619. ⁹ Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, & des principaux evenemens arrivez pendant ce Regne dans tout le Pais du Monde, tom. iii. p. 137.

By the dexte-
rity of the
bishop of
Lucon, a
peace is con-
cluded.

Angoulesme, and to make her peace by abandoning the duke of *Espernon*; *Mary de Medici* a rejected the advice, despised the author, and acquainted the duke with his danger ^d.

On the other hand, *Espernon*, perceiving that none of the great lords joined the queen, began to have a better opinion of the bishop of *Lucon*'s counsels, who advised arming silently, and disapproved invectives. In the mean time the king's forces took several places, and a plot was contrived for blowing up the castle of *Angoulesme*, and the queen in it ^e. The peace was at length made, to the great satisfaction of the court, and with great advantages to the queen and those of her party, for they were, without exception, to be restored to their offices, their appointments, and the king's favour. The queen was to be at liberty to live where she pleased, to have the intire direction of her own court and domain, and, upon her resignation of the government of *Normandy*, was to have that of *Anjou*, with the castle of *Angers*, *Pont de Ce*, and *Chinon*, for her security ^f. The enemies of *Richlieu* have positively asserted ^g, that, upon this occasion, he betrayed his mistress, and sacrificed her's to his own interest; but this does not at all appear; for though the government she surrendered was much superior to that she obtained, yet it was better situated for her security, as being in the neighbourhood of the duke of *Espernon* and the Protestants. All that was obtained was derived from the authority of the queen's name, the natural affection of the king, and the apprehensions of *Luynes*, not from any force that the queen either had or could raise. Besides, this peace was entirely to the satisfaction of the duke of *Espernon*; and it does not appear that the bishop of *Lucon* derived to himself any thing in consequence of making the peace, but from the queen-mother, who gave the government of *Angers* to his brother; who being killed out of mere ^c envy by the marquis de *Themmis*, captain of her guards, she gave it to the uncle of *Richlieu*, and disposed of the other places at his recommendation.

That prelate
procures many
advantages
for the queen-
mother.

BUT though the peace was concluded in *April*, and the queen-mother, in consequence of it, was expected at court, she discovered no great willingness to go thither, and was in other respects backward enough in doing what was required, which the court attributed to the bishop of *Lucon*, and with reason, for the peace being once made, he judged that it was to be equally executed on both sides. This produced fresh negotiations, in all which the queen met with success. The plot for blowing up the castle of *Angoulesme*, though concerted before, was not discovered till after, the peace; but the queen would not punish the offenders; and the king, for his own honour, was obliged to do it, though what they had done or promised ^d was by his minister's orders ^h. Letters of abolition were granted to the duke of *Espernon*, and all the queen's adherents ⁱ. The king, indeed, scrupled taking back two captains of the guards who had quitted him to serve his mother, but she remained firm, and he was at length obliged to comply. At length, all scruples removed, she consented to an interview with her son; and, being accompanied by the duke of *Espernon* to the frontiers of his government, she presented him at parting with a very fine diamond ring from her finger ^k, which was all he ever had for the expence of two hundred thousand crowns, and the risk of his fame, his family, and fortune. The interview being fixed, the queen set out for, and the king from, *Tours*; they met at *Cousieres*, a house belonging to the duke of *Montbazou*, with a great appearance of tenderness and affection on both sides ^l; they proceeded together to *Tours*, and ^e continued there eleven days; but the queen-mother could not be brought to think of returning to *Paris*, saying, in plain terms, when pressed to it, that she was not inclined to be led in triumph, but, however, promised to come at a convenient time. The queen then returned to *Angers*, and the court to *Paris* ^m. The grandeur of the favourite and his family rose daily higher, and yet it did not seem to be placed on the most secure and solid basis.

Prince of
Conde re-
leased, who
joins the duke
of Luynes.

THE favourite, doubting of his own situation, apprehensive of the queen's recovering her influence, and instigated by those who had more reason to fear it than he, resolved at length upon a measure which he had long meditated. He went in person to the castle of *Vincennes*, on the 20th of *October*, and set the prince of *Conde* at liberty ⁿ; who, as a mark of his gratitude and respect, accompanied his deliverer to the parliament, where he was received as ^f duke and peer of *France*, the estate of *Maille*, near *Tours*, which was transferred to him by his brother, being erected into a duchy in his favour ^o. But the terms of the king's declara-

^a Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. liv. viii. Hist. de Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 358—360.
^b Memoires du Duc de Rohan. DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. MALINGRE. ^f Traites de la Paix par l'heureux accord & amiable reconciliation du Roy avec la Reine sa Mere. Ensemble tout ce qui s'est passé tant d'une part, que d'autre à ce sujet depuis le voyage du Roy jusqu'à present, à Paris, 1619, in 8vo.
^g Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ^h Proces verbal de la conspiration fait en la ville d'Angoulesme ensemble l'exécution publique, qui s'en est ensuivie, à Paris, 1618. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. ⁱ Articles accordez à Monsieur le Duc d'Espéron, à Paris, 1619. Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. liv. viii. ^k Vie du Cardinal de Richlieu. P. MATTH. Histoire de Louis XIII. Histoire de la Vie de Duc d'Espéron, tom. ii. liv. viii.
^l Histoire de la Mere & du Fils, tom. ii. p. 385, 386. ^m Memoires de Bassompierre. Hist. Universelle de ce qui s'est passé es années 1619 & 1620, à Paris. ⁿ DUP. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^o Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

a tion on the release of the prince of *Conde* being conceived in such a manner as to censure the regency, extremely offended the queen, who fixed upon the declaration rather than the measure, and expressed herself so strongly upon it, that the disputes between the two courts rose again very high; so that the peace of the kingdom was once more in danger^p. These A. D. 1619. disturbances had all along a very indifferent influence upon foreign affairs, as appeared more especially from the death of pensionary *Barneveldt* in *Holland*, for whom the king interceded, and interceded in vain.

At the opening of the year, the king made the first promotion of knights of his order, in which there were fifty-nine included; but the duke *de Luynes*, to avoid creating enemies, desired a kind of election, which method has been followed since^q. It did not intirely answer b his end; for himself and both his brothers being included in this promotion, many who had, or who thought they had, as good a right to it, were displeased. The Protestants had assembled at *Loudon*, not only without the king's permission, but continued assembled, notwithstanding c he had sent them orders to disperse, and, which perhaps gave as much offence, sent some of their deputies to pay their respects to the queen-mother, who insisted peremptorily upon a declaration that might justify her conduct, at least in the same degree that had been used with respect to the prince^r. The king's coffers being empty, some edicts were prepared for new taxes, to which *du Vair*, keeper of the seals, made some opposition, but, for fear of losing his office, complied. The king carried those edicts to the parliament, and caused them to be verified in his presence, notwithstanding the first president *Verdun*, and the advocate general *Servin*, remonstrated against them boldly^s. The attachment of the prince to *Luynes*, and the credit this gave him with the king, excited a secret discontent amongst the princes and great lords, who thought their services but ill requited; and this humour spread itself, in a short time, to such a degree, that about the month of *April*, most of them left the court. The duke of *Mayenne* retired to his government; the count *de Soissons*, the duke of *Vendosme* his brother, the grand prior, the dukes of *Nevers*, *Tremouille*, *Rohan*, *Retz*, and others, went directly to *Angers*, to pay their court to the queen-mother, who appeared to be now at the head of a powerful and well connected party^t. This alarmed the king exceedingly, and the favourite much more; especially when he understood that the duke *d'Espernon*, to whom he had rendered very essential services, entered entirely into the views of the queen-mother. The d endeavours used to appease that princess had no effect: she complained that the promises made to her had never been kept; and that, in case of any future agreements, she expected that either some foreign power, or at least the parliament of the kingdom, should become the guarantees of it, which astonished *Luynes* as much as it displeased the king.

It is certain that in this struggle the queen-mother had great advantages, and might have made very advantageous terms for herself and her adherents; but the prince of *Conde* and others about the king persuaded him to continue negotiating, but in the mean time to march with what forces he could collect into *Normandy*, where the duke of *Longueville*, who had exchanged that government for *Picardy*, which he yielded to the duke *de Luynes*, was endeavouring to secure all the strong places for the queen^u. He entered into this measure with e great spirit; and, after communicating his design to the parliament of *Paris*, dispatching his orders to such as still remained firm in their obedience, he marched directly to *Rouen* in the beginning of *July*. The duke of *Longueville* abandoned the place upon his approach, and retired to *Dieppe*. *Caen* likewise opened her gates, and the castle was reduced in a few days^v. This success increased the king's vigour, who began now to act of himself, gave his orders frequently without consulting any-body, and excited a new spirit in his forces, by rejecting all timid counsels, and bestowing the governments of the places he took upon such as distinguished themselves in his service. It is inconceivable what an effect this had, and how much it contributed to augment the force and the courage of his army; so that, in the space of less than a month, he advanced into the neighbourhood of *Pont de Cé*, on the preservation of which the queen's safety depended. If she had followed the advice of the duke of *Rohan*, the king would have found it very difficult to finish this dispute. That prudent and great man persuaded her to retire to *Bordeaux*, where she was sure of having her cause owned by that parliament, and might have interposed an army of thirty thousand men between her and the king^w. The queen was well inclined to this, and it is not a little uncertain how she came to decline so right a measure, or to take so wrong a step as to remain at *Angers*. Some say the duke of *Espernon* dissuaded her, from an apprehension that, if she was once in the hands of the duke of *Mayenne*, he should lose his influence; others ascribe this counsel to the bishop

The queen-mother again disappointed, the Protestants court her, and many of the great nobility.

Her affairs so managed as that she is constrained to conclude a peace.

^p BERNARD. LE GRAIN.

^q Mercure Francois. DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^r Memoires

du Duc de Rohan. ^s Harangue fait au Roy par M. le premier President en la Grande Chambre, le 18 Fevrier 1620, à Paris, 1620, in 8vo. Remonstrances fait au Roy, par M. Louis Servin, son Advocat General en sa Cour de Parlement, en son Lit de Justice, le Mardi, 18 Fevrier 1620, in 8vo. ^t Memoires de

Bassompierre. ^u Memoires du Duc de Rohan. BERNARD. MALINGRE. ^v Le Voyage du Roy en Normandie & la Reduction du Chateau de Caën à l'Obeissance de sa Majeste selon les avis auvray de ce qui s'y est passé, à Paris 8vo. Mercure Francois. ^w Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

of *Luçon* from the same motive ^a. It is not impossible that the duke was the author of the measure, and that the prelate, foreseeing the consequences, engaged the queen-mother to conclude the treaty that had been so long negotiating, before things came to extremities. It was accordingly signed on the 7th of *August* ^a: but the king not receiving, or else dissembling any knowledge of it, ordered *Pont de Ce* to be attacked on the 8th, which was very ill defended by the duke of *Retz* ^b; and with this action the war ended; for on the 9th the peace was proclaimed. The enemies of *Richelieu* say, that he sacrificed the queen and her party to his ambition; the friends of that great minister, on the contrary, assert, that he saved both her and them from the bad effects of their own imprudence: what afterwards happened has made the former sentiment generally prevail, though not supported by any conclusive evidence.

Luynes sacrifices the interest of France to his own.

By this treaty that of *Angoulême* was confirmed. Those who had taken arms for the queen ^b had an amnesty upon laying them down, and were continued in their posts, excepting such as the king had bestowed during the war. It was stipulated privately that the king should demand a cardinal's hat for the bishop of *Luçon*, and that prelate also promised his favourite niece to the nephew of the duke of *Luynes*. Their majesties had an interview at *Brisac* ^c, where the queen seemed to be thoroughly reconciled, and had many fair promises made her. *Lewis*, charmed with the success of this expedition, and very desirous of putting an end to these confederacies, advanced in the month of *September* to *Bordeaux*, in order to curtail the power of the duke of *Mayenne*, and, after settling his authority in those parts, marched into the principality of *Bearn*, to restore the church lands, and to establish the Catholic religion in a country where there were no Catholics, and at *Navarins* he caused mass to be said in his presence, fifty years after it had been abolished ^d. If the marquis de la *Force*, who was governor of that province, had not trimmed at first, and tried to reconcile his interest and his conscience, all this might have been prevented by the assistance of the Protestants, who then held an assembly at *Rochelle*; but now there was no remedy. In order to pacify the minds of the people, and prevent an effusion of blood, they were promised the continuance of their privileges, and the preservation of their old form of government; but, as soon as the king found himself absolute master, he, by an edict, united the principality of *Bearn* to the crown of *France*, erected the chancery of *Pau* into a parliament, and, by changing their form of government, suppressed their privileges at once ^e. In order to fix this establishment, he left garrisons in most of the strong places, and then returned to *Bordeaux*, and, after a short stay, ^d to *Paris*. Yet, notwithstanding these great exploits, the assembly of the Protestants continued sitting at *Rochelle*, though they had been ordered to disperse, under pain of being declared rebels ^f. Monsieur de *Cadenet*, second brother to *Luynes*, had the staff of marshal of *France* ^g, and the viscount d' *Aubterre* was likewise advanced to the same dignity, and had three hundred thousand livres given him, upon his surrendering the government of *Blaye*, which was given to the favourite's brother, and, which was more dishonourable for *France*, upon *Cadenet*'s being ^e suffered to carry away the countess of *Cbaumes* from the *Netherlands*. His brother *Luynes* undertook that no assistance should be given to the elector *Palatine*, who was lately become king of *Bebemia*; and several other steps were taken directly opposite to what was esteemed the true interest of *France*, from the same motives that had induced the court, the year before, to abandon the *Arminian* party in *Holland*, with so much visible discredit.

A. D. 1620.

Causes of the first civil-war against the Protestants during this reign.

As the assembly at *Rochelle* continued sitting, notwithstanding the king's repeated orders to dissolve, they were considered as rebels ^h, and the great object of the king's council was to devise ways and means for their utter destruction. According to the *French* historians in general, they drew this upon themselves, by throwing off the royal authority, establishing a sovereign council, dividing the provinces into circles, and, in short, establishing a republic agreeable to the genius of their religion in the heart of the monarchy ⁱ. This most certainly is a very proper picture of their conduct, supposing it drawn with a view, as it most apparently is, to justify the usage they met with; but, with the pencil of truth, we may describe it in very different colours. These Hugonots, republicans from the principles of their religion, had sacrificed their lives and fortunes to set *Henry* the fourth upon the throne, and had even consented to his change of religion, that he might sit there in peace, by which they had merited a legal establishment, which they obtained by the edict of *Nantes*, carefully drawn, maturely considered, fortified by the 'royal authority, registered by the parliament of *Paris*, and, in short, rendered stable and authentic by every method the law could devise ^k.

^a Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèron. DUPLEX. Histoire de Louis XIII. Articles accordez par le Roy à la Reine sa Mere, & en sa faveur à ceux qui l'on't assistée en ces dernières mouvemens, à Paris, 1620, 8vo. ^b Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ^c Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espèron, tom. ii. liv. viii. DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. L'entrevue du Roy & de la Reine sa Mere au Château de Brisac & du depuis à Tours, à Paris, 1620, 8vo. ^d BERN. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^e Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. P. DAN. Journal Historique de Louis XIII. ^f Histoire du Conestable de Lesdiguières. ^g Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. tom. iv. p. 155. ^h Memoires de AMELOT DE LA HOUSSEY. ⁱ Memoires Jaques de Chastenet, Sieur de Puysegur. ^k Memoires de M. Deageant. GRAMOND Historia Gallia. Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

a NOTWITHSTANDING this, the court had begun to sow discord among their chiefs, were endeavouring to bribe some, to menace others, and, under various specious pretences, were sapping the very foundations of their establishment, in consequence of *Luynes's* plan, to ingratiate himself with the clergy and the zealous Catholics, in order to have a certain support, in case the royal favour should at any time fail ¹. This the very same writers confess, while they stigmatize with the odious name of rebellion, what, in reality, flowed from the natural desire of self-preservation. But the year before the queen-mother and the great lords of her party had formed a scheme, which, with full as much reason, might have been stiled a subversion of the *French* constitution, as it consisted in the framing four great councils, with the assistance and by the advice of which the king was to regulate all public affairs ^m. What the queen and her partizans were moved to from principles of convenience, the assembly at *Rochebelle* were driven to from motives of necessity; and as the former were instigated by the desire of sharing in power, authority, and wealth, with the king's favourite; the latter sought for the defence of their just rights, animated thereto by the most laudable of all principles, those of religion and law ⁿ. But of these the court had but a slender opinion, as having on their side notions of an opposite nature, the assumed powers of a church pretending to infallibility, and the dictates of young men, who esteemed every thing lawful that tended to gratify their passions. These, as far as we are able to judge, were the real causes of this destructive civil-war.

In order to accomplish this design of abasing, or rather of crushing the Hugonots, it was thought necessary to detach from their party the greatest man they had, who was, at the same time, the greatest man in *France*. This was the marshal duke *de Lesdiguières*, who, from a volunteer, had raised himself by his valour and capacity to the first honours, none of which he had ever sought. For the staff and the letters patent for duke and peer of *France* had been sent him, and now it was resolved to offer him the sword of constable, if he would qualify himself for it by embracing the tenets of the church of *Rome* ^o. It was a nice and delicate commission; and *Luynes*, guided by better heads than his own, made choice of one of the greatest masters of intrigue, the famous *Deageant*, who being clerk to *Barbin*, had undermined his master, contrived the ruin of *d'Ancre*, planned the greatness of *Luynes*, and was now alike hated and feared by him and all the ministers; yet so much esteemed by their master, that they durst not attempt his removal, but in this oblique manner, in giving him a commission to which no other man was equal. He had always lived in confidence with *Lesdiguières*; he knew the difficulty of the commission, and their motives for employing him; but he accepted it nevertheless ^p. He told them that it was impossible for him to succeed, if the marshal suspected his errand; and this obliged them to purchase for him the post of first president in the chamber of accounts at *Grenoble*, where *Lesdiguières* resided in quality of governor of *Dauphine*. Thither he went to take possession of his new employment, nor was it long before he accomplished the arduous affair with which he was charged ^q. But by that time the views of the favourite were changed, and *Bouillon*, another instrument of his, was sent to incline *Lesdiguières* to decline the very honour they had pressed upon him, that it might be given to *Luynes*: this negotiation was to have been a secret to *Deageant*, but the marshal consulted him upon it immediately, complained of his ill usage, and threatened to resent it ^r. *Deageant*, after aggravating the provocation, and observing that he also had cause to be displeased, told him that revenge was beneath a man of his character, whose merit set him above all honours; that, by asking the post of constable for *Luynes*, he would in reality bestow it, which was far greater than accepting it; and that by contenting himself with the office of marshal de camp general, he would retain the power, and make it visible to the world, that the king had given his favourite a gilded scabbard, instead of a sword, which he could not wield, and that, though with an inferior title, was intrusted with him. *Lesdiguières* took his advice, and, accepting the solid favours that were offered him, yielded a title to the favourite, which at once covered him with the envy of the court, and which, instead of the affection he had hitherto borne him, brought upon him first the suspicion, and then the hatred of the king ^s, who was jealous of an authority he could not manage, and quickly hated those to whom he trusted it for his own ease.

On the second of *April* the duke *de Luynes* was, with great ceremony, installed constable of *France* ^t; the scabbard and the pomel of the sword being adorned with jewels of the

Luynes made constable of France, and dies soon after.

¹ BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. AUBERT Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. Memoires de M. Deageant. ^m Memoires de la Reine-mere l'Etablissement de plusieurs Conseils fait à Angers, le 8 Juillet 1620. ⁿ Vie de du Plessis Mornay. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Hist. du Connestable de Lesdiguières. ^o BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de M. Deageant. Memoires de Bassompierre. Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. tom. iv. p. 142—144. ^p DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII. ^q Memoires de M. Deageant. ^r Histoire du Connestable de Lesdiguières. BERNARD. ^s Memoires de Bassompierre. DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII. ^t Les Ceremonies Royales faites en Baillant, par les mains du Roy l'épée de Connestable à M. le Duc de Luynes, à Paris, 1621, in 8vo.

crown, to the value of thirty thousand crowns. His brother, who was already marshal of *a* France, and who was just returned from his embassy into *England*, was made duke and peer of France, by his wife's title of *Chaulnes*; and his second brother, having married the heiress of that illustrious family, assumed the title of the duke of *Luxemburg*. The king took the field in the beginning of *May*, accompanied by the new constable, the prince of *Condé*, the old count *d' Auvergne*, now duke of *Angoulesme*, the count *de Soissons*, the marshals *de Chaulnes*, *Roquelaure*, *du Plessis Praslin*, *Lefdiguieres*, and *St. Geran*^u. The duke of *Mayenne* acted likewise under his orders, and the duke *d' Espernon* had already driven the marquis *de la Force* out of *Béarn*^w. Indeed the great operations were begun long before, by bribing, promising, threatening, and exciting jealousies amongst the principal officers of the Protestants, as if the whole force of France had been too little, unless they had assisted to reduce themselves. *b* About the middle of the month, the town and castle of *Saumur*, their most important pass upon the *Loire*, was seized. Monsieur *du Plessis Mornay* making a scruple to resist the king^x, a multitude of other places were reduced, taken, and burnt. About the middle of *June* the king besieged *St. Jean d' Angeli* in form; it was defended by Monsieur *Soubise*, brother to the duke of *Rohan*, and made a glorious defence; but, after a siege of thirty-five days, it was forced to submit, and the king spared the garrison, though without a capitulation^y. The dukes of *Bouillon* and *Tremouille*, and Mons. *Chatillon*, deserted the Protestants on this occasion. *Clerac* was taken after a short siege, but vigorous defence; and, on the 17th of *August*, the king invested *Montauban*, persuaded that the loss of this place would break the spirits of the Protestants. His army consisted of twenty-five thousand men; the place was strong, had *c* a numerous garrison, commanded by the marquis *de la Force*, who defended it with equal conduct and resolution. The siege was long and bloody, and, after remaining before it three months, the king was obliged to raise the siege, which cost the duke of *Mayenne* his life, with several other persons of distinction, and the new constable his reputation and his favour. The last stroke of his credit was the disgracing Father *Arnoux*, and the last negotiation of consequence was an attempt to detach the duke of *Rohan* from the Protestant interest, in which he failed^z. The last great office he obtained was that of keeper of the seals, on the death of Mons. *du Vair*, the chancellor having refused to accept of them when offered him. The king, after the fatigues of a long and bloody campaign against his own subjects, which ended with less success than it began, and which, in every instance of this dispute, gave him convincing *d* proofs that he was extirpating the bravest and best of his people, returned to *Paris* gloomy and dissatisfied, notwithstanding the acclamations of his courtiers, who would have persuaded him that he equalled *Cæsar* in courage, and *Cato* in virtue. It was indeed true, that in point of personal valour, and of skill too as an officer of foot, the king had acquired a just reputation; but he was sensible that it was at too great an expence, and that it was impossible to lay the foundation of true greatness in the ruin of his kingdom. Yet the priests and those in their interest besieged him so closely, that he would not listen to a general peace, but persisted in endeavouring to foment animosities amongst the Protestants, and to corrupt such as, whatever they pretended, had no religion but their interest, and no views but for themselves. By degrees this spirit universally prevailed, and, instead of virtue, honour, and regard for the *e* public good, nothing but cabal and intrigue was to be seen, even amongst those whose birth and rank ought to have taught them other paths to greatness.

A. D. 1621.

A debate in the king's council, where those who were for continuing the war prevail.

THE king entered *Paris* in the month of *January*, having left the command of the forces about *Montauban* to the duke of *Angoulesme*, and the marshal *de Themmines*^a. The cardinal *de Rhetz* and the count *de Schomberg* were at the head of affairs. The queen-mother had some degree of favour, but very little credit^b. The policy of the ministers at this time, except with regard to the Protestants, whom they hated heartily, and persecuted furiously, was weak and full of duplicity: for while the king's ambassador, by his order, solicited at *Rome* a hat for the bishop of *Lucon*, the king himself informed the pontif that he could not oblige him more than by refusing it^c. The prince of *Condé*, who loved money and power, solicited *f* *Retz* and *Schomberg* to admit him as their companion, that they might form a triumvirate, which he thought no intrigue could break. The war was carried on in another manner, even in the depth of winter, marshal *Themmines* forced *Bourniquet* and *Negrepelisse*, but the inha-

^u Le Voyage du Roy à Calais, l'Ambassade de Mons. de Cadenet en Angleterre, à Paris, 1621, 8vo. BERNARD. Hist. de Louis XIII.

^w Histoire de la Vie du Duc d'Espéron, DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN, MALIGNRE.

^x Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, Mercure François.

^y Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Memoires de Bassompierre, Veritable narré de ce qui s'est passé au siege de Saint Jean d'Angeli, tant dehors que dedans la ville, par R. F. MANCEAU, à Bordeaux, 1621, in 8vo.

^z Histoire particuliere des plus memorables choses qui se sont passees au siege de Montauban, & de l'acheminement d'icelui dressé en forme de Journal, à Leide, 1624. Memoires de Bassompierre, BERNARD Hist. de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN, LE GEND. P. Henault.

^a BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN, LE GEND.

^b Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Memoires de Puysegur.

^c Vittoria Siri, Memoires recondites, Memoires Historiques & critiques, par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSEY, AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

a bitants of the latter rose upon the garrison, and cut them off to a man ^d. The duke d'Elbæuf beat the marquis de la Force on the first of February, and, before the end of the month, the marquis de Lesignan, with a small body of Protestants, recovered Clerac; the marshal Lesdiguières and the duke de Montmorency were also in the field. The former, who still wore the appearance of a Protestant, and who had a real concern for the miseries of his country, made use of his interest at court to suggest pacific counsels, and, at the same time, insinuated, that the war was now carried on with such circumstances of rage and fury, as was rather fit to depopulate countries than to reduce them ^e. The king caused this point to be debated in council, where the queen-mother, the chancellor de Sillery, the keeper of the seals, Mons. de Vie, and Mons. de Puiseux, argued very pathetically for peace. They were opposed by the prince of Condé, the cardinal de Retz, the duke de Guise, and the count de Schomberg, who insisted on the continuance of the war, in which they had all a visible interest; and, notwithstanding this, their arguments prevailed, chiefly by irritating the king by declamatory representations against the disloyalty of the Hugonots, and the cruelties they had exercised, all which might have been easily answered, if the marshal de Lesdiguières had been present: as it stood, the king was provoked, and resolved to command in person ^f.

The two circumstances that most affected the king were the death of the president du Crosse, and the invasion of Poitou. The president had been sent by the duke de Lesdiguières to treat with the duke of Rohan, at Montpellier; he was first president of the parliament of Grenoble, a Protestant, and a person of great temper and moderation. The inhabitants of Montpellier, who placed all their hopes in the duke of Rohan, who knew Lesdiguières had left them, and who suspected the president, surmised that, under colour of a treaty of peace, he was come to detach Rohan from their interests, and, in the heat of this imagination, forty of them entered into a conspiracy to murder him, which they effected, in the most base and barbarous manner ^g. The duke of Rohan took all the pains imaginable to detect the offenders, but was able to seize no more than four, who were condemned and executed. The invasion of Poitou was made by M. Soubise, whom the king had treated with lenity at St. Jean d'Angeli. The forces he commanded were indigent; and, as it was not in his power to pay them, he could not prevent their plundering, which was attended with circumstances of violence and cruelty. The king, having assembled a small army of eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, marched directly towards him in the beginning of April, upon which Soubise retired into the isle of Re, with about seven thousand men, and fortified himself there in the best manner he was able ^h. This island was separated from the continent by a small arm of the sea, which was fordable at low-water, but with great hazard. The king, accompanied by the prince of Condé, the flower of the nobility, and the best officers in his service, attacked him in the night, forced his intrenchments, and obliged him to escape with about four hundred men by swimming. Of his troops about fifteen hundred were killed, as many taken prisoners and sent to the galleys, the rest were knocked on the head by the peasants ⁱ. The courage and conduct of the king upon this occasion are highly magnified by Bassompierre.

In the beginning of May, the duke d'Elbæuf besieged Tomeins, which had been taken by the marquis de la Force, who twice attempted to relieve it in the space of forty days that it was defended. When taken it was burnt to ashes, in revenge for the blood that had been spilt in reducing it. Roan was taken in sixty days by marshal Vitri and the duke d'Espèrnon, but with considerable loss, and even of some persons of distinction. The marquis de la Force had thrown himself into the town of St. Foix. When summoned he declared he would surrender only to the king, which he did upon very favourable terms for the inhabitants; we may guess at the importance of his submission by the reward of it. He received from Lewis the staff of marshal of France, and two hundred thousand crowns in money, in consideration of the government of Bearn, which he had lost ^k. This had its effect; some of the greatest lords amongst the Hugonots, and particularly the duke of Sully, came in and rendered the places they had. Negrepelisse was attacked in the beginning of June by the prince of Condé. It was resolved to make an example of the place and of the people, and, which is strange, it seemed to be resolved on both sides; for the inhabitants, when summoned, refused to accept of any terms: they sold their lives very dear, but at length it was forced, and the inhabitants, without respect of rank, sex, or age, except ten men, were put to the sword. When they were brought into the king's presence, he told them they did not deserve mercy; they answered they would not receive it; that the only favour they asked was to be hanged upon the trees in their own gardens, which was granted, and the place reduced to ashes ^l. The

^d Memoires du Duc de Rohan, BERNARD. Hist. de Louis XIII.

Lesdiguières, DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII.

BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

Puysegur.

^h Memoires de Bassompierre.

^k Memoires de Bassompierre, BERNARD Hist. de Louis XIII. MALINGRE, LE GENDRE.

du Duc de Rohan, Memoires de Puysegur, Duple. Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompierre.

^e Histoire du Connestable de Les-

^f Memoires de Bassompierre, Memoires du Duc de Rohan,

^g GRAMOND Hist. Galliz, Hist. de Lesdiguières, Memoires de

ⁱ Memoires de Puysegur, Memoires de Bassompierre.

^l Memoires

town of *St. Antoine* was obstinately defended for twelve days, and was at length taken by storm, but it cost the lives of a great number of gallant officers. The count *de Soissons* was sent, towards the close of the month of *June*, to form the blockade of *Rochelle*. In *July* and *August* several places were taken by the king, the prince of *Condé*, and the duke of *Vendôme*; but in *September*, the king's forces were obliged to raise the siege of *Briste*, which did not hinder the king's being prevailed upon to besiege *Montpelier*, notwithstanding the inhabitants offered to admit the duke *de Lesdiguières*. The prince, ever desirous of command, and ever unfortunate, here lost his credit and the king's troops. There fell before the place the young duke *de Fronzac*, *Messieurs Beuvron, Canillac, Zamet, Senecé, Fabrigues, St. Brez, Lussun, and Monbrun*. We may from this specimen guess at the miserable consequences of this war; to put an end to which, and to obtain an entrance into *Montpelier*, a general treaty was concluded with the duke of *Rohan*^m, by which the edict of *Nantes* was confirmed, and, considering the sad events of the war, and the want of any resource, he obtained good terms for his party, with some advantage to himself, receiving a large sum of money for the places he had lost; but as this was owing to his credit with the chancellor and *Monsieur Puyseux*, he lost all interest at court when they were disgraced.

The king visits
several pro-
vinces, and re-
turns to Paris.

A. D. 1622.

By the conclusion of this peace it appeared that the prince of *Condé* had lost his credit. He was displeased at the giving the marshal's staff to the marquis *de la Force*, much more disturbed at the bestowing the constable's staff upon *Lesdiguières*, not at all less at the seals being given to *Commartin*; but the peace so chagrined him, that he resolved to make a tour into *Italy*, being no longer able to support himself after the death of the cardinal *de Retz*. The bishop of *Luçon* at last received his hat, and is henceforward to be stiled cardinal *Richelieu*ⁿ. The see of *Paris* was this year raised to the rank of an archbishoprick by *Gregory* the fifteenth, the bishops of *Chartres, Meaux, and Orleans*, being appointed his suffragans, and to them the bishop of *Blois* has been added since^o. Besides the marquis *de la Force, Charles de Crequi*, who married successively two daughters of the constable *Lesdiguières*, *Gaspar de Coligni*, the *Sieur de Chatillon*, grandson to the famous admiral, and the gallant *Francis de Bassompierre*, were declared marshals of *France*^p. The king made a public entry into *Montpelier, Arles, Lyons, and Avignon*, and, after passing part of the winter in the province, returned, at the close of the year, to *Paris*, where he was welcomed as a conqueror, though he came from the slaughter and destruction of his own subjects.

Quarrels a-
mong the mi-
nisters gradu-
ally ruin them
all.

THE war being over made way for disturbance and intrigue; the chancellor and his son *Monsieur de Puyseux* were in great credit, and very desirous of turning out the count *de Schomberg*, who was at the head of the finances, and, during the war with the Protestants, acted as master of the ordnance; and this had been effected much sooner than it was, if he had not been supported by the marshal *de Bassompierre*, to whom he had rendered many ill offices, and who did him this service from a mere principle of generosity, because he was his old acquaintance, and ill used^q. The Protestants began again to murmur; for the chancellor and *Puyseux*, being warm Catholics, and having a strong bias in favour of *Spain*, were for tampering with the treaty of *Montpelier*, and trying to render the operations of peace, tho' more silently, yet not less destructive than those of war. The wise duke of *Rohan*, endeavouring to oppose this, was arrested at *Montpelier*, but, being equally able to do himself justice with his pen and with his sword, the king disavowed his ministers, and things were for a short time set to rights, though nothing was done towards a radical cure^r. The queen-mother entered the privy-council, upon condition that her cardinal did not^s, which, from his temper, it will be easily conceived, he could not bear. But it does not appear that he made any great efforts to force a passage into the council, believing that, as things then stood, and as the ministers and favourites were continually thwarting and exposing each other, it could not be long before the embarrassed state of affairs would oblige the king and his ministers to court his assistance, which hitherto, out of prejudice or envy, they had declined. Some, indeed, say, that, to amuse his chagrin, he composed some of those histories and censures on the times, which served to expose the blunders of the ministers, and to make it evident how dearly the public paid for the prosperity of a few private families. If this be true, he sacrificed his reason to his resentment, since it is very certain, that not only his own administration was attacked in the same manner, but some of the very pieces ascribed to him were reprinted against him in his turn. Yet, be this as it will, there is no doubt to be made, that in the conduct of foreign affairs, and perhaps in the management of the finances, these ministers acted upon a plan more suitable to their own interests than to those of their master. Instead of taking advantage of the troubles in *Germany*, where they might have employed the Protestants in support of the king of *Bohemia*, and prevented thereby the union of that kingdom to the

^m Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

Histoire de Louis XIII.

Bassompierre.

Rohan, Mercure Francois.

ⁿ AUBÉRI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^p Memoires de Bassompierre, Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

^q DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^r AUBÉRI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu, Memoires de Bassompierre.

^o BERNARD

^s Memoires de

^t Memoires du Duc de

- a hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*, they did not interfere at all, but suffered the emperor to overwhelm the *Bohemian* monarch, and not only strip him of that country, to which he had all the right that election could give, but to deprive him also of his hereditary dominions, and even of his title of elector. They took no pains to undeceive king *James*, but suffered him to persist in his idle and ill-judged scheme of a *Spanish* marriage, which, if it had taken effect, would scarce have been more prejudicial to his own interest than to theirs; nay, they fell directly into the same error, and, either through the fear of provoking, or the desire of obliging *Spain*, acted an under and inconsistent part in *Italy*. This year was fatal to the marshal duke *de Bouillon*, the marshal *de St. Geran*, and the famous *Peter Jeanin*, president of the parliament of *Burgundy*, who died at the age of eighty-four years¹. A. D. 1623.
- b UPON the death of *Commartin*, keeper of the seals, the king restored them to the chancellor *de Sillery*, who, with his son Monsieur *de Puisieux*, secretary of state, continued to manage all things in conjunction with the marquis, afterwards duke, *de Vieuville*, whom they had raised to the direction of the finances, in the room of the count *de Schomberg*, who had been their enemy, and to whom they were no friends². The gratitude of *Vieuville*, if he ever had any, did not subsist long; he began to give the king ill impressions of many people about him, but chiefly of the chancellor and his son: with respect to the former, amongst the mildest of his suggestions, were his infirmities and incapacity; in reference to the latter, he objected his presumption, and his sending instructions to ambassadors at foreign courts, often without the advice of the council, sometimes without speaking to his majesty, and other things, which, by degrees, sunk into the king's mind. As a proof of it he gave the seals to Monsieur *Aligre*, at the beginning of the year; soon after he gave audiences to foreign ministers, when Monsieur *de Puisieux* was not present³. This was such a mark of that family's declining, as encouraged all their enemies to communicate their sentiments to the king: amongst these was the queen mother, and the prince of *Condé*, now returned from *Italy*, who, though they could concur in nothing else, agreed well enough in running down the chancellor and his son: the queen disliked them for not allowing her a larger share of power; the prince of *Condé* for the same reason, but chiefly because they had advised the peace, by which he lost his influence. At length, in the month of *February*, the king sent them a message to retire from court, adding, that he had received many accusations against them, into which he was unwilling to inquire; that they might justify themselves if they pleased, but at their peril. The chancellor, old and worn out, submitted without reply; but Monsieur *Puisieux* answered, the accusations were calumnies, and that he was both able and willing to defend himself; however, they both retired⁴. The departments of war and of foreign affairs, both of which were in the hands of *Puisieux*, were, for the present, divided amongst three secretaries. The king's cabinet-council consisted at this time of the cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, the constable *de Lesdiguières*, the keeper of the seals *Aligre*, the duke *de Vieuville*, sur-intendant of the finances, and Monsieur *de Bouillon*⁵. The queen-mother laid hold of this opportunity to press the admission of *Richelieu* into the council, to which *Vieuville* was extremely averse; but the queen-mother, to whom he had great obligations, being very importunate, he told her that she did not know the man, and that he foresaw his own ruin, and feared her's; but that, as she contributed to his fortune, he would risk it rather than lose her favour⁶. The king himself was little inclined to it, and, to qualify it, declared that he admitted him only as a member who was to speak his sentiments of what came before the council, and who was not to confer with ambassadors, or transact any other business as a minister at his own house⁷. The cardinal, in accepting this limitation, converted it into a favour; he told his friends that the weakness of his constitution rendered him unfit for the load of public business, which had induced his majesty to render it as easy to him as possible, by annexing a condition for which he was more grateful than for the honour of entering into the council. This, however, was no small honour, since, in virtue of his ecclesiastical dignity, he was seated over against the cardinal *de Rochefoucault*, and above the constable, though the secretaries had formerly disputed with him the precedence⁸.

A TREATY of marriage had been some time depending between *Charles* prince of *Wales* and the princess *Henrietta-Maria*, the youngest sister of the king. The earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle* were sent over ambassadors from *England* upon this occasion, and, notwithstanding the limitation before-mentioned, the nature of the thing made it requisite to put the cardinal at the head of the committee of the council who were to manage this alliance, and the great address he shewed in conducting this affair, which was violently opposed by the court of *Rome*, placed

¹ *Mercure Francois*, LE GRAIN, MALINGRE, LE GEND.

² *NARD Histoire de Louis XIII.*

³ *NARD Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompierre.*

⁴ *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. tom. v. p. 343, 344.*

⁵ *du Cardinal de Richelieu, Memoires de Deageant.*

⁶ *DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompierre.*

⁷ *Mercure Francois, DUPLEIX Histoire de*

⁸ *Memoires pour l'Histoire*

⁹ *AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu, BERNARD.*

him at the head of the administration^c. *Vieuville* had long affected that post, and, by endeavouring either to ruin or remove such as he disliked, or who disliked him, he excited such a number of complaints, that the cardinal found it no difficult matter to dispossess him of the king's favour, and even to send him prisoner to the castle of *Amboise*^d, as he had done colonel *Ornano*, governor to the king's brother, to the *Bastile*. On his disgrace *Marillac* came into the direction of the finances; but the cardinal took care to have such a distinct account of all their departments, that the lesser ministers had it not in their power to conduct things at their pleasure, or to dispute the orders of the cardinal^e, any more than of the king. But though he disgraced his rivals, or rather procured their disgrace, he paid a proper regard to the merit of their plans, and on this score he adopted that of *Luynes* for the suppression of the Protestants, provoking them, by the breach of several articles of the last treaty, to take up arms, that they might be said to bring the war upon themselves. From the like motive he pursued the measures which *Vieuville* had begun, for giving a new turn to the affairs of *Italy*, where, though a treaty had been entered into with the *Venetians* and the duke of *Savoy*, for abasing the power of the *Spaniards*, yet hitherto nothing had been done towards carrying it into execution: but *Richelieu* no sooner entered into power, than he sent the marquis *de Cœuvres*, with the title of ambassador-extraordinary, to the *Grisons*, where, instead of negotiating, he put himself at the head of an army, and, expelling the pope's troops, made himself master of the *Valtelline*^f. This occasioned some warm expostulations at *Rome*, which, however, made no impression upon *Richelieu*, who roundly told the nuncio that he had the character of the king's minister, as well as a prince of the church, and that he meant to support both; it produced as strong expostulations on the side of the *Spaniards*; but the cardinal having concluded a treaty of subsidy with the states general, and knowing how well the *English* were disposed to enter into a league against *Spain*, was as little moved by them^g. At home, the old chancellor dying in *October*, the seals were given to *Aligre*^h. The king being upon ill terms with his consort, and extremely jealous of his brother, found it necessary to live in perfect harmony with the queen-mother, so that the cardinal was safe from all intrigues in appearance, and, it may be, in his own opinion; but this calm did not continue long.

A. D. 1624. Charles I. of England marries the princess Henrietta-Maria of France. As the prudence and political skill of the minister had been exercised in the preceding year, so his courage and diligence were employed in this both by a civil and a foreign war. But before we speak of these, let us observe, that the marriage between the prince of *Wales* and the princess *Henrietta-Maria*, which had been concluded in the preceding *November*, was now celebrated with great pomp, on the 11th of *May*, the nuptial benediction being given by cardinal *de Rochefoucault*, the duke *de Chevreuse* being proxy for *Charles*, now become king of *England*ⁱ. Her *Britannic* majesty quitted that city soon after, and was conducted by the court to *Amiens*, where she was met by the king's great confident, who, upon this occasion, behaved so imprudently, as to incur the deep resentment of cardinal *Richelieu*, and the general hatred of the *French* nation^k. At this time, as a very judicious *Italian* historian^l truly observes, the misfortunes of *Europe* began under three young kings, none of whom wanted talents for government if they would have employed them, and who, notwithstanding, gave themselves up to a kind of implicit obedience towards their favourites, *Lewis* the thirteenth to cardinal *Richelieu*, *Philip* the fourth to the conde *Olivarez*, and *Charles* the first to the duke of *Buckingham*. Of these the second was the most indefatigable, the latter the most open and generous, the first, beyond question, the wisest and most fortunate.

The second war with the Protestants in this reign ended by the peace of Rochelle. If we credit the *French* historians, the second war with the Protestants in this reign was begun by Monsieur *de Soubise*, even without the concurrence of his own party, in contempt of the royal authority, and in a time of full peace. The truth of the matter is this; by the treaty of *Montpelier* that town was to be left free, and *Rochelle* in the same condition as before the war; but, notwithstanding, a garrison had been hitherto left in the former, and *Fort Lewis*, which had been erected during the war, had a strong garrison left in it to curb the latter^m. But the immediate cause of the second rupture was the equipping a squadron of the king's ships, in the port of *Blouet*, now *l'Orient*, in order to block up *Rochelle*; in this critical situation Monsieur *de Soubise* offered with a few ships to enter into that port, take or destroy the vessels that he found there, and ruin the magazines prepared for their destruction. He consented, in case he miscarried, to be disowned, chusing rather certain ruin to himself than to hazard the Protestant interest. His enterprize was betrayed; he executed it, notwithstanding, entered the port, took the ships, and, after being blocked up there many weeks, with the advantage of a strong wind forced a passage, and carried out his own squadron and

^c Memoires de Deageant, LE GRAIN.^d Memoires du Duc de Rohan.^e Memoires de Bas-

sompierre, Memoires de Deageant.

^f AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu, DUPLEIX Histoire de

Louis XIII.

^g Memoires de Deageant, Memoires de Basompierre, BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.^h Memoires du Duc de Rohan, DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII.ⁱ Mercure Francois, BERNARD Histoire

de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN, MALINGRE.

^k DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD, LE GENDRE.^l BATT. NANI.^m DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN, MALINGRE.

a his prizes, except two that were lostⁿ. His brother the duke of *Rohan* soon after took up arms^o, and the war was carried on with great vivacity, though the best part of the Protestants were afraid to own the cause of the two brothers, who from thence were exposed to many misfortunes. About the middle of *September*, the maritime powers being then in alliance with *France*, the duke de *Montmorency*, with a fleet composed of *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* ships, attacked that of *Rochelle*, and beat them, not without great loss, after which he reduced the islands of *Rhé* and *Oleron*^p. However, the clamours of the nation having obliged king *Charles* to promise succour to the *Rochellers*, the earl of *Holland* and Sir *Dudley Carleton* were sent over to mediate a peace, which had been already granted to the rest of the Reformed; and, having succeeded in this, at the beginning of the ensuing year, the king of *Great Britain*,
b by the consent of *Lewis* the thirteenth, became guarantee for the performance of it, of which the principal article was, that *Fort Lewis* should be demolished in six months; so that, notwithstanding their losses by the war, the Protestants were gainers by the peace^q.
As to the war in *Italy*, the constable *Lefdiguieres*, and his son the marshal *Crequi*, carried it on in quality of auxiliaries to the duke of *Savoy*, in shew against the *Genoese*, in fact against *Moncon*.
the *Spaniards*, at first with great success, afterwards with some loss; but the *Spaniards*, entering *Piedmont*, and besieging *Verue*, were forced to raise it, and the army of the duke of *Feria* was beat in its retreat^r. The *Spanish* court caused all the *French* vessels in the harbours of its dominions to be seized, and all the goods belonging to *French* subjects, in the month of *April*; and in *May* *Lewis* the thirteenth caused the ships and effects of all *Spanish* subjects to be seized
c in his dominions^s. The pope sent cardinal *Barberini* to prevent a rupture between the two crowns, to which they were well enough inclined; and, in the spring of the succeeding year, there was a treaty concluded at *Moncon*^t, but without the interposition of the legate, by which the sovereignty of the *Valteline* was secured to the *Grisons*, the passages were left to their disposition, and the exercise of the popish religion exclusively was established, which terms were not so favourable to *France* and her allies as those of the former treaty; but the situation of things made a peace at that time necessary, for reasons that will appear hereafter, though it seemed more explicit to carry on the account of these wars to their period, than to embarrass the reader with the termination of them in the exact order of time. Within the course of this
year the marshal's staff was given at length to *Henry* count de *Schomberg*^u, a man of great
d abilities in civil and military affairs, who had been employed in many embassies with credit, who had served as master of the ordnance, and as sur-intendant of the finances, and who was equally capable of deciding in the cabinet and commanding in the field. A. D. 1625.
As the cardinal had incurred the hatred of all the zealous Catholics, and of the partizans of *Spain*, by entering into the war of *Italy*, so, by the conclusion of the peace before-mentioned, he exasperated the allies of *France*, and raised up many new enemies, without recovering any
of those whom he sought to oblige. In reality there never were worse or more wicked times,
or a court in which men were more attached to their interests and their vices, or had less
tincture of honour, virtue, and religion, than this; the king had been very early jealous of
his brother, and that from the meanest principle possible, the apprehension of superior parts,
e accompanied with a most engaging and affable behaviour, and supported by noble and generous sentiments. The *Sieur de Breves*, who was his governor^v, was removed without any reason given, there being no colour to be assigned; and the true reason who could give?
He had a gratification of fifty thousand crowns, and *Luynes*, who was then the favourite, placed about him his own old master the count de *Lude*, who quickly tainted his pupil with
the love of pleasure, and, among other unprincely qualities, taught him to swear. On the
death of that nobleman he was committed to the care of colonel *Ornano*, who, instead of
taking any pains to efface the ill impression made by his predecessor, acquired an influence
over him, by a condescension fatal to persons of his rank^w. To gratify his own ambition, he
put him upon demanding entrance into the council of state when he was scarce sixteen, and it
f was for this that *Vieuville* caused *Ornano* to be arrested. Monsieur expressed great concern; and when *Richelieu* entered into the ministry, he caused him to be set at liberty, and restored to his office; notwithstanding which, *Ornano* now set him at the head of a party, into which all the cardinal's enemies entered, and certainly meditated very bad designs. The pretence, for it was no more, was an opposition to his marriage.

His father *Henry* the fourth, upon the death of the duke of *Montpensier*, who left an only daughter, had expressed a desire, that, if his son lived, he should marry her, as a princess of the blood, and one of the greatest heiresses in *France*. The queen-mother had this always in view, the cardinal minister promoted it for that reason; the duke of *Guise*, who had married
Who becomes the head of a faction against the cardinal, who ruins it.

ⁿ GRAMOND Histor. Gallie.^o Memoires du Duc de Rohan.^p Memoires de Puysegur.^q CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion.^r Histoire du Connestable de Lefdiguieres.^s DUPL.

Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN.

^t Memoires du Duc de Rohan.^u DUPL. Histoire de

Louis XIII.

Louis XIII.

^v VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recon dite, Memoires de Bassompierre, BERNARD Histoire de^w Memoires de Deageant, Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

the duchess-dowager of *Montpensier*, was very desirous of it likewise. The cabal formed against it acted only from motives of interest and ambition. At the head of it was the queen, who was afraid of seeing the issue of that marriage when she had none of her own: the duke of *Savoy* went into this opposition, out of resentment to the late peace, and offered him secretly, by the abbe *Scaglia* his ambassador, the young princess of *Mantua*, his grand-daughter. The prince of *Condé* and the count *de Soissons* were vehemently against it, from the common motive of its removing them farther from the succession; the duke of *Vendosme* and his brother the grand prior, from their hatred of the cardinal minister, and many others from the same principle; and the king himself, from the natural jealousy of his temper, was at first little inclined to it; but his favourite *Barradas* having hinted, whether true or false, that there was a faction formed, which had in view the shutting him up in a monastery, placing his brother upon the throne, and marrying him to the queen, he changed his opinion, and became very warm in favour of the princess of *Montpensier*^a. In order to engage *Ornano* to employ his influence with Monsieur, he was promised the staff of marshal of *France*; and this giving his pupil a fair occasion, he pressed the performance of it so vehemently, that it was given him in the beginning of *April*^b; notwithstanding which he entered into the scheme formed by the abbe *Scaglia* to murder the cardinal at a hunting match, which was prevented by the information of *Henry de Talleraude*, count of *Chalais*, master of the wardrobe to the king, who was drawn into it by his mistress the duchess of *Chevreuse*. The cardinal avoided the danger, and concealed the intelligence^c. Soon after marshal *de Ornano* was arrested and sent to the *Bastile*, which irritated Monsieur extremely. He demanded of cardinal *Richelieu*, whether it was done by his advice? "Yes, Sir," answered the cardinal, "I was one of those who advised it"^d. He put the same question to the chancellor, who through want of courage denied it^e, upon which the seals were immediately taken from him, and given to *Marillac*, a creature of the queen-mother's. Monsieur, by the advice of his confederates, and particularly of the count of *Chalais*, whom the duchess had again embarked, formed a new design of seizing the person of the cardinal, and exchanging him for the marshal *de Ornano*; but this likewise proved abortive^f. The king making a journey to *Blois*, and leaving *Richelieu* behind, an opinion prevailed that he was disgraced; but this was only a feint to draw the duke of *Vendosme* thither, who, with his brother the grand prior, was arrested and sent prisoner to the castle of *Vincennes*^g. The count of *Chalais* was likewise seized, *Deageant*, *Modena*, and some others, sent to the *Bastile*; upon which the count *de Soissons* withdrew from court, and soon after retired into *Italy*^h.

He marries the princess of *Montpensier*, but his favourites suffer notwithstanding.

MONSIEUR being left to himself, and the princess of *Montpensier*, who had been left at *Paris*, coming to join the court at *Nantes*, he either conceived a sudden passion for her, or thought to mollify his brother by his marriage, which he concluded privately, on the 6th of *August*, cardinal *Richelieu* giving the nuptial benedictionⁱ. In respect to himself, it had very good effects; the duchies of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, and the county of *Blois*, were settled upon him as his appenage; the princess brought him the duchies of *Montpensier* and *Chatelleraut*, and he had also very considerable pensions assigned on the treasury^j. But, with respect to his friends, it wrought no such favourable operations as he expected. A special commission was appointed for the trial of the count *de Chalais*, by which he was condemned as guilty of high treason, for having advised Monsieur to retire out his brother's dominions, though himself was in the king's immediate service. *Chalais*, either through hopes of life, through weakness of mind, or to unburden his conscience, made a very ample confession, which availed him nothing, for he lost his head, and died with great steadiness and constancy^k. Marshal *Ornano* had probably shared the same fate, if he had not died of a fever and retention of urine in the *Bastile*, where, in the most solemn manner, and in the last moments of his life, he disclaimed all knowledge of any treasonable practices^l. The enemies of *Richelieu* say, that, as he was enamoured of the duchess of *Chevreuse*, he gave a loose to his resentment on this occasion; that, by giving *Chalais* false hopes, he drew him to confess what he would, and then abandoned him to his sentence; and that his intrigues in the course of this affair were as inexcusable as the conduct of the conspirators. These, however, are but suspicions, or assertions at the most; whereas the facts stand upon record, verified by undoubted evidence. But they say the truth, that he acted very ill, in having recourse to a special commission, where the criminal might have been convicted in the ordinary course of justice, setting up a dangerous

^a VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*, *Memoires de Deageant*, *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, BATT, NANI, AUBERI *Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu*, *Memoires de M. de la Rochefoucault*, *Memoires d'un Favori du Duc d'Orleans*.

^b *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^c AUBERI *Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu*.

^d *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*, *Memoires de Bassompierre*.

^e *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*. ^f AUBERI *Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu*.

^g *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*. ^h DUPL. *Histoire de Louis XIII.* BERNARD *Histoire de Louis XIII.* LE GEND.

ⁱ *Memoires de Bassompierre*, VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*. ^j *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*.

a precedent, of which too much use was afterwards made. Be that as it will, he turned the storm his enemies had raised upon themselves, established himself more firmly than ever in his administration, created an opinion in the king that his power was absolutely requisite to his majesty's preservation, and procured, for the safety of his own person, a new and very singular prerogative, by having guards assigned him, who accompanied him every where, even when he went to court ¹.

THE dissipation of this conspiracy did not hinder its having very untoward consequences. The duchess *de Chevreuse*, the widow of the constable *Luynes*, for whom the king had once a strong affection, and who, after she was hated by him, had an absolute influence over his queen, and might have had it over his minister, retired into *Lorraine*, and set on foot fresh intrigues ^m. The count *de Soissons* was not idle at *Rome*; but the person who did the most mischief was the abbe *Scaglia*, whom his master the duke of *Savoy* sent over into *England*, where he wrought himself into the good graces of the duke of *Buckingham*, induced him to prevail upon the king his master to send home all his consort's *French* servants, except the chaplain, which produced such a misunderstanding between the courts, as obliged *Lewis* the thirteenth to send over marshal *Bassompierre* to negotiate a reconciliation ⁿ. But neither was this all; for that active and artful *Italian*, bent upon making a war between the two nations, induced the same *English* favourite to enter into a strict correspondence with the duke of *Rohan*; and having the fair pretence of his *Britannic* majesty's being guarantee of the last treaty with the Protestants, gave him such hopes as proved the source of fresh troubles ^o. Several persons of great rank died this year, particularly the constable *Lesdiguières*, who, if he had not sullied his many great qualities by as great vices, might have been very justly considered as one of the most illustrious, as well as one of the most fortunate, persons this kingdom ever produced. The marshals *de Roquelaure*, *du Plessis Praslin*, and *Souvre*, died likewise ^p. Towards the end of the year there was an assembly of the notables held at the *Thuilleries*, from whence, though great things were expected, yet very little was produced, except an edict against duels, by which the offenders were degraded from their nobility. The government of *Bretagne* being taken from the duke of *Vendosme*, was, by the advice of *Richelieu*, conferred on the marshal *de Themmines*, which was thought so much the more extraordinary, as his son had killed the cardinal's brother ^q.

d THE king being informed of the bad state of his marine, and, at the same time, being unwilling to aggrandize the duke of *Montmorency*, who was at that time admiral, obtained his resignation of that high office for an equivalent, and then suppressed it, as he likewise did that of constable, by an edict at the beginning of the year. It was never intended to revive the latter, but the affairs of the marine were immediately committed to cardinal *Richelieu*, who, some months after, had in effect the power of admiral conferred upon him, with the title of grand-master and sur-intendant of navigation ^r, calculated to lessen the envy of this new dignity, without diminution of his power. Another effect of his influence was the disgrace of *Barradas*, the king's favourite, who began to presume too much on his master's inclination towards him; but, because he could not be without a favourite, *St. Simon* was introduced in his room. As the former had enjoyed his favour but six months, the fortune of *Barradas* is become proverbial in *France* for a short-lived prosperity. It was likewise found convenient for the court to change, or at least to seem to change, its maxims; and, because this is a point of great importance to the right understanding of this history, the reader will not be displeased if we bestow some pains to set it in a right light, the rather, because we know not whither to refer him for competent satisfaction. All writers agree, that cardinal *Richelieu*, from the time he entered into the administration, had two great points in view, the humbling the Protestants, and ruining the power of the house of *Austria*; and they all agree that he persisted firmly in the execution of both parts of his scheme, and at length brought them to bear ^s. We agree with them in all this; but we think there is something in the manner of his doing it, which very much wants to be explained. The matter is no more than this: at his first entrance into the ministry, he intended to begin with reducing the power of the house of *Austria*, to which he had many just motives, yet had been neglected by *Luynes*, from personal considerations: it was become highly formidable to *France*, as the emperor aimed at an absolute sovereignty in *Germany*, at the same time that the king of *Spain* was on the very point of completing the like design in *Italy*; it might be attempted with conveniency, because the princes in *Germany*, in *Italy*, the crown of *Great Britain*, and the republic of *Holland*, were very well disposed to enter into a league with *France* for this purpose. The

A quarrel with England, death of Lesdiguières, and assembly of notables.

The cardinal runs great hazard by venturing to change his political system.

¹ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^m DUPLEIX, Histoire de Louis XIII.

ⁿ Memoires du

Duc de Rohan. RUSHWORTH'S Collection, tom. i. p. 423.

^o BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

^p DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.

^q AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^r Memoires de

Bassompierre. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^s DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII.

BERNARD

Histoire de Louis XIII. LE GRAIN. MALING. Memoires de Bassompierre. VITT. SIRI Memoire reconduite.

cardinal, therefore, like an able politician as he was, resolved to avail himself of these advantages, and began to do it vigorously, by sending the marquis de Cœuvres to recover the *Valteline*, and by assisting the duke of *Savoy*.

This matter
fully ex-
plained.

BUT when he found that, in consequence of these steps, the court of *Rome* took the alarm in as high a degree as the court of *Madrid*, and began to treat him as a heretic, or at least as a friend to heretics, and that this gave great spirits to the remainder of the *Spanish* faction in *France*, he thought it requisite to alter his conduct, that is, as to the manner of executing his projects, though not as to the projects themselves. He had before endeavoured to cajole the Protestants, by insinuating his inclination to curb the power of *Spain*; he now gave the emissaries of *Rome* and *Spain* to understand that they should proceed, though more slowly, yet more surely, against the Hugonots, under a shew of peace than in a time of war, and if he abandoned the duke of *Savoy*, it was to save the *Valteline*, which he thought absolutely necessary, to preserve things in the situation they were in, till he should be in a condition to execute the other part of his plan. He certainly executed his scheme with all the prudence imaginable; but notwithstanding this, he found, as we have shewn before, almost as much danger in this sudden transition as in adhering to his former plan¹. The *Spaniards* did not in the least abate of their suspicions; the duke of *Savoy* was equally violent and implacable in his resentments, the *English*, with good reason, charged him with insincerity; as having given them hopes, and, it may be, assurances, of joining with them against *Spain*; and the princes of *Germany* were no less offended, as being disappointed in reference to the hopes they had entertained of a general confederacy, which was negotiating at the *Hague*, and which proved ineffectual, from this change in the cardinal's measures. But above all, the Protestants in *France* were most alarmed, and with most reason. They saw many of their cautionary places taken from them, popish magistrates introduced in most of their great towns, a citadel building at *Montpelier*, and the port of *Rochelle* in a manner blocked up by the fort of *St. Lewis*, and by the garrison in the isle of *Oleron*, in which the fortifications were erected, and the garrison paid, at the cardinal's own expence².

Source of the
war with
England, and
the Protestants
in his own
dominions.

WE have before observed, that, by the advice of the duke of *Buckingham*, who governed all in the *English* court, overtures had been made to the Protestants in *France* of assistance from *England*. These were made through the duke of *Soubise*, who then lived an exile there, and, as it was very natural, were made by him to his brother the duke of *Rohan*, who declined a correspondence with the duke of *Buckingham*, as it might prove dangerous to him, considering that his own court held him in continual suspicion; but he sent over Monsieur *St. Blancard* to lay before the *English* court the state of their affairs, and afterwards received an agent from the duke of *Buckingham*, with whom he consulted every thing³. The *English* agent, if we may depend upon the duke of *Rohan*, promised more than it was possible to perform; for he gave him hopes of three invasions, one in *Dauphine*, one at *Rochelle*, and another at the mouth of the *Garonne*: on the other hand, the duke of *Rohan* promised to join the *English* with a considerable body of troops as soon as they were landed; and there is good reason to believe that the *English* court understood that the duke of *Rohan* treated for the whole Protestant interest in *France*⁴. In consequence of this negotiation, the *English* began to seize and take *French* ships; and the duke of *Buckingham*, framing to himself an idea of making some impression upon that court by talking high, came over in quality of ambassador; but whatever his notions were in this respect, he found himself much mistaken, returned full of resentment⁵, and the court of *France* having made reprisals, a rupture presently followed, though without the usual formality of declarations⁶. The *French* attribute this conduct of *Buckingham* to his passion for the first lady in the *French* court in the first place, and in the next to his violent aversion to the cardinal, of which there is no doubt. But it may not be amiss to observe, that there was something more, and the duke's conduct was not quite so extravagant as it is generally represented. We have seen that, at the time of king *Charles's* marriage with the sister of *Lewis XIII.* the first public transaction of *Richelieu's* ministry, and in which he acted with so much vigour as to threaten the court of *Rome* to proceed without a dispensation if they continued to delay it, there was all along a tacit presumption that *France* would concur with *England* in the war against *Spain*, and upon the cardinal's suggesting that it was impossible for him to take this measure, if the people of *Rochelle* were not obliged to accept a peace, *Buckingham* was drawn in to send some of his master's ships to the assistance of the *French*, which raised the spirit of the whole *English* nation against him, and was made one of the principal grounds of an impeachment. Upon this *Buckingham*, like *Richelieu*, changed his plan, and urged the *French* court to conclude a reasonable peace with the

¹ DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. AUBERT Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. ² Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ³ Memoires de Bassompierre. RUSHWORTH'S Collection, tom. i. p. 424. ⁴ Memoires du Duc de Rohan. RUSHWORTH'S Collection, tom. i. ⁵ Memoires du Duc de Rohan, liv. iv. ⁶ DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII.

- ^a *Rochellers*, and became security to them for its performance, in case they accepted it. But after they had accepted it, and he found that *France* would neither concur with *England* in carrying on the war against *Spain*, nor perform the treaty with the Protestants, *Buckingham* had no other way left, more especially after the miscarriage of the fleet he sent against *Cadiz*, of making his peace with the *English* nation, but to break, as he did, with the *French* court, in support of the *French* Protestants; and it was not so much a mistake in his measures, as his misconduct in the execution of them, that ruined this favourite ^a. The cardinal, on the other hand, ever present to himself, and equal in all respects to the vast designs he had in hand, laid hold of this opportunity to conclude a treaty with *Spain* ^b against the *English*, by which he brought the *Spanish* faction in *France* to act with him. At the same time he concluded another treaty with *Holland*, ^c by which he granted them an annual subsidy of a million for the support of their war against *Spain* ^c; and, when the *Spaniards* represented against this, he told them that it was only to prevent their giving assistance to *England* and to the *Rochellers*; whereas he meant it as a temporary assistance, till he had brought affairs into such order as would enable him to make use of their alliance for the other parts of his plan.

In the midst of these political intrigues, the duchess of *Orleans*, after being delivered on the 29th of *May* of a daughter, died on the 4th of *June* following, which was an event of very great consequence ^d. The duke, after his marriage, loved his consort with so warm and so steady an affection, and she behaved so prudently, that, instead of those jealousies and disquiets which hitherto had disturbed and distracted the royal family, all was perfectly quiet and serene. But with her this peace might be said to expire. His old humours revived in the king; he could not forbear expressing an indecent satisfaction, that the child was a daughter and not a son, with which also the queen seemed pleased ^e. Hints were given to the duke of *Orleans*'s favourites that they should spare no pains to amuse and divert him, and that, if any extraordinary sums were necessary to enliven his pleasures, they should be supplied. The cardinal also, in order to contribute to this, parted with his house at *Limours* to him; and it was besides intimated to the queen-mother, that she should not disturb herself too much with the thoughts of finding another consort for her son, a piece of advice she could not either relish or excuse ^f. But, to shew how little strength there is in the best-laid schemes, these precautions were scarce conceived before it was found necessary to lay them aside. The king fell dangerously ill ^g, and the news coming of the *English* invasion, it from thence became requisite to put the duke of *Orleans* at the head of the army, a measure to which the minister was little inclined, and which, however, he knew not how to avoid. The dukes of *Buckingham* and *Rohan* might have derived from hence and from other circumstances considerable advantages, if their schemes had been better conducted; but, as we shall see, they were either so ill concerted, or were attended with such a series of inevitable misfortunes, as put it out of their power to draw any advantage from an armament, very puissant in itself, and which had been furnished by the crown of *England* at an immense expence.

The duke came before *Rochelle* on the 20th of *July*, with a fleet of upwards of one hundred sail of men of war and transports, and between seven and eight thousand land forces on board ^h. But, to his surprize, the people of *Rochelle* shut their gate and their port against him, taking all possible precautions to prevent his sending so much as a messenger into the place ⁱ. The duke of *Rohan* says expressly, that the cause of this was the mayor and principal magistrates being in the interest of the court; but, whatever the cause of it might be, the fleet proved equally fatal to the *Rochellers* and to himself. The consort of the duke of *Rohan* and his mother, having fled to *Rochelle* for shelter, found means, with great difficulty, to bring in Monsieur *Soubise*, who came over with *Buckingham*, and he at last prevailed for the admission of Sir *William Beecher*, the agent of that duke, to declare to them the end and design of his coming, which he did in very pathetic terms ^k, alleging that the king of *Great Britain*, having induced them to make a peace on the strongest assurances of liberty and security, being informed that they had neither, that they were in the utmost danger of being blocked up, and knew not how to prevent it, or to defend themselves, and having, in vain, endeavoured to procure the advantages stipulated by them for the treaty, through the interposition of his good offices with the court of *France*, had sent the lord high admiral of *England* to effect by force what had been denied him in quality of ambassador. The magistrates and people of *Rochelle* returned their thanks to his *Britannic* majesty for his care and kindness; said they were a part only of the Protestant body in

Death of the duchess of Orleans (Montpensier), and the consequences to the state.

Duke of Buckingham comes before Rochelle with a powerful fleet and army.

^a VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. Memoires de Bassompierre. Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion.
^b DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII. ^c AUB. Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.
^d Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Memoires de Deageant.
^e VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. ^f Memoires de Bassompierre. ^g DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. ^h RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. p. 425. ⁱ Memoires du Duc de Rohan.
^k RUSHWORTH's Collection, tom. i. p. 426.

France; that they must consult their brethren before they could return him any definitive answer¹; and thus the duke was left to take what measures he judged most expedient. If, as the duke of *Rohan* truly observes, the *Rochellers*, instead of asking the advice of their brethren, had demanded their assistance, they had done their business before the court could have been in any condition to have opposed them^m; or if the duke of *Buckingham* had followed the advice given him by the duke of *Soubise*, who unfortunately left him, to go and confer with the chiefs of the Protestant party, and had made a descent in the island of *Oleron*, which is very fertile, was in a manner intirely inhabited by Protestants, where the fortifications were not half raised, and in which there were but few troops, he could not have failed of success, and of obliging the *French* to abandon the isle of *Rhe*, which he might have attacked on all sides. But so it was, that he changed his mind, made a descent in that island, where Monsieur *Thoiras* commanded, and, having beat him at his landing, might, if he had followed his victory, have carried the only place of strength in the island by surprizeⁿ; but, wasting some days in encamping his troops and landing his equipage, Monsieur *de Thoiras* carried in all the provision he could collect into his fortress, and made the best disposition possible for sustaining a siege in a fort of four bastions, two of which were but half finished.

The duke of Buckingham retires out of the isle of Rhe with dishonour.

As this affair was unluckily begun, it was prosecuted in all respects with the same ill fortune, and, to say the truth, with the same ill conduct. The duke of *Buckingham* besieged fort *St. Martin's* in form, but without taking the precautions that were necessary. The besieged had at first abandoned a well which was absolutely necessary for them, but they speedily recovered and fortified it. The duke thought it beneath him to attack the small fort of *la Pree*, which, however, covered the landing-place, enabled the small succours that were sent to the fort to pass in safety, and kept the *English* vessels at a distance. But the greatest error of all was, that the duke suffered himself to be amused by a treaty, which Monsieur *Thoiras* set on foot, purely to gain time, which the duke was complaisant enough to give him. In the mean time the cardinal acted with that spirit and prudence which were the characteristics of his ministry. He sent a small body of horse into the neighbourhood of fort *Lewis*, supported by three thousand foot, under the command of the duke of *Angoulesme*. At first he made the *Rochellers* believe that they were not intended against them, but to guard the coast against the *English*, which made them more remiss. Soon after he caused quarters to be marked in the villages about *Rochelle* for five and twenty thousand men; of which the *Rochellers* giving notice to the *English* fleet, hindered them from attacking fort *Lewis*, that otherwise might have been taken in a day's time. In order to quicken the preparations, and that nothing might be wanting, he not only advanced his own money, but sold his plate and jewels, that supplies might be procured for the service^o. Some say this was not necessary, but all admit that it was done discreetly, and that, by his express directions, two considerable convoys were sent to *St. Martin's*^p. The duke of *Rohan*, who fulfilled his engagements, and took up arms, met with incredible difficulties and infinite disappointments; on the one hand he was declared guilty of high treason by the parliament; on the other he was disavowed by the greater part of the Protestants, through timidity, self-interest, and corruption^q. In *October* the cardinal brought the king, accompanied by his brother, the count *de Soissons*, the dukes of *Guise*, *Angoulesme*, and *Nemours*, the marshals *Schomberg*, *Bassompierre*, and *d'Estrees*, the dukes of *Tremouille*, *Bellegarde*, *Crequi*, *Chevreuse*, *Montbazon*, *Retz*, and *Rocheboucault*, with the flower of the nobility of *France*, and a considerable army, before *Rochelle*^r. On the sixth of *November*, the duke of *Buckingham*, having received a considerable reinforcement from *England*, caused a general assault to be given to the fort *St. Martin*, in which he was repulsed with considerable loss^s. Two days after marshal *Schomberg* landed with a body of troops superior to his army, so that he suffered considerably in his retreat, though his troops behaved well. At length, having embarked every thing, he sailed for *England* on the 17th of the same month, having done nothing worthy his own high titles, or the reputation of his countrymen^t. The royal army, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and the intrigues of all *Richelieu's* enemies, continued before *Rochelle*, and he had interest enough with his master to keep him there likewise, though so lately recovered from a dangerous illness, and of a constitution weak in itself, and very apt to be disordered by the vigorous exercises either of the mind or body^u.

State of Rochelle when

It is said that cardinal *Richelieu* had meditated the siege of *Rochelle* for ten years; it is at least as certain that he might have speculated upon it for ten years more, if his good fortune

¹ *Memoires de Bassompierre*. VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*. RUSHWORTH'S Collection, tom. i. p. 426.

^m *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*.

ⁿ RUSHWORTH'S Collection, tom. i. p. 426, 427. DUPLEX Hist.

de Louis XIII.

^o DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. RUSH-

WORTH'S Collection, vol. i. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*.

^p AUBERI Histoire de Cardinal Richelieu.

DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII.

^q *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*. *Memoires de Bassompierre*.

^r BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. *Memoires de Puysegur*.

^s RUSHWORTH'S Collection, vol. i. VITT.

SIRI *Memoire recon dite*. *Memoires de Puysegur*.

^t RUSHWORTH'S Collection, vol. i.

^u DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*.

- ^a had not furnished him with this opportunity, when, by their unseasonable diffidences, and as ^{besieged by} *Richelieu* was exactly informed of the situation things were in, saw his opportunity, and took it. He determined to besiege a place of great extent, and extremely well fortified, furnished with a numerous artillery, abundantly supplied with military stores, full of a martial, religious, and determined people, under the government of *Monf. Guillon* their mayor, a man of excellent sense, great experience, and invincible fortitude. The army did not consist of above twenty-three thousand men. The king, as we have observed, graced the siege with his person, but the cardinal commanded, assisted by the duke of *Angoulême*, and the marshals *Bassompierre* and *Schomberg* ^w. The lines of circumvallation were nine miles in extent, fortified by thirteen forts of different sizes, well furnished with artillery, and which flanked one another. He opened no trenches, he raised, for a long time, no batteries. The great point was to shut up the port; trials were made by driving vast stakes to embarrass the entrance, but to little purpose. Some attempts were made to construct a boom, which also miscarried. The cardinal himself, considering what *Cæsar* had done at *Durazzo*, and *Alexander the Great* when he besieged *Tyre*, resolved upon a dyke. When he first proposed it, those who ought to have been the best judges treated it with ridicule; they said there were many things made a great figure in books, that had but a paltry appearance when they came to be put in practice. At last (for their names ought to be remembered), *Lewis Metezeau* and *John Tiriot* undertook to execute what the cardinal had proposed. This was begun on the 2d of *December*, and the scheme was to run a solid wall across a gulph seven hundred and forty toises broad, into which the sea rolled with great force, and, when the winds were high, with an impetuosity to which it seemed ridiculous to think of opposing any work of man. It was begun by throwing in great rocks to lay a kind of foundation; upon these were laid vast stones, which were cemented by the mud thrown up by the sea. Before and behind it was supported by beams of an enormous size, at twelve feet distance, driven into the bottom with incredible labour. It was raised so high, that the soldiers were not incommoded by the water, even at spring tides; the platform was near five toises in breadth, but the foundation was full fifteen; so that it was built in the manner of a glacis. At each extremity there was a strong fort, in the middle there was an open passage of one hundred and fifty paces, several vessels being sunk immediately before it, together with high stakes in a double row, and before these thirty-five vessels linked together, which made a kind of floating palisade. This amazing dyke was finished in the month of *May* ^z. This work entirely eclipsed what was done on shore, though that would otherwise have appeared very extraordinary; the troops were well lodged, regularly paid, and, from time to time, both officers and soldiers had considerable gratifications; besides which the latter had hats, shoes, and watch-coats, delivered them whenever it was necessary. A strict discipline kept their markets full, so that necessaries and refreshments were never wanting; as for the sick and wounded, of the latter, of which there were but very few, all possible care was taken of them in the hospitals, which the king, the cardinal, and the marshals often visited in person ^y.
- ^c As the reduction of *Rochelle* appeared to be a thing still at a great distance, the king found it expedient to return to *Paris*, and, upon this occasion, appointed the cardinal his lieutenant-general by a special commission, directing the duke of *Angoulême* and the two marshals to obey him in all things ^z. About the middle of *May* came the *English* fleet, commanded by the earl of *Denbigh*; it was numerous and potent enough to have attempted any thing, and yet did little or nothing, the dyke being perfectly finished, and flanked by good batteries; two of the *English* officers exclaimed against the cowardice of the rest, who, notwithstanding, alleged many excuses; it may be the best of them was, that most of the vessels were pressed or hired. However, after throwing in some little supply of corn, they withdrew, with assurance of a speedy return ^z. In the mean time, the cardinal omitted nothing that could be attempted in the way of surprize or negotiation ^b. But the *Rochellers* were so vigilant, that they disappointed all his enterprises; and so firm, that, though the common people lived upon shell-fish and grass, they would not listen to dishonourable terms. In order to hasten the great armament that was making at *Portsmouth*, king *Charles* repaired to the neighbourhood, and the duke of *Buckingham* came thither, where, on the twenty-third of *August*, old *stale*, he was stabbed by one *John Felton* ^c. This, instead of hindering, promoted the expedition; for the duke of *Rohan* assures us, and sure he is a competent witness, by the care and diligence of the king, more was done in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before; so that in the beginning of *September* the fleet sailed ^d. The *Spaniards*, in virtue of their treaty,

^w BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompierre, VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. Memoires de Puysegur. ^x AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. ^y BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. ^z AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, liv. ii. c. 17. ^a RUSHWORTH'S Collection, vol. i. ^b Memoires du Duc de Rohan. ^c CLARENDON'S History of the Rebellion. ^d Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

had sent a fleet to the assistance of the *French*, and this, after a short stay, in which they did a little or nothing, retired; but by the cardinal's extreme diligence, exclusive of thirty galliots that were above the dyke, to keep the *Rochellers* from attempting any thing, he had assembled forty ships of war, which lay ranged before it in line of battle; the *English* fleet, under the command of the earl of *Lindsey*, is said to have consisted of one hundred and fifty sail of all sorts; they fought, or rather cannonaded the fleet two or three times, but no great loss on either side; they negotiated to as little purpose as they fought: at length the besieged, quite tired out, surrendered the place on the last of *October*^c. They were to enjoy their fortunes and their religion; but their extensive privileges, which they had held for three hundred years, were suppressed, and all their impregnable fortifications demolished. Of twenty thousand inhabitants that were in the place when invested, there were not four thousand left, and of these b not an hundred able to carry arms. The king made his entry into *Rochelle* on the 1st of *November*, about ten in the morning^f. About twelve arose a storm which considerably weakened the dyke; a few days after forty toises of it were demolished. If the *English* fleet under the command of the earl of *Denbigh* had arrived a fortnight sooner they had relieved the place, or if the *Rochellers* could have held out a fortnight longer they might have been relieved and supplied. But Providence disposed things otherwise, and *Richelieu* boasted, that he had taken the place in spite of three kings; *Philip* the fourth of *Spain*, who assisted the *Rochellers* with money, *Charles* the first of *England*, who wasted immense sums in fruitless endeavours to assist them, and *Lewis* the thirteenth, who, by his inquietudes and despondencies, gave c him more trouble than both. This important conquest, upon which the king was solemnly complimented by pope *Urban* the eighth, was achieved without much effusion of blood, but the expence of it was computed at forty millions of livres^g.

The duke of Nevers becomes duke of Mantua under the protection of the king of France.

THE siege of *Rochelle* was no sooner over, and the affairs in that part of the kingdom settled, so that the king returned with safety and in triumph to *Paris*, than the minister proposed a new expedition, no less hazardous, and to the full as fatiguing as that which the king had gone through, notwithstanding the clamours of the courtiers and the murmurs of the two queens^h. About a year before died *Vincent de Gonzagua*, duke of *Mantua*, and left the succession open. He considered *Charles de Gonzagua* duke of *Nevers*, his cousin-german, as the right heir, in respect to all that he held in the nature of fiefs of the empire, and his niece, the young princess of *Montferrat*, of whatever could descend to females. He had invited d the duke of *Rhetel*, eldest son to the duke of *Nevers*, to his capital, intending to marry him to his niece, which was actually performed the very night he died, some say by his express command, others after he had expired. The *Venetians* and most of the other powers of *Italy* acknowledged the duke of *Nevers* in quality of duke of *Mantua*; however, the emperor thought fit to give the investiture to the duke of *Guastalla*; and the duke of *Savoy* having set up a claim to the *Montferrat*, the king of *Spain* entered into a treaty with the two dukes, by which he promised to furnish them with men and money to support their claims, provided they admitted *Spanish* garrisons into the two capitals of *Mantua* and *Casal*, which their interest induced them to acceptⁱ. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who looked upon the Protestants as in a manner subdued, now turned his thoughts to the other branch of his great project, and represented to the king, that, since the house of *Austria* considered it as a crime sufficient to destroy all his pretensions that the new duke of *Mantua* was born in *France*, he was bound to protect him. e

The king passes the Alps, and obliges the duke of Savoy to grant him a passage.

THE small remains of the *Spanish* party, which the cardinal had in a manner extinguished, endeavoured to defeat this scheme, and the queen-mother went very cordially into the opposition. The duke of *Nevers* had been ever amongst the malecontents during her regency; and, which affected her still more, the duke of *Orleans* had a passion for *Mary de Gonzagua*, the duke's daughter, which hindered him from approving his mother's choice of *Anne de Medicis*, the younger daughter of the grand duke, which affected her to the last degree. But the cardinal, though he shewed, upon all occasions, great complaisance for the queen-mother, remained firm, and assured his master, that, if they took the field early, *Casal*, which was besieged by Don *Gonzalo de Cordova*, and which was excellently defended, might be relieved in the spring; and that the duke of *Rohan*, and those that were in arms with him, might, notwithstanding, be brought to submit before the end of the summer^k. In the middle of *February* the king arrived with his army at *Grenoble*, and sent to demand a passage through the territories of the duke of *Savoy*, who laboured to gain time, in hopes the *Spaniards* would be able to make themselves masters of *Casal*; but, by the cardinal's f

^c Memoires de Bassompierre, tom. ii. p. 516. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 50. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII.

^f BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Memoires du Cardinal Richelieu.

^g Dupleix Histoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^h Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 2.

ⁱ Histoire della Repubblica di Veneta, par BATT. NANI. VITT. SIRI Memoire-recondite. Vie de Richelieu.

^k AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires de Bassompierre.

- a advice, the king marched and negotiated at the same time, passed the *Alps* in the midst of frost and snow, himself on foot at the head of his troops, and, on the 6th of *March*, forced the famous pass of *Susa*, which, though well fortified, was ill defended; the town and castle of the same name surrendered the next day. The cardinal made so good use of this success, that the duke of *Savoy* quickly consented to a treaty, by which he promised to give a passage, and to furnish subsistence to the troops that were to march to the relief of the duke of *Mantua*, and also to engage the *Spanish* general to raise the siege of *Casal*¹. In consequence of this accommodation, Monsieur *Thoiras* was sent with three thousand foot and three hundred horse to take possession of that important place, and the king had the satisfaction, before his departure, to conclude two very important treaties; the first in the nature of an alliance with the republic of *Venice* and the duke of *Savoy*, for maintaining the repose of *Italy*; and the other, under the mediation of the *Venetians*, with the king of *Great Britain*^m.

- After all that had happened both before and after the siege of *Rochelle*, the duke of *Rohan* persisted in carrying on the war, always with vigour, and sometimes with success. In order to this he made a treaty with the king of *Spain*, who promised him an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand pieces of eight, in consideration of his maintaining a certain number of foot and horse, and farther stipulating for the free exercise of the popish religion in all the places within his power during the continuance of the war, and to establish a toleration if he should succeed in his design of forming an independent state in *France*ⁿ. This shews how much these were wars of religion, when his Catholic majesty treated with the Protestants in *France* in arms against their sovereign, with whom he was at peace, and to whose assistance he lately sent a fleet against them. But what is still more extraordinary, it is acknowledged, in the preamble of this treaty, that the king of *Spain* concluded it from motives of state, and in resentment of the great assistance given by the *French* to his heretic rebels in the *Low Countries*^o. At this time the duke of *Rohan* had considerable forces on foot in *Languedoc*, *Guienne*, and the *Cevennes*, and, amongst other strong places, he had in his power *Nismes*, *Uzes*, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Prevas*, *Alais*, *Milau-Sainte-Afrique*^p. In *May* the king besieged *Privas*, a strong place in *Vivarez*, which defended itself for twelve days with such resolution, that the king lost some hundreds of his troops before it. At length, hard pressed, and seeing no hopes of relief, the garrison retired into the fortress, and the inhabitants of the town withdrew into the mountains. Those in the fort were obliged to surrender at discretion; and the firing of some powder giving a pretence for suggesting that they had attempted to blow up the troops that had entered the place, they were most inhumanly treated, being put to a variety of deaths, and some hundreds of them hanged by the king's order, and in his sight; for that prince was naturally severe^q. The cardinal being ill of a fever, was not present, and he took care to apprise the world sufficiently of that circumstance^r. The fate of *Privas* so terrified the people of *Alerz*, that, though the place was well fortified, and the duke of *Rohan* had taken care to furnish them with every thing necessary for their defence, yet he had no sooner quitted it than they began to treat, and, by the interposition of the cardinal, obtained a good capitulation, which was honourably executed.

- RICHELIEU* took care to let the duke know this, and, at the same time, sent him word, that he might yet treat for himself, or for a general peace; but that, if things went much farther, he would expose himself and the Protestants to utter ruin. The duke of *Rohan*, being convinced that this was but too true, and having received no advantage from his treaty with *Spain*, and his intelligence with the duke of *Savoy*, resolved to take this advice, but he treated honourably for his whole party, and with the consent of the assembly. The treaty was signed on the 27th of *June*^s, by which the Protestants were restored to their estates, the free exercise of their religion, and all the privileges granted by the edict, only they were stripped of all their cautionary towns, and consequently lost the power of defending themselves. The dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubise* were pardoned and restored to their estates. The king would not see the former, but, on the contrary, insisted he should quit *France* for a time, upon which he retired to *Venice*; and, to qualify this exile, he was gratified with a large sum of money^t. To shun the heats of *Languedoc*, in some parts of which the plague was more than suspected, the cardinal advised the king to return to *Paris*, while he went himself to *Montauban*, the inhabitants of which had rejected the peace, because their fortifications were to be demolished, and, as they apprehended, demolished by the prince of *Condé*, whom they knew to be capricious and cruel, and against whom they would have defended

¹ DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 34.

de Louis XIII.

^a Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

XIII. tom. ii. p. 522.

du Duc de Rohan.

^p DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Puysegur.

^r AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu.

^s DUPLEIX, BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

^m BERNARD Hist.

^o Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis

^q Memoires

^t Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

themselves to the last ; but they made no scruple of admitting the cardinal and his troops. ^a He remained there two days, received every body very graciously, and even the Protestant ministers in a body, under the title of men of letters. He caused the treaty to be punctually executed, left the town as he found it, permitted them to demolish their own works, and paid them for it. When he had settled all things he returned in triumph to *Paris*, where he found the court in the utmost confusion, and himself in such a situation, that he desired the king's leave to resign his employments, the very day after his arrival ^u.

Difference between the queen mother and the duke of Orleans.

WE have before mentioned the resentment of the queen-mother against the duke of *Mantua*, chiefly on account of the affection of Monsieur for his daughter, in consequence of which the duke was protected and persecuted at the same time by *France* ; sometimes he was told that he had nothing to expect, unless he withdrew her out of the kingdom ; when he had submitted to this, and sent for her, she was stopped upon the road by the interposition of Monsieur, who threatened the utmost extremities if she was sent away. He then suffered his passion to subside, or rather seemed to suffer it ; upon which the queen-mother again resolved to send her out of the kingdom, but revoked her orders upon finding that her son intended to carry her off upon the road, and to retire with her into *Flanders*. This provoked the queen-mother so much, that while the king was with his army, and she invested with the power of regent, she caused the princess and the duchess of *Longueville* her aunt to be arrested, and brought prisoners to *Vincennes*, with all the circumstances of violence that female resentment could suggest : upon this Monsieur retired to *Joinville*, a place belonging to the duke of *Guise* ; and the king could not help shewing that he was not at all satisfied with his mother's conduct, though at the same time he treated his brother's airs of discontent with contempt, highly pleased that the cardinal had placed his authority upon such a basis, as that his subjects of all ranks found it necessary to pay him equal respect ^w. The queen-mother, who thought the cardinal should have entered into all her views, when she found that he did not disapprove of Monsieur's affection, and thought it strange that she should be wrong with both her sons at a time, quarrelled with him without the least reserve, treated him as an insignificant creature, raised by her favour, and stiled him, in plain terms, an ungrateful perfidious person : at the same time the duke of *Orleans* withdrawing to *Nancy*, published a manifesto, in which he attributed all his misfortunes to the cardinal ; gave him the invidious title of mayor of the palace ; charged him with usurping the royal authority, with being the author of his exile, and the source of the miseries of *France* ^x. In this situation the cardinal desired the king's permission to withdraw ; but *Lewis*, who considered him as his martyr, as well as his minister, refused it ^y ; and while they were thus embarrassed by domestic follies, foreign affairs took such a turn as obliged the king to make the cardinal what his brother had called him, from whence it appears, that some princes may, by chance, be prophets, who never can be made politicians. ^d

A. D. 1629.

The cardinal again passes the Alps.

THE duke of *Savoy*, as he had been compelled to make the peace of *Susa*, and to grant a passage for the *French* troops to *Casal*, when he once saw the king embarked in the war with the Hugonots, he took it for granted that they might have time enough to dispossess the duke of *Mantua* before the *French* troops could pass the *Alps* ; and, upon this supposition, he, in conjunction with the emperor and the king of *Spain*, renewed the war and besieged *Casal* again ^z. In this state of things there was no remedy but that which had been before applied of sending the army again over the mountains, and that without delay. The urgency of affairs being so great, the king, by letters patents, declared cardinal *Richelieu* his principal minister ¹. He had been so long in effect ; but as this seemed to arise from his quality of cardinal, the king thought fit, by those letters patents, to attribute it to his person, and to stile him therein, not first minister, which might have been referred to precedency, but his principal minister, with regard to his confidence. In less than a month, as it was determined that he should command the army, he was, by letters patents, created the king's lieutenant-general, representing his person, with power to receive ambassadors, to give them audience, to make and to receive propositions, and finally conclude, as if the king himself was present and assenting ^b. Under him commanded the marshals *Crequi*, *de la Force*, *Bassompierre*, and *Schomberg*. To distinguish him from these, and indeed from all other generals, the founding title of generalissimo was invented, and, for the same reason, the title of eminence was given by brief to cardinals, by pope *Urban* the eighth, who were before stiled most illustrious. Thus clothed with greater authority, and graced with higher titles than any subject had ever received, he proceeded directly to *Lyons*, and rejecting some propositions that were made him, and even an interview with the prince of *Piedmont*, he continued his march, ^f

^u AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

de Brienne, tom. ii. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recon dite.

^x Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Vie de Richelieu.

^z DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI.

¹ Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. ii. p. 530.

^b AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^w Memoires du Comte

^y AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de

¹ Recueil de Pieces concernant

- a notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and, in the month of *February*, arrived at *Susa*, with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse ^c. He summoned the duke of *Savoy* to execute the treaty concluded the year before, that is, to grant a free passage, to furnish subsistence, and to join a body of troops with those of the king, in order to march to the relief of the duke of *Mantua*. The duke of *Savoy* took his measures ill, he endeavoured to amuse the cardinal, who, in return, was very near surprising him at *Rivoli*, from whence he was glad to retire hastily to *Turin*, where the cardinal did not let him long rest, causing his artillery to take the route, and marching in person at the head of his forces towards that city; but having obliged the duke to take all necessary precautions against a siege, he very unexpectedly invested the important place of *Pignerol*, which he took in two days time, and the castle that
- b commanded it, by which a direct road was open from *Dauphine* into *Italy* ^d. This great conquest did the cardinal as much honour this year as the relief of *Casal* had done the year before, augmented the king's confidence in him, and discouraged his enemies, who, though they were numerous and potent, and supported by the queen regent as well as the queen-mother, yet durst not avow their sentiments, but contented themselves with secret insinuations and disguised censures, saying, amongst other things, that the king had disposed of his prerogatives, and had only reserved to himself the power of curing the evil. His master, on the other hand, was so well satisfied, that he set out, as soon as the weather would permit, for *Lyons*, that he might be the nearer to his army and to the cardinal, who was resolved to make himself master of *Savoy* ^e.
- c THE cardinal has been censured, as if, upon the unforeseen good fortune of taking *Pignerol*, he had abandoned his original design, and the relief of the duke of *Mantua*, who was miserably oppressed, in order to seize the duchy of *Savoy*, into which the king entered, and became master of it ^f, the fortress of *Montmelian* only excepted, by midsummer: but it is at least as probable, that the cardinal, who had then a treaty upon the carpet at *Ratisbon*, might entertain hopes, that, if any thing happened amiss, he might procure the restitution of *Mantua* for *Savoy*; and that if, notwithstanding this diversion, he should be at length able to relieve *Casal*, it might operate still more effectually upon that treaty. There is, however, little reason to doubt, that, whatever his notions were, the interests of the crown and of his ministry always cast the balance. Some advantages the *French* troops gained in *Italy*; but
- d the negotiations of Signor *Julio Mazarine*, who now first appeared on the theatre of the world, in the character of a priest and a politician, for he had been some time before in that of a captain of horse, were more useful: he procured a kind of suspension of arms, upon condition that *Casal* should be surrendered in case it was not relieved by the middle of *October* ^g. What was still more advantageous for the cardinal's views, was the death of the duke of *Savoy*, which deprived the *Spaniards* of their most faithful ally. But, notwithstanding all these, he had still great difficulties to overcome; the duke de *Montmorency* had conducted a reinforcement of eight thousand men into *Italy*, which, notwithstanding, were consumed in a few months, and, upon his return, he was replaced by *Marillac*, to whom the king had given the staff of marshal at *Aletz* ^h. It was, after all, a very difficult thing to
- e fulfil the king's orders, who was now gone back to *Lyons*, and followed by the cardinal, to march through an enemy's country to the relief of *Casal*. However the three marshals, *de la Force*, *Schomberg*, and *Marillac*, found themselves obliged to undertake it, which they accordingly did. But in the mean time the treaty of *Ratisbon* came to their relief, in which it was agreed that the emperor should grant the investiture of *Mantua* to the duke of *Nevers*, and, in a fortnight after, hostilities ⁱ were to cease; but the *Spanish* army lying still before *Casal*, and insisting upon the execution of the capitulation before-mentioned, Signor *Mazarine* was again obliged to interpose, and with more danger to himself than either of the armies, riding between them, when they were ready to charge each other, at length procured a convention, which put an end to these disputes, delivered *Casal*, and intitled Monsieur *Thoiras*, for
- f his gallant defence, to the staff of marshal of *France* ^k. But we must now return into that kingdom, where we shall see the cardinal more in danger from the intrigues of the court than he had ever been in the camp, where he sometimes exposed himself more than was necessary.
- DURING his stay at *Lyons* in the autumn, the king was attacked with a strange disease; he had a slow fever, which nothing could allay, an extreme depression of the spirits, his belly and stomach swelling in a manner that amazed and confounded his physicians, who very positively pronounced that he could not live long ^l; the queen-mother and some others thought they had

The duke of Mantua is settled in the quiet possession of his dominions by the treaty of Ratisbon.

The cardinal on the point of being ruined by the endeavours of the two queens.

^c Memoires de Puysegur. BATT. NANI. DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires des principales Actions du Marechal du Pleissy, p. 2.

^d Memoires du Comte de

Cardinal de Richelieu. DUPLEIX Histoire de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI.

^e AUBERI Histoire du

Brienne. Memoires de Puysegur. BATT. NANI.

^f Memoires du Comte de

Cardinal de Richelieu.

^g DUPL. Hist. de Louis XIII. BATT. NANI. Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

^h AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoire reconduite.

ⁱ DUPLEIX, Histoire de

Louis XIII. BATT. NANI.

^k Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 18.

this intelligence a surer way from their astrologers. In this situation the cardinal was in real a distress ; he was governor of *Brouage*, a strong place upon the coast, but he knew not how to get thither. He had recourse to *Bassompierre*, colonel-general of the *Swiss*, whom he desired to secure that body of troops, but he declined it^m. The king then applied to marshal duke de *Montmorency*, and having sent for him into his closet, recommended the cardinal to him with tears, and the duke promised, in the strongest terms, that he would conduct him safely through his government to his own. In the mean time the king's distemper declared itself ; it proved to be an imposthume in the bowels, which nature having discharged by the ordinary passages, he became quickly and surprisngly wellⁿ. Then broke out the designs of the great cabal against the cardinal, at the head of which were the two queens and the duke of *Orleans*, and yet, in effect, they were but the instruments of others. The queen-mother was intirely b governed by *Vautier* her physician, the princess of *Conti*, with whom *Bassompierre* was in love, the duchess d'*Elbeuf*, the marchioness d'*Ornano*, the garde des s^çeaux, and his brother the marshal *Marillac* o. The countess du *Fargis*, exquisitely handsome, and the most adroit woman in *France*, made the queen-consort act as she thought fit, and the duke of *Orleans* was always in the hands of his favourites, who took care to inflame him as much as possible, that they might then sell his submission at as high a rate as they could. These, supported by the *Spanish* faction, much sunk from what it was, but still subsisting, and still countenanced by the *Spanish* ministers, attacked the cardinal with the king, and represented to him, that he had seized the reins of government into his own hands ; that he had brought the greatest part of the court to depend upon him ; that he was negotiating a match for his niece with the count c de *Soissons*, and, when this was completed, would probably devolve the crown upon his head^p. These things were said with such confidence, and repeated by so many persons, and the king was so jealous of his authority, that he sometimes leaned, or seemed to lean, to this side ; on the other hand, the cardinal pressed him to consider by what steps he had recovered his authority out of the hands of the queen, her favourites, and the princes of the blood ; her apparent partiality for her younger son ; her evident connections with the court of *Spain* ; the incapacity of her creatures to carry on public affairs ; and the perplexities into which his majesty must be plunged, if once his business fell into such hands^q.

Is saved beyond his hopes, and becomes more independent than ever.

ALL the king could do for his own peace was to get the decision of things deferred till he came to *Paris*, where he laboured assiduously to reconcile the cardinal to his mother, who at d length consented, and a day was fixed when his niece and himself should come and ask her pardon on their knees. Madame de *Combalet* humbled herself first, and instead of pardon, received a torrent of reproaches. When the cardinal came he met with the like usage, at which the king was strangely surprisng ; but *Richelieu* contented himself with telling her that he had served her long enough to know that it was not in her nature to forgive, and therefore, to make the king easy, he would demand his leave to retire, and yield up his employments^r. The king, in his confusion, seemed to acquiesce ; but, that he might have time to reflect at leisure, withdrew to a country seat near *Versailles*. On the 11th of *November* the whole court resorted to the queen-mother at the palace of *Luxemburgh*, fully persuaded that she had recovered the dominion of the court. In the mean time *St. Simon*, the king's favourite, made e him so sensible that the queen-mother had not forgot the death of marshal d'*Ancre*, that she was always enquiring of astrologers about the king's death, and that her greatest quarrel to the cardinal was his strict attachment to his master, that *Lewis* sent for him, gave him the detail of his enemies, and of the charges they had brought against him, adding it was his pleasure he should continue to serve him, and he would protect him against them all. This was no sooner known than the queen's palace became a desert, a circumstance so obvious to all the world, that it was stiled, *la journee des duppes*, i. e. all fools day^s : the physician *Vautier* was sent to the *Bastile*, the keeper of the seals was arrested and deprived of them, his brother the marshal met with the same fate at the head of the army he commanded, the countess du *Fargis* was ignominiously turned out of the court, and the queen-mother saw herself com- f pelled to dissemble a reconciliation, that she might not share the same fate ; yet though exterior respects were preserved, she plainly saw the game was lost, that cardinal *Richelieu* was in full possession of the royal favour, and that the king her son did not love but feared her. If, instead of receiving compliments, she had followed the king to *Versailles*, she had triumphed.

The cardinal gains the p^rinces of

In the midst of these domestic disputes, the cardinal proceeded with infinite care and vigilance in respect to public concerns ; in the very beginning of the year he made a treaty with *Sweden*, by which an annual subsidy was given to *Gustavus Adolphus* of four hundred

^m Preface des Memoires de Bassompierre. Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

ⁿ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 20. AUBERI

^o VITT. SIRI Memoire seconde, tom. vii. p. 282, & suiv.

^p Memoires de Bassompierre. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.

^q AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal

de Richelieu.

^r Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Vie de Richelieu. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal

de Richelieu.

^s Memoires de Bassompierre. DUPLEX Hist. de Louis XIII. LE GENDRE.

a thousand crowns, in consideration of which he was to act with an army of thirty-six thousand men, in order to facilitate the re-establishment of the princes of the empire, who had been abased in their dignities, and despoiled of their estates, by the house of *Austria*¹. In the mean time a negotiation was carrying on in *Italy*, for settling the tranquility of that part of *Europe*, in which the cardinal made the *Spaniards* sensible that they had lost the superiority which they had so long maintained in point of treaty-making; for at the very time, and in the very place where this negotiation was publicly carried on, he concluded a secret alliance with the duke of *Savoy*, in consequence of which that prince yielded *Pignerol* to *France*, in virtue of a territory which was to be taken from the duke of *Mantua*. This convention was signed on the last of *March*²; and in the middle of *April* was concluded the public treaty of *Querasque*, in which the *Spaniards* believed they had outwitted the *French*, in procuring for the duke of *Savoy* the district before-mentioned. By this public treaty *Pignerol* was restored to the duke of *Savoy*, who took possession of it with a garrison who did not know that there were six times their number of *French* troops concealed in the place. In *May* the court of *France* concluded a treaty with the elector of *Bavaria*, to the same intent with that which had been concluded with *Sweden*³. In autumn, under pretence that the *Spaniards* had not executed punctually the treaty of *Querasque*, a convention was signed with the duke of *Savoy*, by which he consented to receive a *French* garrison for six months into *Pignerol*, to cover that which had been in it all this time: a good body of troops was likewise sent to take possession of *Casal*, with the consent of the duke of *Mantua*, and to the intire satisfaction of the *Italian* princes, who began now to speak in the language of liberty, and who made no scruple of demanding justice from those who, for a long course of years, had behaved towards them as if they had been their masters. Having thus the princes of *Germany* and of *Italy* closely connected with him, the cardinal made no scruple of asserting his master's authority in his own dominions, and of making persons of all ranks sensible how much things were changed from what they were when he was placed at the head of the administration: a circumstance that multiplied his secret enemies, and gained him few real friends.

It was not long after the apparent reconciliation, that the queen-mother broke out into fresh complaints against the cardinal. The duke of *Orleans* carried it farther; he went with a great train to the cardinal's house, with an intent, as was supposed, to have done something extraordinary; but it ended only in vehement reproaches, after which he withdrew from court⁴. In the month of *February*, the king engaged the queen-mother to come to *Compeigne*, where, after trying all means to soften her to no purpose, he left the place suddenly, and her under a guard⁵. The princess of *Conti*, the duchesses of *Elbauf* and *Lefdiguieres*, and Madame d'*Ornano*, were exiled; the marshal de *Bassompierre*, and some other persons of distinction, were sent to the *Bastile*⁶. The duke of *Orleans* retired into *Lorraine*, where he contracted himself to the princess *Margaret*, sister of that duke, directing letters to the parliament of *Paris*, in which he declared himself the prosecutor of cardinal *Richelieu*. The king, upon this, proceeded to extremities, justified his minister, erected a new court of justice, and took measures, as it is said, to conduct his mother to *Florence*, upon which she made her escape from *Compeigne*, and retired into *Flanders*, about the middle of *July*⁷. By this extraordinary court of justice, one *Duval* a physician was condemned to the galleys, for having predicted the king's death; the duke of *Rouannes*, the marquis de *Vieuville*, the marchioness du *Fargis*, and father *Chautelute* were condemned to death, and executed in effigy. Towards the close of the year, the king marched into *Lorraine*, where he compelled the duke to conclude a treaty on the terms he prescribed, and to expel all who had taken refuge in his territories immediately⁸.

The king and his minister, in whose favour, in the midst of these troubles, he erected the lordship of *Richelieu*, with various other lands and seignories, into a duchy, with a limitation to his heirs general, whether male or female, so that now he was stiled the cardinal-duke⁹, as *Olivarez* his rival was the conde-duke, still pressed the duke of *Lorraine*, whose sincerity they with reason suspected, and obliged him to give up *Marsal*, which, however, did not bind him as they expected¹⁰. The queen-mother wrote a letter to the parliament, in which she charged the cardinal-duke, to whom the king had given the government of *Bretagne*, upon the death of marshal *Themmines*, with aiming at the crown, which had no manner of effect, except that it brought to a dismal catastrophe one of her most faithful servants, the marshal *Marillac*, who, by an extraordinary court of justice, was condemned to suffer death for peculation, and

¹ VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite, BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

² AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

³ Memoires de Bassompierre.

⁴ VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

⁵ Vie de Richelieu.

⁶ Memoires de Bassompierre, DUPLEIX, BERNARD.

⁷ DUPLEIX, BERNARD.

⁸ AUBERI Histoire du

⁹ DUPLEIX, BERNARD.

¹⁰ Memoires du Marquis du Beauvau, pour servir à l'Histoire de Charles IV. Duc de Lorraine & de Bar, p. 21. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

¹¹ DUPLEIX Histoire de

¹² VITT. SIRI Memoire re-

¹³ con dite.

¹⁴ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 48.

¹⁵ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 60.

¹⁶ AUBERI Histoire du

¹⁷ DUPLEIX, BERNARD.

¹⁸ Memoires du Marquis du Beauvau, pour servir

was accordingly brought to his end in the place *de Greve*, on the 10th of *May*^a. It was one of the harshest, and, in the opinion of the world, one of the most unjust things the cardinal ever did. It was said, to colour it, that, at the instance of the queen-mother, he had corresponded with the *Spaniards*, to the prejudice of the king's service; but that, out of respect to this princess, it could not be mentioned in his sentence; as if there was more regard due to princes than to justice. The truth was, that, in the cabal at *Lyons*, he had said the shortest way to be rid of the cardinal was to kill him, and had even offered to execute what he proposed. His brother, who had been keeper of the seals, died soon after of grief^f. Upon information that the duke of *Lorraine* was assembling forces, and endeavouring to procure assistance from *Germany*, the king and the cardinal marched against him with a small army, and reduced several of his places. Being on the point of investing *Nancy*, he concluded a new treaty at *Livernon*^g, by which he confirmed that before made at *Vie*, and, as a security for the due observance of it, yielded *Stenai*, *Janets*, and *Clermont*, the two first for four years, and the last for ever. This short war was of very great consequence, as it hindered the duke, a prince of great abilities, though inconstant, and one of the best officers in *Europe*, from executing the project he had formed, which might have been fatal to *France*, since, if it had once brought the *Germans* into *Lorraine*, all that happened afterwards had been prevented.

The duke of Orleans penetrates into Languedoc, where he is beaten, and Montmorency taken.

WHILE the king was engaged in *Lorraine*, the duke of *Orleans*, with about fifteen hundred *Flemish*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* horse, and five hundred *French*, miserably equipped, many of them wanting swords, and most of them boots, entered *Burgundy*, where he published a manifesto, in which he stiled himself the king's lieutenant, requiring all good *Frenchmen* to fall upon cardinal *Richelieu*^h, as a disturber of the public peace, and as a traitor to the king, his family, and kingdom. He summoned *Dijon* to open her gates, and, because this was not done, he burnt the suburbs; marshal *de la Force* following him with a small army, he was compelled to pass into *Auvergne*, and from thence he penetrated into *Languedoc* with marshal *Schomberg* and his troops at his heelsⁱ. There he was received by the marshal duke *de Montmorency*, the last of that illustrious family, inferior to none of his ancestors in shining qualities, superior to most of them in solid virtue, unfortunate in having pledged his word to support him if he came into his government, doubly unfortunate in believing any engagement could dispense with his duty. He received him with the honour due to his birth, and having drawn together the clergy, nobility, and gentry, who depended upon him at *Pecenas*, stiled them the states of *Languedoc*, and declared, in harsh terms, against the cardinal^k. On the other hand, the parliament of *Thoulouse* declared him and them rebels. He quickly assembled ten or eleven thousand men, and with them turned upon marshal *Schomberg*, who had not above four. He took possession of a strong camp, near the village of *Castelnaudari*, where, on the first of *September*, he was attacked by the duke of *Montmorency*, who behaved like a hero, but very unlike an officer. He attacked the intrenchments with horse, without waiting for his foot; he carried them purely by the courage which his example inspired; but attempting to push his success, the best part of the gentlemen who were with him were slain, and, his horse being killed under him, himself covered with wounds taken prisoner^l. On the news of his misfortune, the infantry disbanded; Monsieur, with the poor remains of horse, fled to *Beziers*; there he treated for an accommodation, and concluded it, obtaining pardon for himself, his domestics, and the duke *d'Elbeauf*; promised not to remove a league from the place which should be assigned him for his residence without leave, and that he would sincerely love and esteem the cardinal *de Richelieu*^m: a conduct so mean, that it did more injury to his reputation than his rebellion.

Who is tried, condemned, and executed at Thoulouse.

THE king caused the process of *Montmorency* to be made before commissaries, of whom the keeper of the seals, *Monf de l'Aubestine de Châteauneuf*, was the chief. As an ecclesiastic, he was obliged to obtain a dispensation from *Rome*, for being present at a trial where life was in danger; but we know not where he obtained a dispensation to sit in judgment upon a lord, to whose father he had been a page. The duke, by this court, was condemned as guilty of high-treason; and, though all *France* interposed to save him, he lost his head at *Thoulouse* on the 30th of *October*ⁿ. He was in his person one of the most beautiful, from his conduct the most amiable, as well as by his birth the most noble in that country. He died with equal courage and piety, firm without fierceness, humble without fear; he directed his confessor to ask pardon of cardinal *Richelieu*. If it was true that he gave the king the first notice of the

^a Relation verit. de ce qui s'est passé dans le procès du Mar de Marillac, dans le Journal de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 1. VITT. SIRI Memoire reconduite, tom. vii. p. 495, & seq.

^f DUPLEX Histoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. Memoires de Bassompierre.

^g Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau.

^h Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 26. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

ⁱ VITT. SIRI Memoire reconduite, BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

^k DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^l Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.

^m AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, VITTORIO SIRI Memoire reconduite, BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

ⁿ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 85. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 27. Memoires du Sieur de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 99. Amsterdam, 1749.

a cabal at *Lyons*, one would think he had no need to ask pardon ; and that, amongst the many great qualities he possessed, the cardinal could not reckon that of gratitude. Monsieur, who was at *Tours*, and who contented himself with sending a gentleman to ask the duke's life, wrote the king a letter, in which he said he would have redeemed it with his own^o ; and then, to keep up his character for inconsistency, retired once more into *Flanders*, which, if he had done before, he might, perhaps, have saved *Montmorency* ; though, in his excuse, it must be owned, that the hopes of saving him was the cause of his submission. The king, to shew that justice was the sole motive to this act of severity, gave his whole confiscation to the prince of *Condé*^p, who had married his sister, which, of a poor, made him a rich prince.

At the time the court was in *Languedoc*, the queen-mother sent ten of the most determined persons in her service to *Paris* to seize Madame de Combalet, the cardinal's niece ; but they were discovered and apprehended. The king, upon this, wrote that lady a letter, in which he expressed his sense of her danger, and his joy at her escape ; adding that if the design had taken effect, he would have followed her into *Flanders*, with an army of fifty thousand men^q. When Monsieur arrived at *Brussels*, his mother retired from thence, to avoid seeing him. She pretended to resent one of the conditions in the treaty he made at *Beziers*^r, which was, that he should hold no correspondence with her, or any of her adherents ; but, in reality, she was then governed by Father *Chantelupe*, and, if the reader will compare these two incidents, he will see the true character of both the son and the mother, who, though so passionately fond of power, that they would not suffer others to govern, were, notwithstanding, unable to govern themselves, and exerted their authority to gratify inclinations and resentments that were not their own ; and hated each other for that disposition which both saw in reflection, but which they could not see in themselves. Towards the close of the year, that is, on the 16th of *November*, the *Swedes* lost their king, the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, and yet gained the battle of *Lutzen*. We have said little of his victories, though they were supported by the money, and, in a great measure, gained for the benefit, of the crown of *France*, because these are transactions which must be largely treated of in other parts of this work ; however, it is absolutely necessary to say so much of the nature and conduct of this war as may explain the grounds of the cardinal's policy, shew the advantages that arose from it, and enable us to treat perspicuously of their consequences, because this cannot come in with propriety any-where else.

There had been, for some years, disputes between the house of *Austria* and *France*, in which though arms sometimes were employed, yet they were not, strictly speaking, in a state of peace or of war. On the one hand, the king complained that the emperor, but more especially the *Spaniards*, had given private assistance of every kind to the Hugonots, had excited intrigues and even conspiracies in *France*, and at this time gave a retreat to the queen-mother and the duke of *Orleans*, who had been supplied with men and money for his late irruption. On the other hand, the *Austrians*, with equal reason, affirmed, that the cardinal had assisted their enemies of every kind and every-where, but had more especially maintained the war in *Germany*, and had prevented the *Dutch* from concluding peace. The disputes about religion had produced a Catholic and Protestant league in the empire, at the head of which was the emperor, the elector of *Bavaria*, the ecclesiastical electors, the spiritual princes in general, a very few of the temporal, and not many of the cities. The latter was composed of the elector of *Saxony*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, the elector *Palatine*, the dukes of *Brunswick*, *Wurtemberg*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerania*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and almost all the rich trading cities. However, the emperor and his adherents had met with so much success, that, in all probability, the Protestants had been crushed, if *France*, or rather the cardinal *de Richelieu*, had not interposed. We have shewn that, so long as the constable *de Luynes* was in favour, he preferred the private interest of himself and his family to that of the crown, and had sacrificed the elector *Palatine*, who had assumed the title of king of *Bobemia*, and who, properly supported, had certainly preserved that kingdom and the liberties of *Germany*. At the time *Richelieu* came into power the former was lost, and the latter was very near it ; a war was inexpedient ; and therefore he applied money ; by the dextrous application of which, and the suggesting plausible pretences, some of the popish powers were drawn to declare themselves neutrals, and, by the subsidy treaty which we have mentioned, the *Swedes* were brought to act so powerfully and so successfully, that the face of affairs was intirely changed, and, in the space of two years and a half that *Gustavus* remained in *Germany*, he beat the *Bavarian* and imperial troops thrice, and reduced *Pomerania*, *Lower Saxony*, *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, the *Palatinate*, and

* Voyez la Lettre de GASTON au Roi, daté de Montereau eaut yonne le 13 de Novembre, 1632, dans l'Histoire de Louis XIII. par BERNARD, liv. xvi. P DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. VITT. SIRI
Memoire recon dite, tom. vii. p. 575. Memoires de Bassompierre, DUPLEIX Hist. de Louis XIII. VITT.
SIRI Memoire recon dite, tom. vii. p. 580.

the territory of *Mentz*, in which state of things that great monarch died^a, who, by his heroic courage and great abilities, had revived the drooping hopes of his party, checked the imperial eagle, and at last, it is said, gave some jealousy even to *France*; at least it is certain, that the cardinal declined an interview between the two kings, though he offered to confer himself with *Gustavus*, whose high spirit taught him to think that all monarchs were equal, saving the distinction that merit made between them, and who therefore insisted, that, if the cardinal conferred with any, it should be with one of his ministers^b. Some^c have insinuated that this instance of magnanimity cost him his life; but, if he fell foully, it is more probable that the assassin had his instructions from another quarter^d. Yet it must be allowed, that *Richelieu* expressed no deep concern for his death, but took his measures as quickly and as prudently as if he had foreseen it; which proof of his abilities, in all probability, gave rise to the report that he directed it. His instructions to M. *Feuquieres* for renewing the treaty with the *Swedes*^e, and for conducting, in the manner he did, the negotiations in the congress of *Halibron*, preserved the alliance from being dissolved by that sinister event, and put the war on the same or on a more advantageous foot for *France*, which, without exposing her troops, and by the sole assistance of a subsidy, enervated her enemies, attached the princes of the empire to her interests, and even extended the bounds of her dominions to the *Rhine*, without exciting envy or apprehension. Such was the conduct, such the arts of this great statesman, who, though not excusable in the means he used, had always the grandeur of his master at least as much in view as his own greatness.

A new war
with Lorrain,
in which the
duke is com-
pelled to render
his capital.

At the opening of the year the king caused a new parliament to be erected at *Metz*^f, which answered at once two great views: in the first place, it brought in a large sum of ready money for such as purchased their seats in that parliament; and, next, it released the inhabitants of the three bishoprics from having recourse to the imperial chamber at *Spire*, for which a more convenient season could not be taken than this, when the flame of war raged so terribly in *Germany*, that there was no passing from one city to another, with any tolerable degree of certainty. In *Holland* the king's ministers^g wrought so effectually, that the negotiations for a truce with the *Spaniards* went on but slowly. The duke of *Rohan*, who was highly esteemed at *Venice*, though he resided there as an exile, received unexpectedly a commission, appointing him ambassador extraordinary to the *Grisons*, and was likewise declared lieutenant-general of the troops the king either had or might have in the *Valtelline*^h. This so alarmed the *Spaniards*, that their ambassador had orders to complain in the strongest terms, which he did, to the king and his minister; alleging, that, under a variety of specious pretences, *France*, without entering into a war, assisted the enemies of the house of *Austria* on every side; that the king his master was desirous of making a stable and solid peace, in consequence of which he expected to see the *French* troops withdrawn out of *Casal* and *Pignerol*, as well as those that, under colour of assisting the elector of *Treves*, carried on an actual war in the heart of the empire. To this *Richelieu* answered, that the king was as desirous of peace as his Catholic majesty; but that he could not desert his allies, or part with *Pignerol*, which, since the treaty of *Querasque*, he had purchased of the duke of *Savoy*ⁱ. He added, with an air of freedom, that, if they disliked his manner of conducting affairs, they were unjust to themselves, since he only copied their manner of acting, as he demonstrated by a long train of facts. About midsummer he took the field with the king^j against the duke of *Lorrain*, who had frequently given out commissions, and, when he had levied troops, he transferred them either to the imperial or to the *Spanish* service, without any regard to his last treaty. The king quickly made himself master of *St. Michel* and *Luneville*, upon which duke *Charles* sent his brother the cardinal of *Lorrain* to enter once more into a negotiation. The king told him plainly, that his resentment arose from his brother's marriage with the princess *Margaret*, which was null in itself for want of having his consent, and therefore insisted that the princess should be delivered to him in order to facilitate the dissolution of the marriage. But the cardinal, making use of the king's passports, brought his sister out of *Nancy*, and sent her into *Flanders* to Monsieur, which so provoked the king, that he invested *Nancy*, and insisted upon having it delivered to him in deposit. The duke concluded a treaty^k to this purpose with cardinal *Richelieu*, and then revoked it. At length, hoping to prevail upon the king to

^a Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Univers, par Mr. PUFFENDORFF, VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite, DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^b SAMUELIS PUFFENDORFF Commentarius de rebus Succicis ab expeditione Gustavi Adolphi in Germaniam, anno 1628, ad abdicationem Christianæ, anno 1654. fol. Ultrajecti, 1686. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^c Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Univers, par PUFFENDORFF. ^d VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^e AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 215. ^f DUPL. Histoire de Louis XIII. BERNARD Histoire de Louis XIII.

^g VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite, Vie de Richelieu. ^h Memoires du Duc de Rohan, BATT. NANI. ⁱ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. ^j Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires du Sieur de Pontis, tom. ii.

^k Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 35. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. p. 105, 106.

a soften the terms he had prescribed, he went to pay him a visit. *Lewis*, by the advice of *Richelieu*, under pretence of doing him honour, put a guard upon his person, and forced him to deliver up his capital, which otherwise had not been easily taken^c. Having gone through the foreign transactions of this year, let us turn now to the domestic concerns of *France*.

In his return from *Languedoc* to *Paris* the last year, the cardinal had been so much indisposed as to be once thought at the point of death. It was very natural for many to aim at succeeding him, amongst whom was the keeper of the seals, *M. de Chateaufort*^d. Some say that he danced at a ball while the cardinal was in extremity; others, that having an amour with the duchess of *Chevreuse*, he wrote her a letter, in which he treated the cardinal's malady ludicrouly^e. However it was, *Richelieu*, whose resentment was as quick and as lasting as that of any minister whose name finds a place in history, not only deprived him of his employment, but sent him prisoner to the castle of *Angoulême*^f. He caused the chevalier *du Jars*, the intimate friend of that minister, to be sent to the *Bastille*, and, it is said, prevailed upon the judges who were assigned him to condemn him on very slight evidence, on a promise that he should not suffer; in which he kept his word, though not till the last moment, a pardon being produced as the executioner was going to execute the sentence^g. A circumstance that attended this affair will give us an idea of the court of *France* at this juncture. Marshal *d'Estrees* then commanded the army of *France* in the electorate of *Cleves*; he was the intimate friend of *Chateaufort* and *du Jars*; he understood, by a private letter, what had happened to them both; he understood, at the same time, that his two lieutenant-generals had received packets from the court, though he had none. The fate of marshal *Marillac* came into his head; he took it for granted that he was undone, and fairly ran away. After four days, finding that no such orders were come, he frankly wrote the cardinal the truth, who, after rallying him in his answer, bid him return to his command^h. It was not in *France* only the cardinal was feared; *Urban* the eighth was obliged, at his request, to send a commission to the archbishop of *Arles*, and the bishops of *Boulogne*, *St. Flour*, and *St. Malo*, to hear what could be offered against the bishops of *Lodeve*, *Aleves*, *St. Pons*, *Albi*, *Uzes*, and *Nismes*, who were accused of concurring in the revolt of the duke of *Montmorency*; and, upon a full hearing, the three former were acquitted, and the three latter were deposedⁱ. The queen-mother, wearied with her long exile, and piqued at the ill usage she met with from her son, solicited the king for leave to return, and at the same time assured him that she had not the least knowledge of Monsieur's irruption into *Languedoc*. The king gave her for answer, that, as to Monsieur's irruption, he could not have made it, if she had not pawned her jewels to supply him with money; and that, till she abandoned those who gave her ill counsels to his justice, he could not think himself safe with her in his court^m. A. D. 1633.

CHARLES the fourth duke of *Lorraine*, finding it impossible to comply with the terms of the treaty of *Nancy*, having a strong aversion to *France*, and an implacable hatred to the cardinal, flattered himself that he could obtain some ease for his subjects by resigning his dominions to his brother, which he accordingly did, but it had not the proposed effectⁿ. The cardinal so irritated *Richelieu*, to whose niece he had been a pretender more than a year, that he ordered the marshal *de la Force* to invest the new married couple in *Luneville*, which he did, and, the place being quickly surrendered, brought them prisoners to *Nancy*, where the duchess *Nicola* was before^o. On the first of *April*, tired with their imprisonment, the duke and duchess made their escape, he in the dress of a peasant, and she with a basket on her back^p. In a little time all the rest of *Lorraine* was reduced, and treated, in all respects, as a province of *France*. The states of *Holland* having broken their negotiation with the crown of *Spain* for a truce, the king signed a treaty^q, on the 15th of *April*, with them, by which he promised to give them a subsidy of two millions, provided they did not conclude either peace or truce with the Spaniards for a year. The death of *Walstein*, duke of *Freidland*^r, was a mortifying stroke to the cardinal, who is thought to have had a great hand in persuading him to revolt from the emperor. On the first of *July* the king, by an edict^s, directed his geographers to account the first meridian to pass through the island of *Ferro*, which is the most western of the *Canaries*, and, at the same time, declared all *French* and *Spanish* vessels, taken beyond that meridian,

^c *Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau*, p. 44. ^{VITT. SIRI} *Memoire recon dite*, *Memoires de Pontis*, tom. ii. liv. ii. ^f *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii. ^g *VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*, tom. vii. ^h *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii. p. 86. ⁱ *VITT. SIRI *Memoire recon dite*, tom. vii. ^k *Vie de Richelieu*. ^l *DUPL.* *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ^m *BERNARD* *Histoire de Louis XIII.* ⁿ *Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau*, p. 37. ^o *Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau*, p. 47. ^p *VITT. SIRI *Memoire recon dite*, tom. vii. ^q *Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau*. ^r *Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII.* tom. iii. p. 254. ^s *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii. p. 88. ^t *AUBERI* *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*. ^u *DUPL.* *Histoire de Louis XIII.* *BERNARD* *Histoire de Louis XIII.****

good prize, till such time as those crowns should open their ports, in both *Indies*, to all vessels bearing *French* colours.

The defeat of
the Swedes
causes a great
change in af-
fairs.

ON the 6th of *September* the *Swedes*, under the command of the duke of *Weymar* and marshal *Horne*, were totally defeated at *Norlingen* by the imperialists and their allies, with the loss of twenty thousand men and seventy pieces of cannon^a. By this great blow the cardinal was forced to change his conduct; he had hitherto looked upon it as the most necessary and refined policy to make the house of *Austria* feel all the miseries of war from the arms and money of *France*, without declaring openly against her; and on this he had valued himself highly in some of his discourses to the parliament; but the allies of *France*, who had long thought otherwise, were compelled, by the present conjuncture of affairs, to speak their sentiments freely. They alleged, that, *France* not declaring, the *Spaniards* found themselves at liberty to assist the imperialists in such a manner as rendered them superior to the allies; that, in fact, therefore, this gave the house of *Austria* an advantage, as the *French* would feel, whenever the Protestant princes in *Germany* were reduced to make terms, since the imperialists would throw their whole force into *Lorraine*, at the same time the *Spaniards* invaded *Picardy*. The cardinal contented himself for the present with renewing the treaty with the crown of *Sweden*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the rest of the Protestant princes who still remained in arms; by which he engaged to furnish them with a large sum of money, and, in consideration of another sum, procured from the *Swedes* *Philipsburg* and some other places; stipulated farther, that, whenever *France* should declare war, *Alsace* should be put into her hands by way of deposit. This treaty was signed at *Paris* on the first of *November*^w, and towards the close of the year the marshal *de la Force* recovered the city of *Heidelberg*, and forced the imperialists to raise the siege of the castle with loss: services that procured him considerable gratifications from his master.

The duke of
Orleans quits
Brussels, and
returns to
court.

THE queen-mother still continued her solicitations to return, and even condescended to write a letter to the cardinal, to intreat his interposition in her favour, which embarrassed him exceedingly. He gave, however, the same answer he had done before, except that he now named the persons whom he expected to have given up, which were Father *Chantelupe*, who had hired several persons to assassinate him, the abbe *de St. Germain*, who had written volumes of libels against him, and abbe *Fabroni*, who had cast the king's horoscope, and had very confidently predicted he had not long to live^x. The queen saw, that, if she stooped to this, she should lose the credit and confidence of all mankind, and therefore rejected the proposition, which was, very probably, what the cardinal intended. The cardinal still treated with Monsieur, or rather with his favourite *Paylaurens*, and the reconciliation was brought very near; notwithstanding which, Monsieur, on the 12th of *May*, signed the treaty with the marquis *d'Aytona*^y, who commanded in the *Spanish Low Countries*, by which he engaged not to return in two years and a half to *France*, let things take what turn there they would; and, on the other, the *Spaniards* promised to furnish him with fifteen thousand men, to make a fresh attempt; but the true design of this alliance was to conceal his negociation, and to raise his terms with the cardinal. His Catholic majesty's ratification, by the shipwreck of the vessel that carried it on the coast of *France*, fell by that accident into the cardinal's hand, and had actually this effect^z. However, the parliament, and even an assembly of the clergy of *France*, declared the duke of *Orleans*'s marriage null and void, under pretence that the house of *Lorraine* had committed a rape upon him, and that the two dukes had compelled him to marry their sister. On the eighth of *October* Monsieur^a stole away from *Brussels*, without taking leave of his mother or wife, and, on his return to court, was very graciously received.

War declared
against Spain.

WE are now arrived at that period, in which the embarrassed state of foreign affairs had almost frightened the cardinal from the helm, as he was once before on the point of resigning, from the consequences of the intrigues at *Lyons*. The famous Father *Joseph*, and *Bullion*, who had the direction of the finances, kept up his spirits on that, as the same Father and the cardinal *de la Valette* did on this occasion^b. The year opened with a great misfortune. The imperialists surprised *Philipsburg*, which, exclusive of its great importance, had cost four hundred thousand crowns to the *Swedes*; there was in it half that sum in ready money, and the magazines were completed at an immense expence, all of which passed at once into the hands of the enemy^c. The *Spaniards* and the imperialists had now so visible a superiority, that, in the beginning of *February*, the king was obliged to conclude a new treaty^d with the States General, by which he promised to declare war immediately against *Spain*, and to act in con-

^a VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite, BATT. NANI. Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 282.

^x AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite, tom. vii. p. 761.

^y AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. i. p. 425.

^z VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite, tom. vii.

^a AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^b BERNARD

tom. iii. p. 289.

^c BATT. NANI.

^d Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII.

a junction with the *Dutch* in the *Low Countries*, with an army of thirty thousand men. At the same time a plan ^c of partition was made, by which it was determined what part of the *Spanish* provinces should belong to the king, and what to the republic, provided the inhabitants of those provinces did not accept the proposition that was to be made them, of revolting against their masters, and unite themselves, as the seven provinces had done, into a free commonwealth. This treaty between the crown and the republic, which seemed to unite them more closely than ever, proved the first source of those suspicions that alienated the *Dutch* from *France*; for the wise heads in the states, perceiving how earnest a desire the king had to become their neighbour, grew jealous of a power, of whom, hitherto, they had no apprehension. Besides, *Frederick Henry*, prince of *Orange*, for certain reasons, hated the cardinal, and was the only one of his enemies who could justly boast of having made him sensible of his resentment ^f. The *Spaniards* had no sooner an account of this treaty, than they formed the project of surprising *Treves*, which was executed by the governor of *Luxemburg*, who, having surprised and cut in pieces the *French* garrison, plundered the elector's palace, and carried him away prisoner into *Flanders*, for having put himself under his most Christian majesty's protection ^g. The cardinal took this occasion to declare war ^h, and published a long manifesto, which was quickly answered by the *Spaniards*. The queen-mother had written at large to the king her son, to dissuade him from this measure, which she represented as necessary to his minister, and fatal to himself. This letter was transmitted to *Mazarine*, the pope's nuncio, who, after having communicated it to *Richelieu*, delivered it to the king, who, when he had read it, told him, that, out of respect to his mother, he declined writing an answer, that he might not be obliged to upbraid her with her partiality to the *Spaniards*, and the small regard she discovered for his honour and interests ⁱ.

In pursuance of the treaty with *Holland*, the *French* army, commanded by the marshals *Cbatillon* and *Breze*, marched to join that of the prince of *Orange*, in the neighbourhood of *Maestricht*. The army commanded by the marshals consisted of six thousand horse and twenty-two thousand foot. In their march they met with the *Spanish* army, under the command of prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, consisting of about seventeen thousand men, but so well intrenched, that they were not at all apprehensive of being attacked. But the *French*, in full spirits, and at the opening of the campaign, attacked them with such vigour, that, in a short time, they were totally defeated, four thousand killed upon the spot, nine hundred taken, together with all their baggage and artillery. This, stiled the battle of *Avein*, was fought on the twentieth of *May* ^k. The victorious army marched without interruption to *Maestricht*, where they joined the prince of *Orange*, and fell under his command. They attacked *Tirlemont*, a place of considerable strength, and took it sword in hand. The army behaved there with the utmost cruelty and licentiousness, the *Dutch* throwing the blame upon the *French*, and the *French* upon them ^l. They afterwards invested *Louvain*, but, through some misunderstandings between their generals, were constrained to raise the siege; after which they went into winter-quarters; but those assigned the *French* were so indifferent, that this flourishing army wasted away in such manner, that they returned home in small parties; which disgrace and disappointment chagrined the cardinal to the last degree, more especially as it created a great clamour in *France*, where, from the weight of their taxes, and other grievous misfortunes, the people in general were too much inclined to murmur. On the side of *Germany* things were like to go worse; the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* made their peace with the emperor, and their example was followed by most of the *German* princes: the cardinal had much ado to preserve the *Swedes* in a condition to keep up a diversion on that side, tho' he sent his great friend the cardinal *de la Valette* to assist the duke of *Weymar*. The king was so impatient at seeing not only his conquest, but his dominions in danger, that, after being dissuaded from putting himself at the head of the army in *Germany*, he, in the autumn, put himself at the head of a few troops in *Champagne*, of whom the count *de Soissons* was declared general, and with those he entered *Lorraine*, where he took *St. Mibel*, which had been surprized by the inhabitants ^m. He retired soon after, the count *de Cramail* having shewn him that he ran a great hazard of being carried away by the duke of *Lorraine*: the cardinal, to hide the true cause of this retreat, caused the count to be arrested ⁿ, and sent to the *Bastile*, and disgraced the count *de Soissons*. To put things in a better posture for the future, he concluded, towards the end of the month, a treaty with duke *Bernard* of *Weymar* ^o, by which he promised him a subsidy of four millions *per annum*, for the maintenance of an army of eighteen thousand men, and granted him several personal advantages besides.

This at the beginning is attended with many checks and universal discontent.

^c Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 296.

AUBERI. ^g VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

BERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

liv. iii. p. 150.

^m AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, LE VASSOR. Mercure Francois.

de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 335.

^f Memoires de Holland, par

^h LE VASSOR. Histoire de Louis XIII.

ⁱ AU-

^l Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii.

ⁿ Me-

^o VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite, Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire

League of
Italy con-
cluded.

THE cardinal, to keep the house of *Austria* every-where employed, projected and accom-
plished the grand league in *Italy*, into which entered the dukes of *Savoy*, *Parma*, and
Mantua, to whose assistance marched the marshal *de Crequi*, with sixteen thousand men. The
brothers of the famous marshal *Thoiras* having very imprudently entered into the intrigues
at *Lyons*, that great man became suspected, and of consequence disgraced; however, at the
earnest desire of the duke of *Savoy*, he was permitted to enter into his service. Marshal
Crequi invested *Valence* with his forces, to the relief of which the *Spanish* army marched, under
the command of Don *Carlo Colonna*. The duke of *Savoy* went with ill will to this siege, and
with a worse to attack the *Spaniards*, who were advancing to relieve the place; the marshal,
however, attacked them, before they were intrenched, and, in all probability, had beat them,
if he had been properly seconded by the duke; as he was not, he found himself constrained
to retire, of which he made grievous complaints: it was suspected that marshal *Thoiras* con-
tributed not a little to this check; but however, it is very certain that this misintelligence
amongst their chiefs ruined the cardinal's grand design of conquering, in one campaign, the
duchy of *Milan*, and would have been attended with still worse effects, if it had not been for
the success of the duke of *Rohan* in the *Valtelline*, where, immediately after this misfortune,
he beat the Imperialists, who had otherwise entered the duchy of *Milan* with twenty thou-
sand men, and, on the tenth of *November*, he defeated the *Spaniards* at *Morbeigne*, under
the command of general *Serbellon*^p: services justly esteemed at that time, but which after-
wards were but unjustly requited, through the envy borne to his distinguished abilities, and
steady attachment to his religion.

Puylaurens,
the duke of
Orleans's fa-
vourite, im-
prisoned and
poisoned.

WE have yet the intrigues of the year to account for. All that had been promised to
Monsieur was punctually performed, and, after some delay his favourite *Puylaurens* was fully
gratified; he had a sum of money given him, which enabled him to purchase the duchy of
Aiguillon: he married mademoiselle *de Pont du Chateau*, the cardinal's relation, and was made
duke and peer of *France*^q. His fortune was great, but of no long duration; for it quickly
appeared that the cardinal and he were not capable of a right understanding. The king was
bent upon dissolving his brother's marriage; the cardinal desired *Puylaurens* to dispose his
master to it, and would not believe that it was out of his power. On the other hand, *Puy-*
laurens was desirous of sharing in the administration; which disturbed the cardinal so much,
that he engaged the king to cause him to be arrested at the *Louvre*, and sent to the castle of
Vincennes, where he died on the first of *July*, a little suspiciously^r. To pacify his master,
he was admitted into the council; but the loss of his favourite, and the imprisonment of some
other persons about him, did not operate at all upon his conduct. He disclaimed the pre-
tence of a rape by the princes of *Lorraine*; he declared that his marriage was the effects
of his choice; that he made it a point of conscience to adhere to his wife, to whom he remitted
five thousand crowns a month; and shewed so much calmness and steadiness in this, as he had
weakness and inconstancy on every other occasion^s.

The war in
Germany and
Italy carried
on with indif-
ferent success.

ON the side of *Germany* the imperialists made themselves masters of *Metz*; but they had
not the same fortune in besieging *Calmar*, from which they were obliged to rise by cardinal
de la Valette and the duke of *Weymar*^t. The king having sent the prince of *Condé* to besiege
Dole and *Franche Comté*, the imperialists made an irruption into *Burgundy*, where they might
certainly have done something of importance, if the desire of plundering the country had
not induced them to spread their troops abroad, instead of reducing and keeping any of the
strong places. The king and his minister were so much alarmed at this invasion, that it
was judged requisite to make a new treaty with the young queen of *Sweden*^u, and another
with the landgrave of *Hesse*^v, both engaging for the payment of subsidies, in consideration
of the forces they were to employ against the common enemy. The *Spaniards* attacked the
kingdom likewise on their side, took and burned *St. John de Luz*, and had taken *Bayonne*,
if the duke *de la Valette*, taking advantage of their slowness, had not relieved it; but the
fleet sent to recover the islands on the coast of *Provence* met with a repulse. It was com-
manded by the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, which so extremely piqued the marshal *de Vitry*,
who commanded in *Provence*, that he hindered the operations till the *Spanish* galleys appeared,
by which the design was rendered impracticable^x. In *Italy* things went little better than be-
fore; for though the duke of *Savoy* beat the *Spaniards* in the month of *June*, yet he would
not improve that victory, because he had engaged by treaty to enlarge the district about
Pignerol, in proportion to his conquests in the *Milanese*, and, to avoid doing the one, he
would not do the other. The brave marshal *Thoiras*, who attended that prince, was killed
at the siege of an inconsiderable place, as he was giving directions for a battery. The duke
of *Parma* had the misfortune to see himself stripped of the best part of his dominions by the

^p LE VASSOR. BATT. NANI. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.
Mercure Francois. ^q AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. ^r Mercure Francois. ^s VITT.
SIRI Memoire recon dite. Vie de Richelieu. ^t BATT. NANI, Memoires de Puysegur. ^u Recueil de
Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 355. ^v Ibid. p. 359. ^x LE VASSOR.

a *Spaniards*, but the duke of *Roban* was still victorious in the *Valteline*, which hindered the *Spaniards* from pushing things on this side with that vigour and advantage which they otherwise would have done ^r.

THE Cardinal Infant, perceiving that, in consequence of the many designs formed on both sides, the frontier of *Picardy* lay in a manner open, resolved to enter *France* on that side, with all the force he could collect. Accordingly he committed the command of the army to prince *Thomas of Savoy*, who was joined by *Picolomini*, and *John de Werth*, an enterprising officer, who commanded a corps of irregular troops who rendered themselves terrible where-ever they came. This army presented itself about the beginning of *July* before *la Capelle*, which rendered the sixth day of the siege, the baron *du Bec*, who commanded therein, thinking it impossible to defend it longer. *Le Catelet* was taken in two days, *Monf. St. Leger* having surrendered before a breach was made: the cardinal, to cover the omission in not making suitable provision for the defence of these places, caused the officers who commanded in them to be condemned of high treason, as if they had acted in concert with the *Spaniards*. He even went so far as to treat the duke *de la Valette* with harsh language, for interposing on the behalf of the baron *du Bec*, and caused the duke *de St. Simon* ^z, the king's favourite, to whom he had many obligations, to be disgraced, for endeavouring to support *Monf. St. Leger*; who was his uncle. These severities had not the effect he expected. The *Spaniards* forced a passage over the *Somme*, in spite of the small army commanded by the count *de Soissons*, and immediately after invested *Corbie*, in which commanded *Monsieur Soyecourt*, the king's lieutenant-general of the province, who surrendered in a week, notwithstanding he had a garrison of eighteen hundred men, and the place was reputed strong ^a. The *Parisians* seeing *John de Werth* within two days march of their gates, fell into the utmost confusion. The king was so much chagrined, that he scarce spoke to the cardinal, who shut himself up in his palace, not knowing what course to take. In this situation his old friend *Buillon*, who by his favour was at the head of the finances, advised him not only to appear publicly, but to lay aside his guards; "For I," said he, "who am ten times more hated than you, traverse all *Paris* with a couple of footmen only." *Richelieu* took his advice, and the citizens, taking it for a mark of confidence, tho' they had reviled him the day before, applauded his courage, and the populace followed him with loud acclamations ^b. However, this had no effect upon the king; and his coldness so dispirited the cardinal, that he communicated to *Father Joseph* his intention to quit the ministry, in order to provide for his safety. But the cunning capuchin told him that was not the way to be safe; and that a minister, who had brought the kingdom and himself into danger, ought to employ his thoughts how to bring them out. The cardinal, upon this, laboured assiduously to reinforce the army, borrowed money on every hand, took a footman from every person who kept two, and a horse from those who kept more than two; stopped all the new buildings, and sent the carpenters and masons for recruits; ordered forces from every quarter, and in a little time assembled fifty thousand men; resolved to take the command in person, if the count *de Soissons* would have served under him; but that prince having absolutely rejected the proposition, he gave the command to the duke of *Orleans*, supposing those two princes could not long agree, and that this would afford him a fair opportunity of removing them both, or of bringing one of them at least entirely into his measures ^c.

THIS proved one of the most dangerous resolutions he had ever taken. When the king saw his brother at the head of an army, he was so much out of temper that there was no approaching him. On the other hand, *Monsieur* and the count *de Soissons*, contrary to the cardinal's expectation, agreed perfectly well: indeed so well, that, upon comparing their grievances, they came to a resolution of causing the cardinal to be assassinated, as he sat in council with the king at *Amiens*. Four of their domestics were appointed to perform this base action; and they had the cardinal entirely in their power; for on the day fixed the king went early from the council: *Monsieur* and the count held the cardinal a long time in conversation, the four assassins standing round him ready to have dispatched him, if *Monsieur* had put his hand to his hat, which was to have been the signal ^d. But, on a sudden, the duke of *Orleans* left the hall where they were, and went up stairs. One of the four followed him, and asked him what he meant: he said his conscience would not permit him to dip his hands in the blood of a cardinal, archbishop, and priest. The cardinal knew nothing of this danger at the time, but was afterwards informed of it by the duke *de la Valette*, who was embarked in the conspiracy. The campaign was short; by the middle of *September* the *Spaniards* were obliged to repass the *Somme*; on the 10th of *November* *Corbie* was recovered ^e. On the 20th of the

^r AUBERT Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. ^z VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. Memoires du Beauvassangis. ^a Memoires de Puysegur. Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne. ^b Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires Historiques, &c. par AMELOT DE LA HOUSSEY. ^c Memoires du Comte de Brienne. ^d VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. Memoires de Montresor. ^e LE VASSOR Histoire de Louis XIII.

same month, the duke of *Orleans* and the count *de Soissons* fled, at eleven o'clock at night, out of *Paris*, the former to *Blois*, and the latter to *Sedan*; the cardinal causing false intelligence to be given them, that the king intended to arrest them, while with his master it passed for a kind of conviction of their guilt, that they had retired in this abrupt manner; yet both were A. D. 1636. treated with great lenity, by the cardinal's advice. The count *de Soissons* was permitted to receive his rents and his appointments, without being obliged to return; and the king offered his brother to approve his marriage, provided he would give him a promise under his hand not to enter into any correspondence with foreigners, or to attempt disturbing the public tranquillity^f. In order to gain *Frederick Henry* prince of *Orange*, whom the cardinal had disobliterated by his haughtiness, and whom he had compelled, which was a very difficult thing, to seek his friendship by submissions, he ordered the ambassador of *France* to give him the title of highness instead of excellency, and was so fortunate as to succeed, which proved, in many instances, very beneficial to *France*, and helped to extricate her out of her present difficulties^g.

Progress of the war in Germany, and dissolution of the Italian league.

In *Germany* the affairs of the *Swedes* went but indifferently; but the duke of *Weymar* had the good fortune to defeat the troops of *Lorraine* about midsummer. The emperor *Ferdinand* the second dying, *France* made some difficulty of owning his son *Ferdinand* the third, though he had been chosen king of the *Romans* with the accustomed ceremonies; but, when it was found this example was not either followed or approved by other princes, *France* dropped her opposition^h. On the side of *Italy* things went very indifferently. The duke of *Parma* being besieged in *Placentia*, and the *French* not knowing how to relieve him, he was constrained to accept the terms offered him by *Spain*, which were not very unreasonable; by this, and by the death of the duke of *Mantua* and the duke of *Savoy*, the *Italian* league seemed to be dissolved, with which the cardinal was not at all displeased, because it gave him an opportunity of saving, and the unavoidable expences of the war ran so high, that he found it equally difficult and necessaryⁱ. He was, however, sensibly chagrined at the loss of the *Valteline*, and with reason, since it was intirely his own fault.

The duke of Rohan compelled to abandon the Valteline, and the islands recovered.

HE hated the duke of *Rohan*, and, though he had served the king with equal fidelity and success, yet no care was taken to supply him with money, which was all he wanted to carry on affairs on that side; upon this the *Grisons*, to whom he owed a million for the pay and subsistence of his troops, entered into a negotiation with the *Spaniards*, for obliging him to evacuate the *Valteline*: he engaged them, however, to give him two months time, and, by way of favour, procured two months more; but the cardinal would not relieve, or so much as afford him an answer. In this distress his prudence suggested an expedient that saved his own honour, and his master's troops: he undertook they should evacuate the country in a certain number of days, and became a hostage for the performance; and thus the blame was wholly and incontestably thrown upon the cardinal, and his own honour secured^k. The fleet which, the year before, did so little, met this year with better fortune, though still commanded by the count *de Harcourt*, and the archbishop of *Bordeaux*; for, after having made a descent in *Sardinia*, towards the end of *February*, they, in the middle of *May*, made a descent on the island of *St. Margaret*, and, having beat the *Spaniards* from their forts, with great loss, compelled them at length to abandon that of *St. Honorat*, which would have been done the year before, had not the archbishop quarrelled with marshal *de Vitri*, and perhaps would not have been done now, if that marshal had not been sent to the *Bastile* for returning the prelate's ill language with two or three strokes of his cane^l. The duke *de la Valette*, who, being under the cardinal's displeasure, could have no assistance from court, by cutting off their provisions, obliged the enemy to quit two or three small places they had seized in *Guienne*, and so delivered the province without an army; the *Spaniards*, to revenge these losses, invested *Leucat* with an army. It was a place of no great strength, and the *Sieur de Barri*, who commanded in it, had but fourscore men; but, notwithstanding this, he defended himself for a month, which gave time to the duke of *Halvin* to march with a body of peasants, raised in haste, with whom he defeated the *Spaniards*, killed them two thousand men, took their train of artillery, consisting of thirty-seven pieces of heavy cannon, for which he was soon after rewarded with the staff of marshal, and chose to be called by his father's title, *Schomberg*, though duke and peer in right of his wife^m.

Campaign in the Low Countries, and la Capelle recovered.

ON the side of the *Low Countries*, the cardinal *de la Valette*, assisted by his eldest brother the duke *de Candale*, reduced *Chateau Cambresis*, *Bavai*, *Maubeuge*, and *Landreci*, small places, but important by their situation. The marshal *de Chatillon* took *Yvoi* in the duchy of *Luxemburgh*, and, this being quickly recovered, he invested *Damvilliers*, which he likewise

^f Memoires d'un Favourite.

VASSOR Histoire de Louis XIII.

BATT. NANI. Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu.

memoire recon dite. Memoires du Comte de Brienne. Histoire de Louis XIII.

^g Memoires de Holland, par AUBERI,

^h Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

ⁱ LE VASSOR Histoire de Louis XIII. VITT. SIRI Me-

^k Memoires du Duc de Rohan.

^l Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. LE VASSOR

^a reduced. The duke of *Longueville* took also several places in the *Frenche Comté*. The king was very desirous of taking the field himself, in order to have recovered *la Capelle*; but, according to the report that was made to the cardinal, this was not so easy or so sure a thing as to venture the monarch's reputation upon it; yet in the month of *September*, the cardinal *de la Valette*, after taking the sense of a council of war, resolved to invest it, and became master of it in ten days^o. The king, though he was sensible of the great importance of this success, was, notwithstanding, displeased that he had not the credit of taking it; upon which the minister found himself obliged to send for the journal of the campaign, that he might convince his majesty that it was not undertaken by his orders, but purely by the advice of the council of war, upon finding the siege of *Avesnes*, which he had commanded, impracticable; ^b with which the king, in appearance at least, was pretty well satisfied. But this was far from being the minister's greatest trouble^o.

THE cardinal, in the beginning of the year, had prevailed upon his master to make a tour to *Orleans*, with the *French* and *Swiss* guards. This had an admirable effect in fixing the intentions of Monsieur, who had begun to draw the disaffected about him at *Blois*, and had talked in high strains of the honour and courtesy of the *Spaniards*, as if he had forgot the miserable end of the duke of *Montmorenci*, and his own sad situation at *Brussels*. But now, apprehending his liberty in danger, he was very willing to treat, accepted the offer that was made him of not proceeding farther in the matter of his marriage, took a new oath of fidelity, and was extremely delighted, that, at his request, the king had been pleased to set the chevalier *Grignan* and the abbe *de la Riviere* at liberty. The *French* wits said of the latter, that he knew the worth of his master the best of any body, because he had fold him over and over^p. The ill humours of the duke of *Orleans* were troublesome, but those of the king were terrible, and it was not long before the cardinal experienced these. He seemed at first thoughtful, then melancholy, and at length sullen. His confessor, the famous Father *Caussin*, a Jesuit, was the source of all this. He had filled his mind with scruples of conscience, and at length, in resolving them, furnished him with four charges against the minister; that he had driven the queen-mother into exile, and kept her there without bread; that he had usurped the royal authority himself, having the power, and his majesty no more than the title, of king; that the people were oppressed with taxes in such a manner, that misery was become universal; and that the wealth torn out of the vitals of the people was consumed in subsidies to heretics, such as the *Swedes*, the *Germans*, and the *Dutch*. The king asked him if he could recommend another minister in point of abilities, which was a thing *Caussin* had never considered, being moved to this enterprize by bigotry rather than ambition. He answered therefore in the negative; but, being pressed by the king, he undertook to maintain what he had advanced to *Richelieu's* face, on a day assigned^q. In the mean time looking upon himself as commissioned to find out another prime minister, he communicated the whole of what had passed to the duke of *Angoulesme*, who promised to support him. But knowing the vindictive spirit of one priest, and having no great opinion of the sense and spirit of the other, he went directly to the cardinal, and told him how all things stood. The cardinal, in consequence of this intelligence, managed things so well with the king, that by the time the day came, he stood as high in the king's favour as ever; and when Father *Caussin* appeared, and demanded an audience, he was told that the king had been for a long time with the cardinal in his closet. After waiting, he was ordered to return to *Paris*, and being that evening arrested, was conveyed to *Quimpercorrent*, in *Bretagne*^r. He had been prevailed upon to undertake this perilous enterprize by Father *Monoa*, who was confessor to the duchess regent of *Savoy*, the king's sister; and the cardinal's vengeance reached him the next year, by a positive declaration to the duchess, that the king could not confide in her while Father *Monoa* continued about her person; upon which he was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Montmelian*^s. He made the queen also feel the effects of his power and influence, on account of her correspondence with the duchess of *Chevreuse*, once the object of the king's and cardinal's passion, and was now inexpressibly hated by both. The marquise *de la Force* was erected into a duchy and peerage in favour of the marshal. This year also the cardinal instituted the *French* academy, which, by its institution, was to be composed of forty members, who were to direct their studies so as to improve and perfect the *French* language. The true design of the cardinal is said to have been to declare himself by this means the protector of letters, that men of parts and learning might, in a more especial manner, be attached to him^t.

THE king, in the beginning of the year, by a solemn act put his person and kingdom under the protection of the Blessed Virgin^u. Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar* having made a tour into

^a Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

^o Memoires de Puysegur.

^p Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. Me-

moires de Montresor.

^q VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. Memoires de Montresor.

^r Memoires

du Duc d'Orleans. Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^s AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Mer-

cure Francois.

^t Vie de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Riche-

^u Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu.

Course of the war in Germany and

Italy; death
of the dukes of
Savoy and
Rohan, and
marshal
Crequi.

Switzerland, the duke of *Rohan*, with whom he had many conferences, was so charmed with his conversation, that he engaged him to accompany him to his army, with which he besieged *Rheinfeld*, a strong place, which is considered as the chief of the forest towns. On the 28th of February *John de Werth* forced one of the quarters of his camp with great loss, took several pieces of cannon, and obliged him to raise the siege. The duke, having very exact intelligence, returned on the 3d of March, attacked and defeated the imperial army, took twelve pieces of cannon, and their four generals prisoners. To make his court to the king, *John de Werth* was sent under an escorte to *Paris*. In the first action the duke of *Rohan* was mortally wounded, and died on the 13th of March, in a village belonging to the canton of *Bern*^w. His corpse lies interred at *Geneva*. The suit of armour he wore was received with great respect by the state of *Venice*, to whom it was bequeathed^x. He was little regretted at court, though one of the greatest men that age produced. The duke of *Weymar* afterwards reduced *Rheinfeld*, *Friburgh*, and, after twice beating the imperialists, and a long blockade, *Brisac*^y. In *Italy* things went but very indifferently. The duchess of *Savoy* was desirous of concluding a defensive league only; the cardinal, by threatening that the king would abandon her, obliged her to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with *France*^z. The Spaniards having invested *Brenca*, marshal *Crequi* going to reconnoitre his lines, standing against a tree, with his perspective glass in his hand, an engineer took so good an aim, that the bullet struck off his left hand with the glass in it, and went through his belly into the tree. Thus fell this great man, on the 18th of March^a. The cardinal *de la Valette* was sent to command in his stead, he could not prevent the taking of *Vercel*, and remained afterwards on the defensive. On the fourth of October died the young duke of *Savoy*^b, who was succeeded by his brother *Charles Emanuel*. The cardinal of *Savoy* and prince *Thomas* contested the regency, but the duchess, supported by her brother, prevailed.

The prince of
Condé com-
pelled to raise
the siege of
Fontarabia.

On the side of *Spain* it was resolved to act offensively. The conde duke had caused *France* to be invaded twice, the cardinal duke resolved on the siege of *Fontarabia*, contrary to the advice of the duke *de la Valette*, who declined commanding the army that was to form it^c. The cardinal, to mortify that family, declared the prince of *Condé* the king's lieutenant-general in *Guienne*, and the provinces adjacent, ordered the old duke of *Espéron* to keep his house, and the duke *de la Valette* to attend the prince, who entered *Navarre* in the beginning of the month of July, took *Iron*, *Figueras*, and *Port-Passage*, in which he found twelve good ships, and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who had orders to second him with a fleet, defeated that of *Spain*, which was composed of fourteen galleons and four frigates; one only of the latter escaped, the rest were either taken or sunk, and on board them four or five thousand old troops were either burned or drowned^d. As this fleet was intended for the relief of *Fontarabia*, it was given up for lost, though very gallantly defended. But the prince of *Condé* in the first place made a strange mistake in abandoning *Port-Passage*, which enabled the admiral of *Castile* to march with twelve hundred horse and fifteen thousand militia to the relief of the place. It was in so desperate a state, that he put all things to the hazard, and, on the 7th of September, attacked the *French* in their intrenchments, though their army consisted of nineteen thousand old troops. The officers did their duty, but the first intrenchment being forced, all things fell into confusion; the prince of *Conti* and the archbishop of *Bordeaux* retiring to the fleet, embarked what troops they could, and escaped. The duke *de la Valette*, who had been removed from his command, and was at a distance from the army, returned of his own accord, rallied the flying remains of their forces, and made a decent retreat^e. The prince, notwithstanding, threw all the blame upon him, and the duke, who foresaw he should be made a victim, notwithstanding the credit his brother had with the cardinal, withdrew to *England*^f; upon which his process was made, he was condemned to lose his head, and that sentence publicly executed in effigy at the *Greve*, though the president *Bellevue* and some others, his judges, protested against it. As the cardinal had power to depress even without cause, so he claimed also the prerogative of exalting without merit. His nephew Monsieur *de Pont Courlai*, with fifteen *French* galleys, attacked as many of the Spaniards before *Genoa*, on the 1st of September, and with the loss of three of his own, defeated them totally, and took six, by which he gained great reputation, though his personal behaviour did not at all contribute to the victory^g. These were the dawns of the *French* naval power, which this minister had much at heart.

The cardinal
inexorable to
the queen-
mother, and

THE marshal *de Chatillon*, with a numerous army, entered *Artois*, and, after wasting that country, in the latter end of May invested *St. Omer*; but, after lying before it seven weeks, and losing a great number of men, he was constrained to retire by prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* and

^w Mercure Francois.
l'Histoire de Louis XIII.

^x BATT. NANI.

^y LE VASSOR.

^z Recueil de Pieces concernant

^c VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. LE VASSOR.

^a VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

^b Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu.

Duc d'Espéron.

^e Mercure Francois.

^d AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Vie du

Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, Mercure Francois.

^f Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^g AUBERI

a general *Piccolomini*, with which the king was greatly offended; so that he was ordered to retire to his house, and the command given to the marshal *de la Force*^b. In autumn, however, Monsieur *du Hallier* recovered *le Catelet*, which was the last of their conquests that the *Spaniards* retained. The disputes at court ran as high as ever this year, and the minister's authority and influence appeared with greater lustre than it had hitherto done. The queen-mother, after spending some little time in *Holland*, made a tour to *Great Britain*, where she prevailed upon the *French* minister *Bellievre*, by the recital of her miseries, to write in her behalf. She desired him to acquaint the cardinal, that as things were no longer what they were, so her desires were regulated by their present state; that she no longer sought for power, for places of safety, or even the splendor of a court; that she was willing to submit to his will, and receive from it, in what corner of *France* he pleased, bread and peace. The ambassador wrote all she desired in a very pathetic stile, but wrote without effect^c. The queen-mother had declared herself before the king implacable towards the cardinal; and either fear or resentment made him so ever after. He mortified the reigning queen almost as severely. He discovered her correspondence with her brother the cardinal Infant, and caused her to be interrogated upon it^d by the chancellor, tho' she was then with child. Her dignity thus invaded, the queen supported it by her behaviour: she said the ties of nature obliged her to love her brother, and her country; but that she had never written any thing inconsistent with her duty to the king, or with the affection she owed to *France*, since the sole end of her correspondence was to procure a peace. On the 5th of *September* she was delivered at *St. Germain en Laye* of her eldest son *Lewis*^e, afterwards surnamed the Great, in the twenty-third year of her marriage, and which filled all *France* with joy to a degree that is inexpressible.

THE cardinal, not satisfied with shewing that he had an interest with his master superior either to his mother or his wife, went yet farther, and took from him his mistress, Madame *de la Foyette*, and this by corrupting one of his servants, and also forging billets, by which he forced her into a convent. There the king learned the secret^m from her own mouth; for which the servant was disgraced, but without any diminution of the cardinal's power, as appears from the following instance. He procured *Aiguillon* to be created into a duchy and peerageⁿ, in favour of *Magdalen de Vignerot*, better known by the name of Madame *de Combalet*, with this singular clause, to be enjoyed by that lady, her heirs and successors, as well males as females, in such manner as she should be pleased to appoint. In virtue of which, by her testament in 1674, she called to the succession her niece, *Maria Theresa*, and at the same time substituted her grand nephew *Lewis* marquis of *Richelieu*, whose son the count *de Agenois* was, by an arret of parliament in 1731, declared duke and peer of *France*, in virtue of this substitution; but the peerage is esteemed no older than this arret^o.

DUKE *Bernard* of *Weymar*, who had hitherto rendered such important services to *France*, began now to give some trouble to the cardinal. He was a prince by birth, a soldier by profession; he had learned the art of war under *Gustavus Adolphus*, but his army was his own, though in the pay of *France*; it was composed of all nations, but chiefly of *Germans*: towards the close of the year it was thin and weak, but without any difficulty he recruited it by the spring, by the reputation of his generosity, justice, and an exact regard for merit. The count *de Guebriant* and the viscount *Turenne* had served under this prince, and were at once his lieutenants and his pupils. By a secret article in his treaty, duke *Bernard* was to have *Alsace* and a large pension; he was inclined, in the mean time, to keep *Brisac*, and to form a principality by the conquest of several small places round him. This did not at all please the cardinal; he wanted *Brisac* for *France*, and he pressed the duke to come to *Paris*, that they might confer about the operations of the campaign. But of this the duke would not hear; he said the imperialists were making great preparations to oppress and destroy him, and therefore it was not time for journeys. The count *de Guebriant* had orders to try if he might not be brought to sell *Brisac*, or to exchange it for the *Franche Comté*, which, if he could conquer, should be preserved to him at a general peace. The duke answered like a soldier, "Monsieur le Comte, to propose to a woman of virtue the sale of her virginity, and to a brave man the purchase of his honour, is the same thing^p." He sent, however, major-general *Erlach* to *Paris*, to settle the operations of the campaign, and with him the cardinal agreed, that, if the duke died, he should have a certain sum for the surrender of *Brisac*. On the return of that officer the duke opened the campaign in *January*, and prosecuted it with vigour, took several small places, but, on the 18th of *July*, deceased at *Newburgh* on the *Rhine*, after a short illness^q. There seems to be no great doubt that he died by poison, and there is as little that the cardinal was not displeased with his death; but it does not follow that

^b Memoires de Puysegur. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^k Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

^l Mercure Francois.

¹ VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recondit.

^a L'Etat de France, tom. ii. p. 303.

^o Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, seconde Partie,

^m VITT. SIRI Memoire recondit.

par P. HENAU, p. 508.

^p LE VASSOR. LE GENDRE.

^q Mercure Francois. Lettres du Car-

he procured it, though some have suspected it. He died at thirty-six years of age, and left his succession to any of his brothers who would accept it under the protection of *France* and *Sweden*. He appointed major-general *Erlach*, colonel *Obem*, the count *de Nassau*, and colonel *Rozen*, directors of his army. With these directors, after a long negotiation, *France* concluded a treaty, and, in virtue of that, and the money before stipulated, major-general *Erlach* gave up *Brisac*, as another officer did *Friburgh*; but of both places they were to remain governors, with a garrison half *German* and half *French*; the elector *Palatine*, who aspired to the command of this army, left *England* with that view; but, being arrested in his passage through *France*, the cardinal prevailed upon the directors to accept of the duke of *Longueville* for their chief^r.

Military and political transactions in Piedmont, with the famous retreat of count Harcourt.

THERE were, on the side of *Piedmont*, more transactions of consequence this year, than in any of the preceding. About the middle of *March*, the princes of *Savoy*, that is, the cardinal and prince *Thomas*, uncles to the reigning duke, made a treaty with the marquis *de Leganez*, at *Vaniero*, by which it was stipulated, that the marquis should put them in possession of the tutelage of their nephew, which they claimed; that they should use their joint endeavours to drive out the *French*; that such places as should open their gates should belong to the princes; but that such as were reduced by force of arms should be left in the hands of his Catholic majesty^s. In consequence of this treaty, before the end of the month, *Chivas* was surprized, which so raised the spirits of his party, that *Guieres* and *Montcallier* declared for him. *Verue* and *Crescentine* submitted soon after. In the beginning of *May* he reduced *Trin*, which was very ill defended^t. These losses obliged the duchess regent to conclude on the 1st of *June* a treaty with the king her brother^u, by which she consented to receive *French* garrisons into *Carmagnola*, *Savillan*, and *Querasque*, which were to be restored upon the conclusion of a peace. Her affairs, indeed, were in a very bad situation, notwithstanding that cardinal *de la Valette* recovered *Chivas*; but they became still worse, when, on the 27th of *August*, the princes of *Savoy* surprized *Turin*, and this so suddenly, that the duchess had much ado to escape with her jewels into the citadel^w. About a month after cardinal *de la Valette*, wore out with labour and chagrin, breathed his last at *Rivoli*. The pope refused the usual honours paid to the memory of cardinals, because he had commanded armies against Catholics, and had sometimes acted in conjunction with heretics^x. The command of his army was given to the count *de Harcourt*, who hitherto had commanded on board the fleet. About this time the duchess repaired to *Grenoble*, to confer with her brother, where cardinal *Richelieu* represented to her in plain terms, that her own subjects, being better affected to the princes than to herself, and the *Spaniards* pouring continually fresh troops into her dominions, there was no measure left for her to take with security and honour, but to put *Montmelian* into her brother's hands, and to send her son the young duke to *Paris*, to be educated with the dauphin. She was pressed to this also by the king himself; but, wanting words, she answered both with tears, and returned with little other assistance than promises^y. Count *Harcourt* sent Monsieur *le Mothe Haudancourt* to surprize *Quiers*, which he performed towards the end of *October*, on which the count marched thither with the rest of his army to assist in the fortifying it. He continued there about a month, when the marquis *de Leganez* encamped behind him, with the *Spanish* army, and prince *Thomas* before him, with all the forces he could assemble, secure that he could not escape either being starved or cut to pieces. He took his measures, however, so well, that, decamping in the night, he attacked and forced a passage through the army of the princes, before the *Spaniards* had any intelligence of his march; and having in the next night fortified a bridge, leaving some troops and cannon in it, he proceeded securely with the rest of his army before the *Spaniards* could force it, which was looked upon as one of the greatest actions in this war^z.

Progress of the war in Spain and the Low Countries.

By the advice of *Richelieu* the king resolved to act offensively against *Spain*; and accordingly the prince of *Condé* was sent with a considerable body of troops to besiege *Salces*, while the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, with his fleet, alarmed and insulted the coast^a. The reasons which he assigned were, that whatever fate attended the *Spanish* irruptions into *France*, the subjects of that monarchy were made to believe their master was invincible and terrible to his neighbours; but, if once attacked at home, they would speedily change their sentiments, and, loaded as they were with taxes, and discontented with the austere insolence of *Olivarez's* government, some of the provinces would not fail to revolt, when they saw that strangers were both able and willing to lend them assistance. It is true, this year's expedition produced not

^r LE GEND.

^s VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recon dite. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. LE VASSOR.

^t AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recon dite.

^u Corps Universel Di-

plomatique, tom. vi. part i. p. 174.

^w VITTORIO SIRI Memoire recon dite. Lettres du Cardinal de Riche-

lieu. ^x Memoires du Marechal de Fabert.

^y BATT. NANI, liv. xi. VITTORIO SIRI Memoire

recon dite, tom. viii. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^z VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

BATT. NANI, liv. xi. LE VASSOR.

^a AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu.

much,

a much, though *Salces* was taken, after five weeks siege ; but, in the end, the cardinal's conjectures were verified in such a manner, that, as a great *Italian* historian^b remarks, while in other places human counsels followed events, it looked as if events had followed *Richelieu's* counsels. But, for all this, things did not go quite so happily in all places : the marquis de *Feuquieres*, in the beginning of *June*, had with a small army invested *Thionville*, a very strong place, but which he would have infallibly taken, since it was equally deficient in provisions, ammunition, and garrison. Besides, he had taken his measures so well, that the governor, who was absent upon some necessary occasions, could not get in again. However, general *Picolomini* marched with such diligence and secrecy, that he attacked *Feuquieres* unexpectedly in his lines, which he speedily forced, killed and made prisoners six thousand men, and amongst the rest took *Feuquieres* himself, who died in *Thionville* of wounds and of grief. He then besieged *Mauzon*, where *Monf. de Refuge*, with a very small garrison, stood a general assault, which saved the place, for marshal *Chatillon* having drawn together the remains of *Feuquieres's* army, advanced to its relief^c. But the great effort was against *Hesdin*, which the marquis de *la Meilleraye*, the cardinal's near relation, besieged and took, after thirty-eight days open trenches. He received the king standing on the breach, when his majesty, who leaned on *Monf. de Puysegur's* shoulder, took his cane out of that gentleman's hand, and putting it into the hand of the marquis, "For once," said he, "this shall serve for a baton. *Meilleraye*, I make you marshal of *France*!" In order to gratify this gentleman with the post of grand master of the artillery, the old duke of *Sully* had been made marshal when he was near fourscore. On the 1st of *August* the marquis de *Chatillon* took *Yvoi*, in four days, and razed it ; and on the 5th of the same month the new marshal beat the *Spaniards* near the river *Aa*, killed two thousand men, took three hundred prisoners, and four pieces of cannon^e.

IN regard to the domestic concerns of this year, they were such as, if possible, gave stronger testimonies of the minister's absolute power, than any which we have yet seen. He thought it necessary to give an answer to the applications of the queen-mother, but he judged it expedient that this answer should be in the king's name. The letter was drawn in very strong terms, in which all that could be said either to justify or to extenuate the ill usage she had received was put in the best light it would bear, and, in the end, she was told, that the king, not being able to satisfy himself that her mind was at all changed, he could only recommend to her a journey to *Florence*, to which, if she consented, she might depend upon marks of his favour. This letter, penned by *Chavigni*, was carried to, and signed by, the king^f. The queen of *England* wrote in very affecting terms on behalf of her mother, and sent over a person of distinction to support what she had said, and to offer her security for the queen's behaviour, if she was permitted to return to *France* ; but this made no manner of impression^g. On the contrary, the cardinal had an agent in *Scotland*, to blow the coals of that rebellion, which afterwards flamed out with such violence through the whole island. In the court of the queen-consort, madame de *Senecey*, who had the honour of her majesty's confidence, and who from thence thought it unnecessary to solicit the cardinal's favour, was removed, without any reason assigned, farther than the king's pleasure ; and when, to avoid this, the queen condescended to apply herself to the cardinal, she could obtain no other answer, than that, since she did him the honour to ask his counsel, the best advice he could give her was to obey the king her husband^h. After madame de *la Fayette* retired into a convent, the king used to divert himself with madame de *Hautefort*, with which the queen and the cardinal were for a time equally pleased, the former because it brought him often into her apartment, and the latter because he knew her to be an easy good-natured woman, and one who troubled not herself with affairs of state. At length perceiving her intimacy with madame de *Chemeraut*, a lady of great understanding, and of a very active spirit, he grew uneasy, and resolved to supply the king with a favourite, who should render him less assiduous about his mistress ; for *Lewis* did not at all resemble his father ; there was nothing criminal in his amours, scarce any thing gallant ; and as the pleasure of a free conversation was all he desired, it was indifferent to him whether he indulged this freedom with the sex or not. The person of whom the cardinal made choice was *Henry d'Effiat*, Seigneur de *Cinque-Mars*, the second son of marshal d'Effiat, who owed his fortune intirely to the cardinal. This young man was handsome, sprightly, well versed in all manly sports, but of a haughty and intractable temper, which he concealed from the cardinal. He was master of the wardrobe, and, in bringing him into his master's favour, *Richelieu* crossed his inclination, for he had shewn evident marks of dislike to *Cinque-Mars* ; but

The cardinal gives fresh instances of his ascendancy over his master.

^b BATT. NANI, liv. xi.

^c Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iv. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, LE VASSOR. VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

^d Memoires de Puysegur, p. 174.

^e Memoires de Pontis, liv. iv. Vie de Richelieu.

^f AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^g VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

^h Memoires du Comte de Brienne. VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite.

OVERO Histoire de correnti tempi, tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 555. Vie de Richelieu.

A. D. 1659.

The chancellor
sent into Nor-
mandy to sup-
press an insur-
rection.

Count Har-
court raises
the siege of
Casal, and
afterwards
takes Turin.

these, by his patron's instructions, were soon got over, and at the siege of *Hesdin* the king gave him the first marks of his kindness, by bestowing on him a large pension, and at his return to *Paris* he was so thoroughly established, that the two ladies before-mentioned were forbid the court, upon a rumour that they had spoken disrespectfully of *Cinque-Mars*. His great merit was, that he heard the king's complaints of an evening, and repeated them faithfully to the cardinal¹. But the ladies were not the only objects of the cardinal's resentment. He made the pope feel the weight of it continually, by keeping the marshal *d'Estrees* at *Rome*, with the title of the king's ambassador, who, when he bore the title of marquis *de Cœuvres*, had broke the heart of one of his holiness's predecessors, and who lived in a state of hostility with the pontiff, from the very moment he appeared in his court. *Urban* the eighth, for this and other reasons, had sent Monsi. *Scoti*, with the title of nuncio-extraordinary, to *Paris*; and the cardinal, who was as little pleased with him as the pope was with marshal *d'Estrees*, engaged the king to send a letter to the parliament, directing them to forbid the bishops of *France* to have any communication whatever with this extraordinary nuncio, who also received greater mortifications than this; so little was *Richelieu* inclined to keep measures with any to whom he had taken offence². The cardinal assigned many, and some of them very plausible, reasons³, for the umbrage he said the king had taken at the proceedings of the court of *Rome*: Mr. *Scoti* made no scruple of publishing, that the true motives were the refusal of a hat for *Mazarine*, whom *Richelieu* had chosen to replace the famous Father *Joseph*, and the delay made in sending the cardinal's own bulls as abbot-general of the order of *Cistercian* monks, which he resolved to have, and the pope had resolved not to grant⁴.

THERE happened this winter an affair, the like of which had not been seen in *France*, or perhaps any where else. The people in *Normandy*, finding themselves grievously burthened with taxes, the journeymen in the great towns, and the peasants in the villages, assembled together, and refused to pay any taxes. This was called the insurrection *les pies nuds*, or of the naked feet⁵. But the singularity lay in the chastisement: the chancellor *Seguier* went into the province, as a kind of constable of the long robe, attended by a corps of six thousand regular troops, commanded by Monsi. *de Gassion*, who every evening carried the white standard into the chancellor's chamber and received the word; he had likewise Monsi. *Vrilliere* with him as secretary of state; and, though the great seal was not removed from *Paris*, yet posterity will believe the contrary; for all that passed it for three months was dated from the places where the chancellor happened to be. He began with interdicting the parliament of *Rouen* for not proceeding vigorously against the rebels, whom he treated in such a manner, as that no blame of this sort could be fixed upon him. His troops put numbers to the sword, those who were taken were hanged or broke alive upon the wheel. He declared the privileges of the city forfeited, fined the inhabitants severely, and, in a word, made the people of *Normandy* understand the spirit of *Richelieu*'s administration the most austere and unrelenting to which this or perhaps any other kingdom was ever exposed. After restoring peace, by extirpating those who had taken arms, he restored the parliament to its jurisdiction, and returned to *Paris*, covered with the hatred of the *Normans*, by which, however, he merited the esteem of the cardinal minister.

IN *Germany* there happened nothing of any great moment; for the duke of *Longueville*, with *Weymar*'s army, which he commanded, being obliged to join the *Swedes*, who otherwise could not have opposed the Imperialists, great jealousies arose between them, the former endeavouring to debauch the duke's army, and induce them to take service under their crown, and the latter backward in whatever operations were proposed that had not an immediate tendency to the advantage of *France*⁶. But in *Italy* things went at another rate. The *Spaniards* had in all respects a superiority, excepting in the material article of generals. A negotiation for peace, and a kind of suspension of arms, kept things quiet in the spring, both sides professing an earnest inclination to see the tranquility of *Italy* restored; which both sides only pretended, that, under this fair appearance, they might push their particular points. Cardinal *Maurice* of *Savoy* was in possession of the county of *Nice*, in appearance firmly attached to his brother and to the *Spaniards*, but at the same time listened to the proposals of his sister and the *French*⁷. Prince *Thomas* was master of the city of *Turin* and several other places, closely connected with the *Spaniards* for the present, but not averse to proposals which he sometimes communicated to the *Spaniards*, that he might raise his reputation and his terms. The marquis *Leganez*, governor of *Milan*, was, in every body's opinion, an able negotiator, but a great general only in his own. He had concluded a secret

¹ VITT. SIRI *Memoire recon dite*, *Memoires de Bassompierre*. *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*. LE VASSOR.

² Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 390.

³ Vie de Richelieu.

⁴ Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu.

⁵ LE VASSOR. LE GEND. P. DAN. *Journal Historique de Louis XIII.*

⁶ VITT. SIRI *Memoire recon dite*. PUFFENDORF. *Res. Suec.* l. xii. AUBERI *Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*.

⁷ VITTORIO SIRI *Memoire recon dite*. BATT. NANI. *Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu*.

- a treaty with the duchess of *Mantua*, in consequence of which he made no doubt of surprising *Casal*: the *French* governor discovered his correspondence, just as he arrived before it, and prevented its effects. This obliged *Leganez* to invest and besiege the place in form, which was ill provided, the inhabitants disaffected, and without hopes of relief. However, the governor did his duty, and made a gallant defence. The count *de Harcourt*, with a small army, at a great distance, having many other disadvantages, resolved to attempt something, and wrote the cardinal word, that he would either raise the siege, or perish before the place. He took his measures so well, and marched with such expedition, that, on the 29th of *April*, he attacked the *Spaniards* in their lines, which were not half finished, forced them, though not without an obstinate resistance, and thereby accomplished what he had proposed.
- b *Leganez* had five thousand men killed, drowned, and taken; he lost besides twelve pieces of cannon, with the best part of his baggage; and what was inexcusable, his papers were taken in his tent, and amongst the rest, the treaty he had concluded with the duchess⁹. After victualling *Casal*, he returned with great celerity into *Piedmont*, where he undertook another enterprize about midsummer, which was truly singular: for while prince *Thomas*, with his forces in *Turin*, besieged the citadel, the count *de Harcourt* besieged him, and was soon after besieged himself in his own camp by the *Spanish* army, under the marquis *de Leganez*. In this situation his safety depended intirely upon the success of his convoys, and it was here that the viscount *Turenne* gave the first proofs of that genius, which afterwards distinguished him as the greatest captain of his time. After infinite toil and danger he carried his point, forced the *Spaniards* to retire, and obliged prince *Thomas* to surrender on the 24th of *September*¹⁰, who soon after entered into a negotiation with *Mazarine*, whom the cardinal sent expressly into *Italy* for that purpose.

WE have before mentioned the principles upon which cardinal *Richelieu* directed the invasion of *Roussillon* by the prince of *Condé*, and his reduction of *Salces*, into which he put a good garrison, under the command of *Monf. Espinan*, after which he left the command of the army to marshal *Schomberg*¹¹. The marquis *Spinola*, with a small army, arrived before it on the 20th of *September*, in the preceding year, and carried the outworks by storm, notwithstanding which the place was so well defended, that the prince had time to assemble all the militia of the province, and, marching over mountains the *Spaniards* thought impracticable, arrived in sight of their camp, with twenty-two thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two thousand volunteers, which threw them into great consternation, so that, if he had attacked them immediately, they must, in all probability, have been totally defeated; but, being late in *October*, and in the afternoon, he delayed the attack till the next morning, and in the night there happened so violent a storm, which in that mountainous and marshy country exposed the army to great dangers; in consequence of which, the greatest part of the militia disbanded. However, having collected fourteen thousand men, he, on the 9th of *November*, attacked the besiegers in their intrenchments, being assisted by marshal *Schomberg* and the duke *de St. Simon*, but was repulsed and obliged to retire, with the loss of three thousand men. *Espinan*, notwithstanding, defended the place to the 6th of *January* in this year, and then surrendered upon honourable terms¹². After this there passed little remarkable, at least by land; for at sea the *French* fleet, commanded by the duke *de Breze*, beat the *Spaniards* before *Cadiz*, and burnt two of their ships on the 22d of *July*. This success was particularly pleasing to the cardinal, from the nature of the service, and his kindness for him by whom it was performed.

On the side of the *Low Countries* the king had two armies, one commanded by the marshal *de Chatillon*, the other by the marshal *de la Meilleraie*. The project formed by the cardinal was the attack of *Clermont* on the *Meuse*; but the heavy rains rendering this impracticable, the two generals resolved on the siege of *Arras*, and directed their marches so well, that they arrived before the place on the same day: there were present at this siege three marshals of *France*, *Chaunes*, *Chatillon*, and *Meilleraie*, and almost all the young nobility served as volunteers. The governor was absent when the place was invested, so that the defence was made by colonel *Boyle*, an *Irish* officer in the *Spanish* service, who did all that could be expected from a gallant officer¹³. The cardinal infant, duke *Charles* of *Lorraine*, and general *Lamboy*, assembled a puissant army for its relief, which they first attempted by cutting off the besiegers provisions¹⁴. Orders were sent by the cardinal to Monsieur *du Hallier*, brother to marshal *Vitry*, and who was thought to be the person who killed marshal *d'Ancres*, to escorte a great convoy to the camp; but the king, apprehensive that, if his corps should be defeated, the

Miscarriage of the prince of Condé, and victory gained by the duke de Breze.

Siege and reduction of Arras.

⁹ Campeggiamenti del Piemonte del 1640, descrittida Conte EMANUEL TESAURO, volume secondo, AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. ¹⁰ VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. EMAN. TES. volume secondo. BATT. NANI. ¹¹ VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. BATT. NANI. ¹² AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. BATT. NANI. LE VASSOR. LE GEND. ¹³ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoire recon dite. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iv. ¹⁴ Vie de Richelieu. Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iv.

Spaniards would enter the kingdom again, sent him orders not to move. *Du Hallier* doubted; ^a but the menaces of the cardinal prevailed ^z. He executed his orders with spirit, and the marshals before *Arras*, being apprised of his march, *Meilleraie* ^y, with three thousand horse and as many foot, was detached to meet him. The cardinal infant seeing this advantage, attacked the *French* camp with such vigour, that he made himself master of fort *Rentzau*, and was very near gaining a complete victory, when the troops of marshal *Meilleraie* and *du Hallier* appeared, which obliged him to retire, and of consequence the place to surrender, which it did on the 9th of *August*, after thirty-five days ^z open trenches. The king remained during the siege at *Amiens*, where he had a dangerous fit of sickness ^z. It was generally expected that *du Hallier's* service would have been rewarded with a baton of *France*; but his having hesitated, on receiving the cardinal's orders, was an unpardonable fault, during his administration; so that, though he continued to serve, and to serve with reputation, yet he never received that honour while *Richelieu* lived. ^b

Measures
taken by
Richelieu to
embarrass the
Spaniards on
all sides.

On the twenty-first of *September* the queen was delivered of a son, who had, for the present, the title of duke of *Anjou* ^b. The cardinal, apprehensive that her power would increase, laboured to extinguish the memory of past misunderstandings; but it was ineffectual, and the queen contented herself with general returns, the sense of which were well enough understood by *Richelieu*, who took all kinds of precaution to be in a condition to support himself in case of the king's death ^c. As he was inclined to put the management of foreign affairs into the hands of *Mazarine*, he intimated to the court of *Rome* that the gratifying this minister with a hat should be the price of withdrawing the marshal *d'Etrees*, and, as we shall see, it was accordingly sent him, about the middle of *December* in the next year, into *Piedmont*, where, for the present, finding their design traversed by the count *d'Agliä*, who had a great ascendancy over the duchess-regent, *Mazarine*, by the direction of *Richelieu*, caused him to be arrested in the house of *Monf. du Pleffis Praslin*, and carried away prisoner to *Pignerol*, from whence he was transferred into *France* ^d. At the close of this year happened suddenly, and almost at the same time, two great events, which were indeed the effects of *Richelieu's* policy, but not directly and immediately, as some have represented. These were the revolt in *Catalonia*, and the revolution in *Portugal*; the former was intirely owing to the licentiousness of the troops that had been employed in reducing *Salces*, who after the campaign was over, took winter-quarters in that province, where being ill paid, they lived in a manner at discretion. Upon this, the whole province took up arms, killed their viceroy, and resolved to detach themselves from their obedience to the crown of *Castile*; but finding this above their own strength, determined, as we shall see hereafter, to submit themselves to *France*. ^d

A. D. 1640. As for the latter, it was so far from being concerted or managed by one of his agents, that when the news of it first came to *Paris*, the cardinal did not believe it; but when he could doubt of it no longer, it is very certain that he not only gave king *John* the fourth the strongest assurances of support, but such advices also as did not a little contribute to fix him effectually on the throne ^e, as the diversion he gave was of infinite consequence to *France*.

Campaigns in
Germany and
Italy end with
no signal ad-
vantage.

THE *French* forces in *Germany* were commanded by the count *de Guebriant*, and acted in conjunction with the *Swedes*, commanded by the marshal *Banier*, the *Hessians*, and the forces of the house of *Lunenburg*: towards the end of *January* they bombarded *Ratisbon*, though the emperor and the dyet were in that city. On the 29th of *June*, the army of the allies, commanded by count *Guebriant*, for general *Banier* was dead, defeated the imperial army, commanded by the archduke *Leopold* and general *Picolomini*; notwithstanding which advantage the Imperialists began to recover strength, and the *Swedish* army, now commanded by *Torsten*, found sufficient employment in defending what they had acquired; the princes of the house of *Lunenburg* also made a separate peace, and on *Christmas-day* the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and *Spain* on one side, and of the crowns of *France* and *Sweden* on the other, signed the preliminaries at *Hamburg*, referring the conclusion to the congresses of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. The very same day the treaty between *France* and *Sweden* was renewed, that these negotiations might be managed without any jealousy on either side, or any fear of separating the interests of the two crowns ^f. In *Piedmont* prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, notwithstanding the treaty he had concluded with *France*, closed again with the *Spaniards*, who had the complaisance, upon his representations, to remove the marquis *Leganez* from the government of the *Milanese*, and to send in his place the count *de Servela*, with whom the prince did not agree better, and under whom affairs went much worse. The viscount *Turenne* made himself

^z AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

Puysegur. LE VASSOR.

^y Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de

Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. iv. Memoires de Puysegur.

VASSOR. LE GEND. Pr. Henault.

^b Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. LE VASSOR.

^c AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^d Vie de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI Memoire recendite,

tom. viii.

^e AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

^f PUFFEND.

Rer. Suec. l. xiii. Vie de Richelieu. LE VASSOR.

- a master of *Monte Calvo*, and afterwards besieged *Ivree* ⁸, the only place of consequence that prince *Thomas* had in his own power. It was gallantly defended by his bastard brother, which gave time to the prince to engage the *Spaniards* to march to his relief, about the time that the count *de Harcourt*, returning from *Paris*, resumed the command of the *French* army. Upon the approach of the *Spaniards*, he raised the siege of *Ivree*, and marched to give them battle; which was all that prince *Thomas* wished, as their army was double the number of the *French*. When almost in sight, the prince ranged the cavalry in order of battle, at the same time that the count of *Servela* ordered the infantry to retire; so that count *de Harcourt* attacked the horse with some advantage, and afterwards returned to his siege. Prince *Thomas* then engaged the *Spanish* army to form the siege of *Chivas* ⁹, to the relief of which the count *de Harcourt* coming with his army, such a reinforcement was thrown into *Ivree*, that he was constrained to abandon all thoughts of taking it. In the autumn, however, he invested *Coni*, and took it on the 15th of *September*, after forty-six days open trenches ¹: prince *Thomas* and the *Spaniards*, in the mean time, recovered *Monte-Calvo*, which, however, was no equivalent, since *Coni* was a place of very great importance; yet, to remove the jealousies of the *Italian* princes, this was immediately put into the hands of the duchess-regent ². Before we leave *Italy*, we must observe, that the prince of *Monaco*, of the house of *Grimaldi*, having been extremely ill treated by the *Spaniards*, resolved to put his place into the hands, and himself under the protection of *France*. It is generally believed that the treaty was negotiated by the nuncio *Grimaldi*, who passed through *Monaco* in his way to *Paris*; it was signed on the 8th of *July* ³, and the king engaged to give the duke lands in *France*, as an equivalent for his estates in the kingdom of *Naples*, part of which were to be erected into a duchy, with the title of *Valentinois*, and the rest into a marquisate and county for his son. These two princes managed their affairs with great dexterity, surprised and turned out the *Spanish* garrison, and, on the 18th of *November*, admitted the *French* ⁴. *Antonio de Grimaldi*, the great grandson of this duke, having no heirs male, married his daughter *Louisa Hippolita* to Monsieur *de Matignon*, who, by virtue of letters patents, registered in 1716, became duke and peer of *France*, by the title of duke of *Valentinois* and prince of *Monaco* ⁵.

- THE first project of the *Catalans*, after their revolt, was to have rendered themselves a free state, with the assistance of *France*; but, having been vigorously attacked by the *Spaniards*, and being very sparingly supplied by the cardinal, they quickly discovered the impossibility of succeeding in that design, and, if they had been treated with any tolerable degree of lenity, had, in all probability, submitted again to their own sovereign. But the *Spaniards*, having branded the inhabitants of some places, of which they became masters, with hot irons, as if they had been slaves, the people in despair fortified *Barcelona*, and by a treaty, submitted themselves to the crown of *France*, stipulating only the preservation of their privileges ⁶. Upon this the count *de la Motte-Houdincourt* was sent to their assistance, with five thousand men, and it was he who advised them to fortify the fort of *Montjuic*, which covered *Barcelona*. Towards the latter end of *March* the *French* had the good fortune to take five men of war and two galleys in the bay of *Roses*. About the middle of *May* the count *de la Motte* became master of *Constantin*, and several other places, and soon after formed the siege, or rather the blockade, of *Terragona*, in which he shut up the prince *de Bottero*, with the best part of the troops the *Spaniards* had in the province, where they defended themselves with admirable bravery ⁷. The duke *de Ferrendina*, who commanded the *Spanish* galleys, resolved to succour the place, notwithstanding Monsieur *Sourdis*, archbishop of *Bordeaux*, lay before it with a fleet. He made an effort on the fourth of *July*, with forty-one galleys, of which he lost twelve, without any other advantage than that of shewing as much courage and conduct as it was possible for man to exert. However, he did not lose his spirits, but having with infinite pains reinforced his fleet, he, on the 20th of *August*, surprized the archbishop, destroyed three men of war, and threw a large supply into the place, upon which the count *de la Motte* retired, after he had lain more than three months before it. The archbishop of *Bordeaux*, at his return, found himself disgraced without a hearing. His people on board the fleet mutinied, all the enemies of the cardinal clamoured aloud, and his friends clamoured louder than they; so that *Richelieu* found himself obliged to give him up, and the prelate no sooner landed, than he received an order to retire to *Carpentras* ⁸. In *September* the treaty with the *Catalans* was ratified; the king swore to observe their privileges, and the marquis *de Breze* was named their viceroy. The cardinal perceiving that it was a thing impossible to support

Campaign in Catalonia, Terragona besieged, and the archbishop of Bordeaux disgraced.

⁸ VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. EMAN. TESAURO, volume tertio. BATT. NANI. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. LE VASSOR.

Cardinal de Richelieu. BATT. NANI. p. 423.

⁹ BATT. NANI. l. xi. President HENAU, p. 515, 516.

AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

¹ BATT. NANI. LE VASSOR.

² Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii.

³ Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, seconde part, par

VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. Memoire reconduite, tom. viii.

⁴ Vie de Richelieu.

⁵ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de

⁶ Vie de Richelieu.

⁷ AUBERI Histoire du

these people effectually without being master of the county of *Roussillon*, sent orders to the prince of *Condé* to invade it with what troops he could collect, who made himself master of *Elna*, and the viscount *d'Arpajou* was sent to block up *Perpignan*, a place strong in itself, well fortified, and which, it was resolved, should be besieged and reduced in the succeeding year ^r.

A new treaty
with the duke
of Lorrain,
and an alli-
ance with
Portugal.

BEFORE we proceed to the operations in the *Low Countries*, it is necessary to mention a new treaty made with the duke of *Lorrain*. Amongst other strange flights of this unfortunate prince, he had taken it into his head to marry the princess of *Cantecroix*, though his first wife, in whose right he held *Lorrain*, was yet living. His affairs being in a desperate situation, without money, without dominions, and with a body of hungry troops about him, who made him enemies where-ever he came, she persuaded him to treat with *France*. Accordingly he came, upon the faith of a single passport, to *Paris*, where he found himself better treated than he had reason to expect; for the cardinal found, that the seizing of *Lorrain* had given so bad an impression of *France* to all the little princes her neighbours, that he was glad of an opportunity to give it him back again, as he did by a treaty, signed at *St. Germain en Laye*, on the 29th of *March* ^s, his capital, together with *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Jametz*, and *Dun*, being left in the hands of *France*, by way of deposit with the duke's consent, that they should be united to the crown, in case he violated the treaty: he also agreed to the demolition of the fortifications of *Marsal*, and to allow the duchess his first wife a pension of one hundred and twenty thousand livres. On the 2d of *April* he swore to the performance of this treaty; on the 10th he did homage for the duchy of *Bar* ^t, and then returned into his own dominions. The princess *de Cantecroix*, who had been the cardinal's instrument to persuade the duke to this submission, was exceedingly displeased that no care was taken of her ^u, which indeed was out of the cardinal's power, as he knew that she could not be mentioned either to the king his master, or to the court of *Rome*. On the 1st of *June* the king concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with *John* the fourth, king of *Portugal* ^w, and by the interposition of this court, the states general, who were invited to become contracting parties in the treaty, concluded in the mean time a truce for ten years with that prince, which was signed on the 10th of the same month ^x, and by which they engaged to act jointly against the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*.

The war of
Sedan; death
of the count de
Soissons, and
submission of
the duke of
Bouillon.

WE have before mentioned the retreat of the count *de Soissons* to *Sedan*, where, under the protection of the duke of *Bouillon*, and in conjunction with the archbishop of *Rheims*, now, by the death of his father, and the prince of *Joinville* his brother, become duke of *Guise*, he assembled all the malecontents that had not fled out of the kingdom ^y. The enemies of cardinal *Richelieu* affirm, that he compelled these princes to demand assistance from the *Spaniards*, that he might have an opportunity of destroying them; it is much more certain that they entered into such a league to destroy him. It was apparently with this view that they drew up a most outrageous manifesto ^z, in the name of the count *de Soissons*, who therein paints his whole administration in the blackest colours, which possibly might have had some effect, if it had come out in time. The cardinal, who was perfectly informed of all their designs, had sent marshal *Chatillon*, with ten or twelve thousand men, to block up the place, which he performed with equal skill and success ^a. On the other hand, general *Lamboy*, by order of the cardinal Infant, marched to the assistance of the princes of *Peace*, for so the chiefs of the malecontents at *Sedan* stiled themselves. Upon this, marshal *de Chatillon* posted himself in such a manner, that the enemy would have found it difficult to attack him; but the cardinal sent him orders to fight at any rate, and his orders were not to be disobeyed. This brought on the battle of *Marfee*, fought on the 6th of *July*, in which the marshal was clearly routed, and his army dispersed; but, in the heat of the action, the count *de Soissons* was, some way or other, slain ^b. There are so many various accounts of this matter, that it is safest to agree with a great historian ^c, who says it is a mystery which has never yet been cleared up: however it happened, this gave the advantage of the victory to the vanquished, and Monsieur *de Puysegur*, going to treat for the exchange of prisoners to *Sedan*, procured some proposals ^d from the duke of *Bouillon*, which brought about a peace. It was retarded a little by the king's obstinacy, in refusing to allow funeral honours to be paid to the corpse of the count *de Soissons*; a process had been ordered ^e against his memory, and the duke of *Bouillon* absolutely refused to treat, unless this was dropped. The cardinal told the king, that

^r VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. BATT. NANI. Vie de Richelieu. ^s Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, liv. i. p. 60, 61. l. ii. p. 72, 73. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. p. 289, 291. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 397. ^t Lettres du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, lib. ii. p. 296. ^u Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau. Vie de Richelieu. ^w Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 411. ^x Vie de Richelieu. LE VASSOR. ^y Memoires de Montresor. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. ^z VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. ii. Memoires de Montresor, p. 373. BATT. NANI. liv. xi. ^a AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 735. ^b Memoires de M. de Montresor, p. 398. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 207. ^c P. DAN. Journal Historique de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 429. ^d Memoires de Puysegur. ^e Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 423.

- a the prince was *Lewis de Bourbon* as well as he ^f, and that some respect was due to his name as well as his blood. At length things were adjusted; and the king coming in person before *Doncheri*, which *Lamboi* had taken after the battle, it was surrendered, and the duke *de Bouillon* came to pay his respects to the king ^g. By this treaty, signed the 8th of *August*, the duke procured an indemnity for all who had followed the party of the princes, a neutrality for his sovereignty of *Sedan*, and the restitution of his pensions and appointments. He was extremely well received by the king and by the cardinal, who, at his departure, made him this compliment; "You have made war like a hero, and peace like a statesman; and, setting aside your having taken arms against your sovereign, I would rather have the credit you have obtained by the management of this affair, than of all *Spinola's* achievements ^h."
- b Monsieur *de Hallier* was immediately ordered to attack *Lorraine*, the duke having been embarked in the affair of the count *de Soissons*, and no care taken of him in the treaty; so that he was again dispossessed of his dominions ⁱ.

MARSHAL *de la Meilleraie*, the favourite and the relation of the cardinal, commanded on the side of the *Low Countries*, and after several marches and countermarches to perplex the enemy, at length invested *Aire*, one of the most important places in *Artois*, and began to raise his lines on the 25th of *May*, which, however, did not hinder general *Bec* from throwing five hundred choice foot into the place ^k. The governor did not defend some of the forts in the neighbourhood, or even the outworks, with any vigour, which gave the marshal hopes that he should soon become master of the town. He found, however, that this was done only to save his garrison; for, when he came to attack the body of the place, the governor defended himself with equal resolution and spirit. The cardinal Infant was very desirous to relieve him, but found himself extremely embarrassed; the *Dutch*, in consequence of a new treaty they had made with the king, besieged *Genap* ^l. All the diversions he attempted proved of no effect. He was obliged to wait for the return of *Lamboi*, who had been sent to *Sedan*, before he could march to his relief, and then it was too late, for the marshal having offered the governor very advantageous terms, he surrendered the place on the 26th of *July*, when the cardinal Infant was in his neighbourhood, with a full intent to have hazarded a battle for his relief. It is thought the governor made his peace by giving the cardinal Infant to understand, that he would find it more practicable to recover than he would have done to have saved *Aire*; and upon this, he took his measures so well, that marshal *de la Meilleraie* was obliged to leave the place in a hurry, that his army might not be incommoded by the want of provisions; which was all the excuse he could make for leaving the lines in part undemolished, out of which he had no sooner drawn his troops, than they were occupied by the *Spaniards* ^m. He had a better excuse for leaving the garrison with very little powder, because he had it not. The cardinal pushed the siege but slowly, knowing well the governor could not hold out long; but being taken extremely ill in the camp, he removed to *Brussels*, where he died ⁿ. *Francisco de Mello*, who succeeded him in the government, persisted obstinately in the same design, though the *French* made several diversions in hopes of raising the siege. At length, being reduced to extremity, *Aire* returned again to its old master, on the 17th of *December*, to the great regret of the cardinal and his master, who, except the taking *Bepaume* ^o, and some other small places, gained nothing on this side. The prince of *Orange*, at the desire of the cardinal, had entered *Flanders* with his army, with an intention to have taken *Sas Van Ghent*, but the count *de Fontaines* having thrown himself under the cannon of the place, with seven thousand foot, obliged the prince to retire to *Bergen op Zoom* ^p. It was thought, that if any other marshal had been in the place of *la Meilleraie*, he would have been disgraced.

In the course of the cardinal's long administration, there seems not to have been any year pregnant with so many favourable events towards him as this. In the beginning of it, the king, and Monsieur *Cinque Mars* his favourite, who, by the demission of the duke *de Bellegarde*, had acquired the post of grand ecuyer, or master of the horse, and from thence, according to the mode of the *French* court, stiled Monsieur *le Grand*, had a very high quarrel, which would have infallibly ended in the favourite's disgrace, whose temper, of all others, was least suited to that of his master, if the cardinal had not interposed and reconciled them ^q. This, for some time, had the best effect imaginable, and kept them all perfectly easy. The king told his grievances to Monsr. *le Grand*; he told them again regularly to the cardinal, who squared his conduct accordingly; but, as we shall see hereafter, this calm did not last long. All his endeavours to push the fortune of his niece *Combalet* (except in making her a duchess) having failed, the cardinal brought forward the younger niece, madame *Clara Clementia de*

^f AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Montresor. tom. ii. lib. i. p. 15.

^g VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. ii. p. 736. ^h Memoires de Puysegur. ⁱ VITT. du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 79. ^k Memoires de Puysegur. ^l VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii.

^m Vie de Richelieu. BATT. NANI. ⁿ VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. ^o Memoires de Puysegur. ^p AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. ^q AUBERI Memoires du Card. de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 838.

Maille Breze, daughter to the marshal, whom, in the month of *February*, he married to the a duke *de Anguien* ¹, son to the prince of *Condé*, which marriage was celebrated with royal splendor, particularly a splendid balet, in which were exhibited the glories of *France*, or, in other words, the triumphs of the minister's administration. It was this that overcame the patience of the count *de Soissons*, who thereupon assumed the title of first prince of the blood, and did not forget this incident in his manifesto. Another affair of consequence, but of a very different nature, happened also this year. Some hermits, who, under pretence of retiring from the world, lived in an obscure part of the duchy of *Vendosme*, where they committed an infinity of crimes, were arrested by the duke's order, and committed to prison, from whence having made their escape, they were retaken and conducted to *Paris*; where, to save themselves from an ignominious death, they charged the duke of *Vendosme* with having caused b them to be set at liberty, in order to murder the cardinal ². That prince was no sooner informed of this infamous accusation, than he sent his second son the duke of *Beaufort*, not only to give the strongest assurances of his innocency, but to offer to come in person and confront them, which was accepted ³. But then, being seized with a sudden panic, he and his son made their escape into *England* ⁴, and joined there with the dukes of *Soubize* and *de la Valette* in their practices, which gave an air of probability to an accusation that, after all, perhaps, was destitute of truth. Towards the close of the year the court of *Rome*, in return for some marks of complaisance shewn by the cardinal, gratified him, by bestowing a hat ⁵ upon his friend *Mazarine*, to whom he had, in a great measure, resigned the conduct of foreign affairs, or at least such as regarded *Italy*, which *Mazarine* perfectly understood. c

A. D. 1641.

Monsieur
Cinque Mars
quarrels with
the cardinal,
and resolves to
attempt his
ruin.

WE must proceed with the intrigues of the court, in order to shew by what steps that minister, who, but the last year, was at the highest point of grandeur, came in this to stand on the very brink of disgrace, and even to place his safety in withdrawing himself from his master. The great cause of the quarrels between *Monsieur le Grand* and his master, was the amour the former had with one *Marion de l'Orine*, a very beautiful woman at *Paris* ⁶, but not very illustrious in point of fame or family. So long as he was occupied with his pleasures, he remained firm in his attachment to the minister; which induced him to reject some propositions that were made him by the count *de Soissons*, as incompatible with his gratitude due to the author, the promoter, and the preserver of his fortunes; but touched by a new passion, which he conceived for *Mary Gonzagua*, princess of *Nevers* ⁷, and by her inflamed with d ambition, who told him it would be time enough to think of her when he was a duke and peer, it equally turned his head and his heart. Upon his mentioning his high views to the cardinal, he read him so harsh a lecture on the meanness of his origin, and the obligations his whole family were under to himself, for drawing them out of obscurity, and prohibited, in such very strong terms, any overtures of the like nature for the future, that it determined the young man to lay a new and odious foundation of greatness, in the disgrace and destruction of his benefactor ⁸. Some marks of unkindness had passed between them before, the favourite having caused the disgrace of the king's first gentleman of the bed-chamber, who was in the cardinal's interest, and on the other hand the cardinal prevailed upon the king not to call *Monsieur le Grand* into his council, after he had done it once. But these were wounds e that might have been healed: whereas, after the reprimand before-mentioned, they were scarce in terms of civility. *Monsieur le Grand* had not the will, and if he had, he wanted the prudence to conceal his resentment.

He joins the
dukes of
Bouillon and
Orleans.

As soon as this was perceived, with another remarkable circumstance, that the king was not displeased with it, all the cardinal's enemies became immediately friends to *Monsieur le Grand*, who, if he had been a man of parts and prudence, might, very probably, have carried his point, but who could never have carried things so far as he did, if it had not been for two of his friends, who had much better talents than his own. These were *Monf. de Thou* and *Monf. de Fontrailles*. The former was the son of the celebrated historian, and was himself f a young man of great endowments, and extraordinary learning, which rendered him universally beloved. It is however certain, that he had a great spirit or intrigue; for having formerly managed a correspondence between the queen and the duchess of *Chevreuse*, and being detected in it, the cardinal passed it by with an admonition ⁹. As to the latter, he had the misfortune to be crooked, and the cardinal, with all his great qualities, sometimes sunk so much beneath himself, as to divert himself at this gentleman's expence, who from thence thought himself at liberty to let him see, that, what ever defect he had in his shape, he had none in his head. At the time the duke of *Bouillon* made his last treaty with the king, *Monsieur le Grand* made

¹ VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. ii. p. 231. ² Recueil de Pieces concernant l'Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iii. p. 395. ³ VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. i. l. i. p. 223. ⁴ BATT. NANI. liv. xi. LE VASSOR. ⁵ Vie de Richelieu. Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Jules Mazarine, par le Comte GALAZZO GUALDO, part i. p. 26, 27. ⁶ VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. ii. p. 558. ⁷ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. ii. ⁸ Vie de Richelieu. BATT. NANI. liv. xii. LE VASSOR. ⁹ VITT. SIRI il Merc. tom. ii. p. 567. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

a some overtures to him, which were not well received ; but by the interposition of Monsieur *de Thou* they were made friends, and at the very time that the duke was preparing to come to *Paris*, upon the invitation of Monsieur *le Grand*, he received an order from the cardinal to repair thither for the king's service. On his arrival he was told, that the king had cast his eyes upon him to command his forces in *Italy* ; a proof that the cardinal's compliment at their last meeting was not insincere ^b. Monsieur *de Thou* brought his two friends to confide in Monsieur, but was not present at any of their meetings. In one of these it was agreed, that they should all act against the cardinal, and that, in case of necessity, the duke should receive Monsieur into *Sedan*. The duke of *Orleans* proposed a league with *Spain*, which, at first, *Bouillon* disapproved. He said, that he knew by experience the *Spaniards* were ready enough to conclude leagues, but very slow in performing them ; however, considering how much *Sedan* might be exposed, if the duke of *Orleans* retired thither without any support, he consented, and *Monf. Fontrailles* was dispatched to *Madrid*, either with full powers from Monsieur, or with a blank signed with his hand, which he might fill up as he thought fit ; and it was agreed by all three, that the duke of *Bouillon* should accept the command of the army. He went accordingly to thank the minister for the confidence reposed in him by the king, who, at parting, used these remarkable words ; “ All past failings are forgot, but “ take care how you offend again ; in that case you have no favour to expect ^c.”

THE cardinal had not the least suspicion of these intrigues ; but as he knew that Monsieur *le Grand* was become his enemy, and saw that he was not at all less in favour with the king ^d for it, he determined to carry that prince to *Roussillon*, in order to form the siege of *Perpignan*, for which expedition he had prepared a puissant army, under the command of the marshals *Meilleraie* and *Schomberg*. It is said the king had a great repugnance to this journey, and that he was dissuaded from it by his physicians ; if so, the cardinal must have still had a great ascendancy over him, and no less influence over them, since he not only engaged him to undertake it, but the physicians to approve it ^e. *Richelieu* intended likewise that the queen and his brother should have accompanied him, and that the two young princes should be sent to *Bois des Vincennes*, of which *Chavigni* was the governor. This some writers have magnified as a great crime in the cardinal, as if he desired to have the whole royal family in his power. We shall see hereafter, that whatever suspicions he had of the queen, they were not ill founded, tho' by her tears she obtained leave to remain with her children at *St. Germain* ^f. The duke of *Orleans* avoided going, by having, or pretending to have, the gout. The king left *Paris* in the beginning of *February*, and though, in all their former journies, the cardinal had avoided taking the same quarters with the king, from a foresight of its being inconvenient to both, he was now so apprehensive, that he never quitted him upon the road, which, though prudent in one respect, was very near proving fatal in another ; for Monsieur *le Grand*, who, amongst other ways of being rid of the cardinal, had thoughts of dispatching him with his own hand, would have executed his base purpose at *Briare* on the *Loire*, if Monsieur had not been absent, whose presence he thought absolutely necessary to support him. In his way to *Narbonne* he gave the cardinal's hat with his own hand to *Mazarine* ^g at *Valence*, and from thence continued his march to the first-mentioned city, where he arrived the 21st of *March*. There the cardinal fell so ill, that he could not accompany the king to the siege of *Perpignan*, at which having taken so much pains to be present, he would not have the complaisance to remain with the cardinal, though the physicians thought his case desperate. The politicians had the same opinion of his favour ; they knew that *Monf. le Grand* spoke ill of him to the king, and was well heard ; but they did not know that he was only well heard in this, and that his own favour declined every day. Some of his best friends perceived it, and advised him to be more assiduous ; to which he made this strange answer, “ That the king's breath was so offensive, that he could not bear to be near him ^h.” However, when he found the king bore his absence without trouble, he used to remain an hour or two alone in an antichamber after the king was gone to bed, and then come out, as if he had been with him, as he was wont to be in the height of his favour.

WE will now speak of the operations of the war in *Roussillon*, and the great object of this campaign. We have explained the political reasons of the cardinal's carrying the king to such a distance from his capital ; but it was a rule with him, not to have recourse to any pretences that might not be so well supported as to appear the proper motives of the actions they were intended to colour. The project of this expedition was so well laid, that it forced his rival the conde duke, much against his will, to abandon his own notions, and to follow his ; that is, to bring his Catholic majesty into the field, and, abandoning all other cares, to

^b Vie de Richelieu. BATT. NANI. liv. xii.

de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio.

SIRI il Mercurio. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

Ministere du Cardinal Mazarine, par GALEAZZO GUALDO, part. i. p. 26, 27.

SIRI il Mercurio.

^c Memoires du Montresor.

^d Vie de Richelieu. LE VASSOR.

AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal

^e BATT. NANI. VITT.

^f VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Histoire du

^g Vie de Richelieu. VITT.

employ the whole force of the monarchy to save *Perpignan* ^b. The marshal *Breze*, with the title of viceroy of *Catalonia*, and the marshal *de la Mothe Houdincourt*, who commanded there, gave the *Spaniards* infinite vexation, by embarrassing the passage of their troops, which were to cross *Catalonia*, in order to reach *Roussillon*. Monsieur *de la Mothe* particularly killed and made prisoners a corps of three thousand five hundred horse, commanded by Don *Pedro d'Arragon*, who was taken amongst the rest, towards the end of *March* ¹. The marshal *de la Meilleraie*, at the opening of the campaign, found it absolutely necessary to be master of *Colioure*, a good port, well fortified, and covered by a castle, held to be impregnable. It was defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by the marquis *de Mortara*, who made a very gallant defence: this siege, preparative to that of *Perpignan*, cost a whole month, so that the place did not surrender till the thirteenth of *April* ². It was believed that the castle could not be taken but by blockade; however, it was resolved to attempt something, by mining the rock; which promising little, it was determined to spring the mines, after a small progress, to see whether they would or would not have an effect. Upon making the experiment, they were judged to have done little; but it was quickly found they had done all; for though the fortifications suffered nothing by these mines, yet the springs which supplied the garrison with water being choaked, they were obliged to capitulate ³. When the king came before *Perpignan* in *May*, he drew the lines of circumvallation and contravallation himself; but being persuaded, by the concurrent testimonies of several persons who had been in the place, that the garrison were in want of provisions, he determined to proceed slowly, in order to spare his troops. This was owing to an artifice of Don *Flores d'Avila*, the governor, who knowing the distressed situation of his master's affairs, and being desirous of giving as long time as possible to provide for his relief, he distributed provisions strictly and sparingly at the beginning, though, in reality, he was well provided ⁴. All this time the cardinal continued ill at *Narbonne*, and in such danger, that on the 23d of *May* he made his testament ⁵, from a persuasion that he could not recover. The king, not long after, was very dangerously indisposed; insomuch that Monsieur *le Grand* openly solicited the troops to declare for the crown; the marshals *Milleraie* and *Schomberg* exhorted them, in general terms, to do their duty. From hence two factions arose in the camp, one styling themselves royalists, and the other cardinalists ⁶. In this situation Monsi. *de Thou* arrived, who wrote to the count *de Brienne*, secretary of state, to desire the queen to send him blanks, signed with her name, that he might frame such letters as he should find necessary, and address them to such officers as he thought proper, which at the first motion she would have done, if the count, very honestly, had not advised her against it ⁷. In his journey to the camp, Monsi. *de Thou* had met with *Fontrailles*, who gave him a long detail of his negociation in *Spain*, of which he knew not a word before; and it had been happy for him if he had not heard it then; for though he disapproved it in the strongest terms, the bare listening to *Fontrailles's* story cost him afterwards his life. The king recovering, received an earnest invitation from the cardinal to come to him to *Narbonne*, where, by this time, he had received a dark account of a *French* agent that had been at *Madrid*; but the king's mind was now so indisposed towards his minister, that he received these solicitations very coldly ⁸; and yet, in a few days, he returned to his old sentiments again, for very pressing reasons, which we must fetch from *Flanders*.

The defeat of marshal Grammont alarms the king, and obliges him to a reconciliation with his minister.

As it was impossible to furnish large armies on every side, the king, by the advice of the cardinal, resolved to act only on the defensive towards the *Low Countries*, and with this view the count *d'Harcourt* was sent with a small army to cover *Picardy*, while the count *de Guiche*, whom, in his journey, the king declared marshal of *France*, and who is commonly stiled the marshal *de Grammont*, commanded another small corps of troops, with the like intent, in *Champagne* ⁹. Don *Francisco de Mello*, who commanded the army of *Spain*, recovered *Lens* in two days, and then besieged *La Bassée*, which he took after twenty-six days open trenches. By this time both the *French* armies had joined, in order to give a check to his conquests; but Don *Francisco*, separating his army into two bodies, the *French* were obliged to take the same method, the count *de Harcourt* marching towards *Hesdin*, and the marshal *de Grammont* to *Honnecourt*; there he intrenched, having the *Scheld* behind him, a wood which he thought impregnable on his right, and a deep hollow way, which reached to the river, on his left ¹⁰. Monsi. *de Puysegur*, an officer who had seen much service, advised him to pass the *Scheld*, and he afterwards received the same advice from count *Rantzau*; but he thought to cover the country, and that the *Spaniards* would not have the courage to attack him ¹¹. In

^b BATT. NANI, liv. xii.

¹ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

² VITT. SIRI il Mer-

curio, tom. ii. l. i. LE VASSOR. BATT. NANI, liv. xii.

³ Vie de Richelieu.

⁴ BATT. NANI, l. xii.

LE VASSOR.

⁵ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

⁶ Memoires du Comte de Brienne,

tom. ii. p. 145. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. BATT. NANI, liv. xii.

⁷ Memoires du Comte de Brienne,

tom. ii. p. 146.

⁸ AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.

Memoires du Comte de Brienne.

⁹ Memoires de Puysegur, p. 230.

¹⁰ Vie de Richelieu. BATT. NANI, liv. xii.

¹¹ Memoires de

Puysegur, p. 232.

a this he was mistaken; Don *Francisco* took his measures so well, that, on the 26th of *May*, he attacked him on all sides with all his forces. The marshal *de Grammont* defended his lines very gallantly, till the enemy penetrated through the wood, and then they fled on every side. The loss was very considerable, fifteen hundred killed, two thousand taken prisoners, with all the cannon and baggage, and one hundred thousand crowns in ready money^u. It was the fault of the *Spaniards* that they did not destroy the whole army, the marshal *de Grammont*, in despair, remaining some time at an abbey behind his camp, desirous of hiding his shame in a prison or in a tomb. It was the news of this defeat that induced the king to write a very kind letter to the cardinal, assuring him that he was as much in his favour as ever, and intrusting him to give the necessary orders for repairing this misfortune, at which he was excessively chagrined^w. Many of the *French* writers, as if they believed that all events were in the cardinal's power, have asserted, that the marshal suffered himself to be beat by his order. It is certain that he had married his relation, and was his great favourite; it is no less true, that, instead of blaming, he wrote a letter to comfort him^x. But they who say this, should say more, and tell us, that he had some influence also over the *Spaniards*, since, though there was nothing to oppose their going directly to *Paris*, they made little or no use of this victory.

While the king was alarmed with this loss, the viscount *de Fontrailles* arrived in the camp, *Monf. le Grand and Monf. de Thou arrest- ed.* to press Monsieur *le Grand* to provide for his own safety. He had sent to Monsieur, to desire that he would retire to *Sedan*; but they were so imprudent, that they had taken no order from the duke *de Bouillon* for his admittance; upon which they sent one *Monf. de Montmor* into *Italy*, to desire such an order: but, being entirely unknown to the duke, he refused to trust him; upon which they were constrained to send the count *de Aubijoux*, one of Monsieur's domestics. *Fontrailles*, who saw the consequence of these delays, told *Monf. le Grand*, that, being a tall handsome man, he might make a tolerable figure without a head, but that, his own being taken away, he should become more the subject of laughter than he was at present; upon this he privately withdrew, first into *Spain*, and then into *England*^y. In the mean time the cardinal had received a copy, nobody knows how, of the treaty concluded at *Madrid*, dated the 13th of *March*, in which his Catholic majesty promised to furnish Monsieur with twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, a great sum of money, and large pensions to the duke *de Bouillon* and *Monf. le Grand*^z. The king, under pretence of a fever, removed d to *Narbonne*, where, on the 13th of *June*, *Monf. de Thou* was arrested. *Monf. le Grand* absconded, but was taken the next day, and on the 23d of the same month the duke of *Bouillon*, who likewise endeavoured to make his escape, was seized at *Casal*^a; the cardinal, who had embarked at *Agde*, and who had prepared for his retreat to *Italy*, was now at *Tarrascon*, to which place the king went to visit him, and being both ill, they lay in the same room. The cardinal reproached him bitterly for deserting him when he was dying; the king wept, and told him all he knew, which was a great deal, since his favourite is said once to have proposed dispatching the cardinal to his master. *Richelieu* having procured from the king full powers to act as he thought fit, without consulting him, advised his majesty to continue his journey to *Paris*, and took upon him to do what was not so fit for a monarch to have done^b. e As to Monsieur, his conduct was much of the same stamp as it had always been; he endeavoured, to prevent being arrested, to hide himself in *Auvergne*, and in the mean time sent the abbe *de la Riviere* to see how things stood; making most humble supplications to the cardinal, and Monsieur *de Chavigni*, confessing and begging pardon, but in general terms, which shewed it was downright fear, which he would have taken as repentance; but they did not part with him so easily. On the contrary, though he had burnt the original treaty, he made a long and ample confession of its contents, and of all the previous and subsequent circumstances that attended it^c. While the cardinal was at *Tarrascon*, arrived the news of the death of the queen-mother; he shewed a deep concern, and caused a solemn service to be celebrated for her soul^d. The king's tenderness revived upon the same occasion, and he could not help shewing his sorrow, for having been the author of her miseries, who was the author of his birth. The cardinal went from *Tarrascon* to *Lyons*, and having sent for the chancellor, placed him at the head of the commissioners, before whom *Monf. le Grand* and *Monf. de Thou* were to be tried. They both steadily denied the treaty. As it could not be produced,

^u AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. BATT. NANI. LE VASSOR. LE GEND. PR. HENAUULT. ^w Memoires de Puysegur. ^x Vie de Richelieu. ^y VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Memoires de Montresor. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. ^z VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Anne d'Autriche Espouse de Louis XIII. Roi de France, par Madame de MOTTEVILLE. Edit. 1750, tom. i. BATT. NANI, liv. xii. LE VASSOR. ^a Memoires de Montresor. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 92. Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. BATT. NANI. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 161. ^b Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 92. Memoires de Montresor, p. 161. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. BATT. NANI, liv. xii. ^c Memoires de Montresor. ^d AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 147. BATT. NANI, liv. vii.

or any witnesses to prove it, for Monsieur threatened to fly to the ends of the earth, rather ^a than be confronted with his friends, they knew not what to do. But *Lanbardemont*, one of the judges, drew them out of this perplexity, by persuading Monsieur *le Grand* that *Monf. de Thou* had told all; upon which he made a confession that destroyed them both ^c. While their process was making, arrived the long expected news of the surrender of *Perpignan*, after a siege of more than three months, by which *France* gained a place of the utmost importance, in excellent condition, with arms and ammunition for twenty thousand men ^f. On the 13th of *September* Monsieur *le Grand* and Monsieur *de Thou* lost their heads ^g. Both were exceedingly regretted, more especially the latter. They died with great firmness and piety, and with a just detestation of that ambition, which, if it had not been fatal to their lives, might have proved so to the state, as is confessed by those who, in other respects, were ^b not averse to this design.

The duke de
Bouillon sur-
renders Sedan
and receives
an equivalent.

On the day those unfortunate gentlemen suffered, the cardinal set out for *Lyons*, and at the first stage, not being able to write much, gave his master the state of his affairs in a single line; "Your troops," said he, "are in *Perpignan*, and your enemies in their graves ^h." His actions were all in the same stile. He was so ill that he could not rise. He caused a magnificent bed, in which he lay, to be placed in a small room, with a table on one side to hold what he wanted, and a chair on the other, for the person who was to converse with him. This huge litter was carried on the shoulders of sixteen or twenty men. He intended to have hired peasants, but his guards would not allow them that honour ⁱ. In this new kind of triumph he moved by slow journies towards *Paris*, entering the towns and the houses ^c where he was to lodge through the breach, affecting, as he had imitated *Alexander* in his first exploit of the dyke before *Rochelle*, to follow him also in his last act, by imitating the manner in which he was carried to *Babylon*. By his advice the king consented to accept the principality of *Sedan*, and to grant a pardon to the duke of *Bouillon*, who had been transferred from *Italy* to the castle of *Pierre-Ancise* ^k. The king was moved by interest, the cardinal by his respect for the prince of *Orange*, who, when the cardinal was falling, had frankly acquainted the *French* minister, *Monf. d'Étrees*, and desired him to inform the king, that he had listened to some proposals from *Spain*, as not conceiving that the allies of *France* could trust her, if the cardinal was disgraced ^l. *Richelieu* himself was astonished at the service, and confessed, that, in the plenitude of his power, he knew not how to express his gratitude ^m. ^d The duke of *Bouillon* made a simple cession of *Sedan*, of which *Mazarine* took possession on the 29th of *September*; upon which the duke had his liberty, and a full abolition for every thing that was past. The cardinal, however, thought it incompatible with his master's dignity to take such a present as *Sedan*, without a proper return, and, by a contract of exchange, gave him the duchies of *Albret* and *Chateau-Thierry*, together with the counties of *Auvergne* and *Evreux*, and reserved his rights on the duchy of *Bouillon*, of which the family have been since put in possession ⁿ.

Last sickness
and death of
cardinal
Richelieu.

In the month of *October* the cardinal made a kind of triumphant entry into *Paris*, tho' still in a low and languishing condition. Rest, though it gave no hopes of recovery, afforded a kind of temporary relief, in which he resumed the dispatch of business, and his ordinary ^e diversions, so that many of those who were most attached to him began to feed themselves with flattering hopes. He would have the operations of the next campaign settled in the king's presence, but he would not go to *St. Germain's*, where the king was: he thought the place open and insecure; for this reason he desired the king would remove, that he would permit him to come attended by his guards, and that, while he remained with him, they should be mingled with his. Through respect for his past services, or through the weakness of his own temper, the king yielded to these demands ^o, but did not listen with the same complaisance to those which he made when he came, and which were indeed very exorbitant. He proscribed four of the king's captains of the guards by name, and insisted they should be dismissed, though he acknowledged their fidelity to the king, but he suspected them to have ^f been friends to Monsieur *le Grand*, as they had never sought his favour. The king promised him satisfaction, and a few days after the cardinal sent Monsieur *Chavigni* to urge the performance of this promise, and to desire they might be immediately discharged. The king told Monsieur *Chavigni*, that the cardinal had persons about him whom he did not like, and whose dismissal he desired. Upon his requesting to know their names, the king mentioned himself, and Monsieur *de Noyers*, both secretaries of state. Having carried his majesty's

^c VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Memoires de Montresor. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. ii. p. 94. LE VASSOR. ^f AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITTORIO SIRI il Mercurio. LE GEND. Pr. HENAULT. ^g Memoires de Montresor. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 95. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 147. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. iii. ^h AUBERI Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. ii. ⁱ Vie de Richelieu. ^k VITT. SIRI. AUBERI Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu. ^l BATT. NANI, liv. xii. ^m Vie de Richelieu. ⁿ VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. iii. AUBERI Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu, tom. ii. p. 766. Pr. HENAULT, seconde partie, p. 520. ^o Vie de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio.

a message, he returned with the minister's desire in writing to quit his employments, which the king refused; and directed his captains to sell, but privately signified to them that it was against his will; and promised that, at a proper time, they should receive proper marks of his favour^p. This was the last, and perhaps the largest stretch of the cardinal's power, for towards the end of *November* his disease became desperate. In the beginning of his ministry operation, the acrid humour in his blood discharged itself on his arm, and being forced from thence by baths and fomentations, fell upon his lungs, and formed two abscesses, of which he died on the fourth of *December*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his administration. He bore his malady with invincible patience, and met death with a firmness and serenity that was amazing. The king went twice to comfort him in his last moments, when the cardinal, in the most solemn manner, assured him, that he had done nothing but with a view to his majesty's honour, and the welfare of his kingdom, gave him many counsels of great importance, and recommended to him his relations, and his dependents^q.

WE have been obliged to defer part of the operations of this campaign to the close of the year, though too important to be omitted: the count *de Guebriant*, on the 17th of *January*, forced the imperial generals *Lamboy* and *Merci* in their lines at *Kimpen*, killed two thousand men, took five thousand prisoners, with their baggage and cannon, and, which did him still more honour, their generals also, and merited thereby the baton. During the remaining part of the campaign, he made himself master of the electorate of *Cologne*, made a powerful diversion in favour of the *Swedes*, who, under the command of *Leonard Tortenson*, defeated the Imperialists in two battles, and made themselves masters of the castle of *Leipsic*^r. Things, however, did not go at this rate in *Lorraine*, where *Monsieur du Hallier* was constrained to raise the siege of *la Motte*, with the loss of almost all his men^s. On the side of *Piedmont* the princes of *Savoy* signed a treaty in the month of *June* with *France*, and with their sister, by which they abandoned the *Spaniards*. In consequence of this, prince *Thomas* was declared general of the troops of *France* in *Italy*, with whom he took *Nice*, *Verrue*, and *Torton*, before the close of the year^t. In *Roussillon*, after taking *Perpignan*, the marshals *Schomberg* and *Meilleraie* reduced *Salces*, and, which was as honourable an action as any of the year, the marshal *de la Mothe Houdincourt* gained, on the 7th of *October*^u, a victory over the marquis *de Leganez*, at *Lerida*, though he had double his number. This finished the disgraces of that unfortunate officer, and made way for that of the conde duke *de Olivarez*; which may be looked upon as a new advantage to *France*, since, after the death of his old antagonist *Richelieu*, it is highly probable he would have recovered his reputation, if he had not lost his power.

THE new year opened with a new prospect; and those who had been long tired of the strict and severe conduct of the cardinal, promised themselves freedom and ease under the reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth. Some say, that the king himself thought in the same manner; that he declared he would have no governor; and that, for the little time he had to live, which he foresaw without disquiet or despair, he would pursue his own sentiments. But others with greater truth assert, that, for the short remainder of this reign, the spirit of *Richelieu* governed the king, as absolutely as he did himself while living. It is, however, very possible, that the king might make such declarations, and it served not a little to confirm them, that the prisoners in the *Bastille*, such as the marshals *de Vitri* and *Bassompierre*, the count *de Carmail*, and many others, were discharged^v, and the exiles, such as the duke of *Vendosme*, and his son the duke of *Beaufort*, with many more, were recalled. But still this makes nothing against the positive declaration of the king to all the sovereign courts in his own dominions, and to the ministers of foreign princes, that he meant to make no change in his administration. As a proof of this, cardinal *Mazarine* was introduced into the council the very day the cardinal died; the rest of the ministers were continued, and he directed his late will to be punctually executed^x. *Monsieur*, who by an edict had been declared incapable of the regency, deprived of his government, his troop of gens d'armes and light horse suppressed, had, however, leave given him to come to court, where, notwithstanding, he was not at all caressed^y. The war was carried on with vigour in *Catalonia*, where the *Spaniards* were obliged to raise the siege of *Flex*, and soon after that of *Mirabel*, by the marshal *de la Mothe Houdincourt*. On the twenty-ninth of *March* the prince of *Monaco* did homage to the king for the duchy of *Valen-*

^p AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. BATT. NANI. lib. xii. ^q AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 151. Memoires de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. vi. p. 360, & seq. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 112. BATT. NANI, liv. xii. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. LE GENDRE, PR. HENAULT. ^r VITT. SIRI il Mercurio, tom. ii. l. i. p. 4. ^s Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 86, & seq. ^t VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Memoires du Duc de Noailles & de la Valette, p. 25. ^u AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. ^v Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 161. Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE, tom. i. p. 114. ^x Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. ^y Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio.

inois, and received assurances of his majesty's intentions to support his allies in *Italy* ^a. Soon after he gave the staff of marshal of *France* to Monsieur *du Hallier*, stiled afterwards marshal *Hopital*, which was one of the last acts of his government ^z.

Disposition of
the king and
court after the
death of the
cardinal.

HE had, for the four last years of his life, been subject to many infirmities, which some think were increased by his frequent journies, and his fatiguing himself beyond the strength of his feeble and delicate constitution. He was more sensible than any body about him of the decline of his health, which induced him to think very seriously of settling the government during the minority of his son and successor. His court was divided into two factions, one for the queen, and the other for Monsieur. *Lewis* liked neither of them, but he did not hate his queen; and besides, experience had taught him, that affairs could not be in worse hands than those of his brother. Father *Sirmond*, his confessor, forgetting what had happened to his predecessor *Causin*, pressed the king to establish her majesty and the duke of *Orleans* joint regents; but that monarch thought that different talents were required to direct consciences and counsels, and, since he would interfere in both, dismissed him the court ^a. The king, who in the life-time of the cardinal had shewn some dislike to Monsieur *Chavigni*, relied upon him so intirely after his decease, that Monsieur *de Noyers* desired leave to resign his post of secretary of state, presuming he should be refused, and that the king would allow him a greater share of his confidence, in order to retain him in his service; but in this he was mistaken, for his demission was accepted ^b, and Monsieur *le Tellier* appointed to execute his office by commission; he had been intendant of the army in *Italy*, and was by that means known to cardinal *Mazarine*, who found him so useful, that he would never part with him. ^c The count *de Brienne* resigned from another motive; he was attached to the queen; he found he could not serve her effectually, and chose, as the highest proof of his zeal, to reserve his talent for her regency; Monsieur *Poictier*, bishop of *Beauvais*, had the queen's confidence; the duke of *Beaufort* was strongly attached to her; so was the duke *de Rochefoucault*, who drew to her likewise the duke of *Anguien*, son to the prince of *Condé*, who began now to make a figure. *Chavigni* finding the king determined with respect to his brother, began likewise to court the queen; and the prelate before-mentioned, to give a proof of his abilities, brought the cardinal to make a tender of his services, though the count *de Brienne* went farther than courtiers are wont to do with each other, in telling him he would repent it: the queen accepted his offer, and this, with the recommendation of the nuncio, was the introduction of ^d that minister, who made so great a figure in the next reign ^e.

His declaration
in regard
to the form of
the regency
after his de-
cease.

AT length, after mature deliberation, the king, on the nineteenth of *April*, published the form of the regency, the plan of which had been drawn by *Chavigni*, and put into order by the chancellor ^d. According to this declaration, the queen was sole regent, and had the custody of her children. Monsieur, the former order against him being revoked, was declared head of the council, and lieutenant-general throughout the kingdom; in his absence the prince of *Condé*; in the absence of both, cardinal *Mazarine* ^e. *Bouthillier*, sur-intendant of the finances, and his son *Chavigni*, were of the council, where all was to pass by plurality of voices. The queen had the nomination of all officers, except secretaries of state, for which she was to take the advice of the council. The nomination to benefices was reserved to the cardinal. After it was read, the queen and Monsieur swore to the observance of it, and the next day it was registered in parliament, a circumstance which, in respect to its authority, was strong in appearance, but weak in effect ^f. In order to make his brother the more easy, the king gave his intire consent to his marriage with the princess *Margaret* of *Lorraine*, provided it was solemnized again in *France*, which order took place, but not till after the king's decease ^z. The command of the army, by the advice of the cardinal, who was desirous of making his court to the prince of *Condé*, was given to the young duke of *Anguien*, under whose orders the marshal *Hopital* was to act. The king left no public acts of displeasure upon any except *Chateaufort* and the duchess of *Chevreuse*; the former was still in prison at *Angoulesme*, and the latter in *England*; he directed that neither should return to court. The deceased cardinal ^f had possessed him with an opinion of the ingratitude of *Chateaufort*, who, when he little expected it, had the seals delivered to him, received one hundred thousand crowns in gratifications in the space of a year, and was made governor of *Touraine*, which did not hinder his entering into intrigues. The duchess of *Chevreuse* had a great influence over the queen, and was the principal instrument of the misunderstandings between them; she was a woman of gallantry and intrigue, and the secret histories of those times shew clearly that she had a large share in those transactions that gave the king infinite disquiet ^a. But these, like most of

^y BATT. NANI, liv. xii.

^z VITT. SIRI il Mercurio.

^a Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de

France, sconde partie, par President HENAU, p. 524.

^b Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 165,

& seq.

^c VITT. SIRI il Mercurio. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.

^d Corps Uni-

versel Diplomatique du droit des gens, tom. vi. part i. p. 269. VITT. SIRI il Mercurio.

^e Memoires

du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 170. Histoire du Ministere du Cardinal Mazarin.

^f VITT. SIRI il

Mercurio.

^z Idem ibid. & auctor supra citat.

^a Memoires de Madame de MOTTEVILLE. VITT.

SIRI il Mercurio.

a the directions of dying princes, were very little regarded, and the consequences shewed, that, independent of his royal character, they deserved to have been treated with great respect.

THE king, having taken these steps, had nothing to do but to die, which he did leisurely, *Death of Louis XIII.* and with amazing calmness and fortitude. Seeing the duke of *Beaufort*, and some others, who he thought did not love him, in the room when the declaration for settling the regency was read, he said to one who was near him, "Those people are come to see if I am making haste in my journey." One day, opening the windows of his chamber that looked towards *St. Denis*, he said, without the least emotion, "Yonder's the place where I shall lodge a great while: my body will be well shaken, for at present the roads are very bad¹." His distemper was a slow fever, which wore him gradually to skin and bones. One morning he b called Monsieur *de Pontis* to him, and unbuttoning his shirt, shewed him his arms, emaciated to the last degree: "Here, *Pontis*," said he, "take hold of my hand; see what arms these are that belong to a king of *France*²." About two hours before he died, seeing Dr. *Seguier*, the queen's physician, near his bedside, he made a sign to him to approach, then gave him his arms: "*Seguier*," said he, "feel my pulse, and tell me how many hours I have yet to live; but feel it carefully, for I should be glad to know as exactly as possible." The doctor did as he was bid, and then told him, he thought he might live two or three hours at the most. The king then joining both his hands, and looking stedfastly to heaven, said softly, "Well! my God, I consent with all my heart³." He deceased on the 14th of *May*, 1643, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, dying on the day of c his accession⁴. An excellent writer⁵ has given us a very just character of him in few words: he was as valiant as *Henry* the fourth, but his valour was without heat and without eclat; and no way proper for the conquest of a kingdom. Providence placed him therefore precisely where it was proper for him to be placed; sooner he had been too weak, later too circumspect; son and father of two great kings, he fixed the throne, yet tottering, of *Henry* the fourth, and prepared the way for the wonders of the reign of *Lewis* the fourteenth.

¹ *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. i. p. 111, & seq. ² *Memoires de Pontis*, tom. ii. liv. v. p. 363. ³ *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. i. p. 119, 120. ⁴ *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii. p. 173. *Memoires de Pontis*. *Memoires de Puysegur*, p. 240. *Le Vassor*. ⁵ *Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, seconde partie, par President *HENAUT*, p. 526.

S E C T. XIII.

The reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, surnamed Le Grand, from his accession to the throne to the peace of the Pyrenees, and his marriage with the Infanta Maria Theresa of Austria.

1 AT the time of his father's decease, the young monarch *Lewis* XIV. wanted something more than three months of five years of age. The first act of the regency shewed how great an illusion it is for princes to imagine, that the living will be governed by the dead. *Lewis* XIII. thought maturely he had been well advised in making his declaration; he had obliged the queen and the duke of *Orleans* to swear to it in the presence of the whole court, and had caused it to be registered by the parliament of *Paris*. All this time the queen was taking measures to render these precautions abortive, and had secured to herself success before the king was dead. On the 18th of *May* she went to the parliament; told them in a short speech that her grief was inexpressible, that it admitted of no consolation till their deputies came to pay their duties to her son; that, afflicted, confused, and not knowing which way to turn, she came to repose herself on their advice, and to form her conduct upon their councils². Such was the queen's compliment; the chancellor sufficiently explained her meaning. The parliament, prepared for the queen's purpose, and glad of such an opportunity to support their own authority, confided to her the tutelage of the king, and the regency of his dominions, solely and simply, the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Conde*³ assenting. In a word, without repealing, they intirely cancelled the king's declaration. The great favour into which cardinal *Mazarine* rose soon after, and which he maintained as long as he lived, has induced an opinion that he was the author of this measure; but the fact is so much otherwise, that at the time he was the only person to whom it gave distaste; which he made no scruple of declaring, and disposed every thing for his⁴ return into *Italy*. This too has been treated as a refined stroke in policy, but it was real.

THE queen had, however, no mind to lose him, and at the same time knew not how to keep him; she communicated her thoughts to the count *de Brienne*, who advised her to offer *Cardinal Mazarine at the*

² *AUBERT Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine*, edit. 1730, tom. i. p. 145. ³ *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. i. p. 133. ⁴ *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii. p. 178.

him

head of the
queen's council,
and in pos-
session of her
confidence.

him what he had lost by cancelling the king's declaration; which she did; and upon his ac-
cepting it, he quickly gained her confidence in a degree of exclusion, even to those who had
raised him to it^d. The old Bishop of *Beauvais*, though not very quick of apprehension,
either saw or was told it; upon which he behaved so strangely, that, though he had been ad-
mitted into the council, he was directed to repair to his diocese, where he died^e not long after
of chagrin. The queen, forgetting her husband's injunctions, permitted Monsieur de *Cha-
teauneuf* to retire to his own house, and recalled the duchess of *Chevreuse* and Madame de
Hautefort^f. Her gratitude to those who had sided with her in the time of her difficulties,
was so strong at her entrance on the regency, and her resentment carried so sharp an edge, that
she reposed her confidence in the duke of *Vendosme* and his sons, particularly the duke of
Beaufort, whom she intrusted with the king's person, when she removed him from *St. Ger-
main's* to *Paris*^g. She shewed likewise a disposition to despoil the family and creatures of car-
dinal *Richelieu*, that she might gratify these and other favourites. But her interests and her
inclinations quickly changed, not through any fickleness in the queen's temper, but from her
seeing things in other lights.

Progress of
the war in
Germany and
in Piedmont,
with the de-
feat of the
Spanish fleet.

WHILE the court was kept in a continual fermentation by these intrigues, the war was car-
ried on with very different success in the different scenes of action. The marshal de *Guebriant*,
one of the bravest and ablest officers in the service of *France*, besieged *Rotwil*, which sur-
rendered on the 19th of *November*; but he was mortally wounded in the siege, and died in
the beginning of the succeeding month: his corpse was removed to *Paris*, and the queen
caused it to be interred in *Notre Dame*, all the sovereign courts attending the funeral^h. After
his misfortune, great disputes arose in the army, and the command devolved upon the count
de *Rantzau*, who being attacked at *Tudelingen* by the duke of *Lorraine*, general *Meric*, and
John de Werth, was totally defeated, himself and all the general officers made prisoners, to-
gether with six thousand men, and all the artillery and baggage. The recovery of *Rotwil*
was the first consequence of this victoryⁱ, which raised the courage of the imperialists ex-
tremely. In *Italy* prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* continued to command, assisted by the viscount de
Turenne and Monsieur de *Plessis Praslin*^k. The *Spaniards* were long employed in the siege of
the castle of *Tortona*, of which they at length became masters; the *French* and *Piedmontese*
in the mean time took *Ast* and *Turin*; soon after which the viscount de *Turenne* was recalled;
and the command, by the sickness of prince *Thomas*, devolving upon M. du *Plessis Praslin*,
he concluded the campaign with the taking the bridge over the *Stura*, a place of great con-
sequence, as it opened a communication between *Piedmont* and the *Montferrat*^l. In *Catalo-
nia* marshal de la *Mothe Houdincourt* maintained the reputation that he had acquired, though
he could not hinder the king of *Spain* from retaking *Moncon*. The truth is, that at so
great a distance, and while the court was in such agitation, armies were not so well supplied,
or the demands of those at the head of them so punctually answered, as in the time of *Richelieu*.
However, his nephew de *Breze*, now become by his death duke de *Fronsac*, beat the
Spanish fleet on the 3d of *September*, in the sight of *Carthagera*, and took two of their largest
ships^m.

The duke of
Anguien
gains a com-
plete victory
over the Spa-
niards at
Rocroi.

BUT what fixed the reputation of the regency, and consoled the court for the wrong turn
things took in other places, was their success on the side of *Flanders*. The duke of *Anguien*,
then in his twenty-second year, commanded the forces of *France*, having under him the mar-
shal *Hopital*, and the count de *Gassion*. His army consisted of sixteen thousand foot and
seven thousand horse; the *Spaniards* were about twenty-six thousand, under Don *Francisco*
de *Mello*, who had formed the siege of *Rocroi*, on the frontier of the *Low Countries*, towards
the *Ardennes*. The duke having received, by an express, an account of the king's death,
resolved to relieve the place, and give the *Spaniards* battle. The marshal laboured all he could
to dissuade him, but in vain; the battle was very warmly fought; the left wing of the *French*
army, commanded by the marshal de *Hopital*, was beat, and the marshal had his arm broke;
but the count de *Gassion* having dispersed the left wing of the *Spanish* army, and having pas-
sed round their main body, came to his assistance, and taking the *Spanish* cavalry in flank,
they were quickly beaten. Their infantry, forming a square battalion, having their general
the count de *Fuentes* in the centre (who, being ill of the gout, was carried in a chair) began to
retreat, and repulsed the duke of *Anguien*, who, through impatience, attacked him with his
horse: at last the foot came up, and then they were broken, or rather slaughtered, with their
general. They lost nine thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannonⁿ. This was a decisive

^d AUBERT Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine. ^e Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. ^f LIMIERS.
^g Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 176, 177. ^h LIMIERS, Histoire de Louis XIV. Memoires
de Pontis, tom. ii. liv. vi. p. 401. Histoire du Comte de Guebriant, Marechal de France, par J. LE LA-
BOUREUR, Prieur de Juvigne fol. Paris, 1656. ⁱ Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 83. ^k Memoires
du Duc de Navailles, p. 26. ^l Idem p. 26. LIMIERS. ^m Histoire de la Monarchie Françoise,
par SIMON DE RHINCOURT. ⁿ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 218. QUINCY, Histoire
Milit. de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 2. Histoire du Prince de Condé, edit. 1699, p. 27.

defeat,

a defeat, and the ruin of the *Castilian* infantry, which could never be repaired. The duke of *Anguien* afterwards besieged *Tbionville*, and took it, after six weeks open trenches °, tho' the *Spaniards* had the good fortune to throw in two thousand men before the place was invested. This strong place surrendered on the 10th of *August*, as *Sirk* did on the 2d of *September*, with which ended the campaign. The viscount *de Turenne* had the baton of *France* given him on the 26th of *November*, and Monsieur *du Gassion* on the 27th; and the same honour was intended for the marquis *de Gefvres*, if he had not been killed before *Tbionville* p.

THE disturbances at court rose higher and higher. The faction of *Vendosme*, to whom the prince of *Condé* had given the name of *Les Importans*, or *The Importants*, persecuted b the queen publicly, and privately censured her conduct. The duke of *Beaufort*, a young man of a large size, well made, of moderate parts, but endowed with a peculiar kind of popular eloquence, by which he charmed the vulgar, was so much incensed at the preference the queen gave to *Mazarine*, that, having abundance of persons about the court at his devotion, he took some such steps, as, instead of doing his own, did his enemy's business at once, so that he was arrested when he least expected it q. He was charged with a design to murder the cardinal, though he pretended that their only aim was to frighten him. But, whatever their view was, this put an end to all their pretensions to favour. The duke *de Vendosme*, and the duke *de Mercœur* his eldest son, were ordered to retire to their houses, and in a little time *Madame de Hautefort* and the duchess of *Chevreuse* fell again into disgrace r. The queen was sufficiently sensible that the weight of government was too heavy for her, and therefore in a little time discharged it almost intirely upon the cardinal, who persuaded her to desist from the resolution she had formed of despoiling the relations and friends of his predecessor. He told her, that in general they were persons of merit, who had discharged the places they held with reputation: that they could expect protection only from her majesty, and must consequently remain attached to her; and that, in depriving them of the places they held, she would not find it easy in disposing of them to others who were like to behave better, or to be more steady in their obedience. The duchess of *Aiguillon*, to whom her uncle had secured the government of *Havre de Grace*, treated the queen with such profound respect, and gave her such strong assurances of perpetual fidelity, that by degrees she grew much d into her favour s. But the chancellor, the surintendant of the finances, and his son *Chavigni*, remained still exposed to the queen's resentment. As to the first, the cardinal represented his late service in parliament in so strong a light, that the queen at length came to endure him; but as for *Bouthillier* he was removed towards the close of the year, and the office of surintendant bestowed upon the president *Bailleul* t, a man of incorruptible integrity, but of too mild and soft a disposition for that employment, and therefore he had first *M. d'Avaux*, and then *Mr. Emery*, given him as an assistant. This secured the chancellor, from whom, if the seals had been taken, they would have been given to the president. *Mr. Chavigni* was ordered to dispose of his employment as secretary of state. The queen hated him for the restrictions in the late king's declaration, while he thought it no small merit that the declaration was not farther clogged, e to which the king was strongly inclined. The cardinal was under great obligations to him; and perhaps would have exerted himself with greater warmth in his favour, if his abilities had not been so conspicuous, or his experience in affairs had been less. He disposed of his employment to the count *de Brienne* u, who had sold his own; but, to preserve some measures with him, the cardinal took care that *Chavigni* should be admitted into the council. In pursuance of the preliminaries signed at *Ratisbon* the *French* plenipotentiaries *Longueville*, *d'Avaux*, and *Servien*, were sent into *Germany* thro' *Holland* v.

THE queen and her minister were obliged to have great complaisance for the duke of *Or-*leans and the prince of *Condé*; and this affair went the better, because the want of sincerity on all sides obliged them to act with the most strict punctuality and precaution. The duke of f *Orleans* testified a desire of being at the head of the army, and this could not be refused. It was determined that he should command on the side of the *Low Countries*, where there was the least doubt of his meeting with success. The difficulty of restoring affairs in *Germany* invited rather than deterred the duke of *Anguien*, who very readily took the command, having under him the marshals *Grammont* and *Turenne*. In the mean time the plenipotentiaries, in their passage through *Holland*, concluded a new treaty with the states, in which they gave them the title of high and mighty Lords x, and in virtue of which the prince of

Intrigues at court; duke of Beaufort arrested; disgrace of several great persons.

A. D. 1643.

Progress of the war in Germany under the duke of Orleans, and in Italy under prince Thomas of Savoy.

° *Mercure Francois*.

p *Memoires de Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii. p. 220, 221.

q *Memoires de*

Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 167—187.

r *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. i. AUBERI

Histoire du Cardinal de Mazarine.

s *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. i. LIMIERS, REINCOURT.

t AUBERI *Histoire du Cardinal de Mazarine*, BATT. NANI. liv. xii.

u *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*

tom. i. *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. ii.

v LIMIERS, REINCOURT.

x *Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens*, tom. vi. p. 294. LIMIERS, REINCOURT.

Orange promised to act in concert with *Monsieur*, whom he advised to attack *Dunkirk* ^a and *Gravelines*. The treaty of alliance was also renewed with *Portugal*; and a subsidy granted to *Ragotski*, who thereupon made an irruption into *Hungary*, and afforded thereby a very necessary diversion in favour of the *Swedes*. General *Merci*, who commanded the *Bavarian* army, had taken *Friburgh* before the *French* were in a condition to take the field, at least with an army capable of looking him in the face. At length, having drawn together about 26,000 men, the duke of *Anguien* advanced towards general *Merci*, who was encamped very advantageously to cover his new conquests. He attacked him, notwithstanding his retrenchments, on the 3d of *August*, and with great difficulty forced them on one side: upon this *Merci* decamped, and took possession of a mountain, where he fortified himself as strongly as before; the duke attacked him again on the 5th, but without being able to force him; ^b but on the 9th he quitted his retrenched post, and leaving behind him six pieces of cannon ^r, and part of his baggage, made a great and glorious retreat. The duke of *Anguien*, without amusing himself with the recovery of *Friburgh*, resolved to become master of the course of the *Rhine*. Accordingly he attacked *Philipsburgh*, which surrendered on the 9th of *September*. Upon this success *Mentz* opened her gates; *Worms* and *Oppenheim* were reduced; and marshal *Turenne* took all the places on that river as far as *Landau* ^z. In *Italy* things went but indifferently; prince *Thomas*, after a long siege, reduced *St. Va*, and obliged the *Spaniards* to abandon the castle of *Ast*, which they had surprised while he was engaged in that siege ². Pope *Urban* the eighth dying, *France* interposed to prevent cardinal *Pamphilio* from succeeding him; but cardinal *Antonio Barberini*, who at this time was protector of ^c the affairs of *France*, being gained, and the *French* ambassador, who confided too much in him, deceived, *Pamphilio* was advanced to the papal throne, and assumed the title of *Innocent* the tenth; which so provoked the *French* court, that they obliged cardinal *Antonio* to take down the arms of *France* that were placed over his gate, and recalled and disgraced the ambassador ^b.

Marshal de la Mothe Houdincourt beat before Lerida, and unjustly censured.

THE marshal *de la Mothe*, who still commanded *Catalonia*, was obliged to raise the siege of *Tarragona*, in order to march to the relief of *Lerida*, which was besieged by his catholic majesty in person. The marshal *de la Mothe*, with great courage, though with an inferior army, gave the enemy battle on the 15th of *May*, in which he had the misfortune to be beaten, with the loss of two thousand men, his artillery and baggage. In these circumstances he gave ^d a distinguishing proof of his prudence and presence of mind, by causing a great convoy of provisions to enter the place during the heat of the dispute; notwithstanding which *Lerida* surrendered ^e, after a siege of six weeks. Cardinal *Mazarine*, notwithstanding his former services, recalled the marshal, caused him to be arrested at *Lyons*, and sent prisoner to *Pierre Encise*, loading him with heavy accusations. On the other hand, the marshal retorted the charge, affirming, that, since the death of *Richelieu*, he had been ill supported; and that, in the action before *Lerida*, he had defeated the *Spaniards*, if his horse had done their duty. He even went so far as to allege, that this was not owing to any want of zeal or courage in them, but to certain secret orders which were sent them by *Monsieur le Tellier*. This piqued the cardinal extremely, who thereupon caused his process ^d to be made before the parliament ^e of *Grenoble*; but four years after he was discharged with great honour, and released from his imprisonment, in spite of all the arts used to prevent it.

The duke of Orleans reduces Gravelines, and then returns to court.

THE duke of *Orleans*, having under him the marshals *de la Meilleraie* and *de Gassion*, marched into the heart of *Flanders*, and, contrary to the advice of the prince of *Orange*, invested *Gravelines*, after taking some small places that covered it ^e. The states promised to send a fleet to facilitate the reduction of the place by sea, which they did under the command of the famous *Tromp*; but he came too late to do any great service, and the governor, *Don Hernando de Solis*, was obliged to surrender it on the 28th of *July*, after forty-eight days open trenches ^f. On the 7th of *August* the prince of *Orange* made himself master of the *Sas van Ghent* ^g, a place of great importance, which the republic has ever since possessed, and which gave their ^f forces an open passage into *Brabant*. The duke of *Orleans* was ambitious of the same, but did not care to engage in enterprizes which were accompanied either with much difficulty or danger, so that nothing farther of importance was done on this side. He was received however, on his return ^h, with all imaginable testimonies of respect by the court, with which he was highly pleased.

^r QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIII. tom. i. p. 22. Histoire du Prince de Condé. ^z Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. DE RAMSAY. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 282. ^a QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 34, 35. ^b Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 233. ^c Memoires chronologiques & historiques, Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 44. ^d Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 36—373. ^e Memoires de Puysegur, p. 244. ^f QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 19. Memoires de Puysegur. ^g Memoires de Fred. Henri, Prince d'Orange, in 4to, p. 322. ^h Memoires de Mad. de Motteville, tom. i. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.

^a THE domestic affairs of *France* began to be disturbed, in consequence of the hasty steps taken by the queen in the beginning of her regency. The council of state had imposed a tax upon the new houses built contrary to the edict for setting bounds to the city of *Paris*; upon which followed an insurrection of the people, whose cause was supported by the parliament. At first vigorous measures were resolved on; but the natural moderation of *Mazarine* prevailed; and the queen, in return for the affection the *Parisians* had always shewn for her, pardoned the offence¹. This did not hinder new disputes with the parliament, who saw their opportunity, and were very desirous of extending their authority. The queen sent for them to court, and caused them to be reprimanded by the chancellor^k; but this had little effect. They resolved to convert her compliment into a concession, and made her deeply repent the promise she had made them of receiving their counsels, and following their advice. If this spirit of theirs had been truly what it seemed, zeal for the cause of their country, and an honest desire of sparing the purses of the people, it had been highly commendable; and, very probably, by a moderate proceeding they might have prevailed. But this was not the case; Mr. *de Chateauneuf*, released from his imprisonment, and suffered to live at his house at *Montrouge*, was the great author of these discords. He expected to have succeeded cardinal *Richelieu*, or at least to have had the seals; being disappointed in these great views, he forgot the favour he had received, and, by his discourses to those who came to visit him, inspired the parliament with a desire of controuling the administration, and acquiring a share in the government by censuring its proceedings^l. The sickness of *Mazarine*^m was another misfortune; it retarded the progress of affairs, and it raised a multitude of pretenders; but at the same time it afforded an excuse for that want of vigour which was shewn in support of the royal authority. *Mazarine*, who was very able in foreign affairs, was not so knowing in those that regarded the domestic interest of *France*; and could never be driven from that equitable maxim, that the queen, having received her regency from the parliament, could not, either with propriety or decency, treat them roughly. This minister, in appearance so gentle, treated duke *Charles of Lorraine* very hardly, prescribing to him such terms as it was impossible for a sovereign to accept. The duke, who had an art of politics of his own, quickly saw this, but continued to negotiate; got some articles softened, others explained, and at last concludedⁿ. His views were to make better terms with the *Spaniards*, which he did, and then refused to ratify the treaty with the minister, so that in the end he was the only gainer^o by the minister's obstinacy. The queen of *Great Britain*, whom the civil war in her own dominions had driven abroad, A. D. 1644. after passing some months in drinking the waters of *Bourbon*, returned to pass the winter in *Paris*, and was treated with very great respect. On the 6th of *October* died *Elizabeth of France*, queen of *Spain*, exceedingly regretted^p; she had just acquired some influence in the councils of *Madrid*, and employed it in behalf of the people.

^e *LEONARD Torsenson*, who commanded the *Swedes*, had gained a great victory over the imperialists at *Tabor*, in the beginning of *March*, in consequence of which general *Rosen* was sent with a body of cavalry to join marshal *Turenne*, who was advancing into *Franconia*. With this view he passed the *Rhine* and the *Main*, and sent *Rosen* with his horse to observe the motions of general *Merci*, an officer inferior to none, who continued retiring before him^q. *Rosen*, having followed him for four days, returned to marshal *Turenne*, with an account that the enemies were gone; upon which, at the request of the *Germans*, and because the season was rude, the troops were put into quarters of refreshment. *Merci*, who foresaw this, and who had followed *Rosen* back but slowly, and at a distance, on the 5th of *May* fell upon the quarters of the *French* at *Marindal*, carried them with great ease, killed a great many men, and took six pieces of cannon, and all the baggage, which obliged *Turenne* to repass the rivers, and to retire fighting under the walls of *Philipsburgh*^r. This was the single check that *Turenne* ever received, and yet perhaps it was the source of his humility in his victories. At least this is certain, that whenever he was applauded for the latter he always mentioned the former, and gave those praises to *Merci* that others would have given to him^s. The duke of *Anguien*, who was destined to command on this side, marched to his relief, and in his passage assisted the marquis *de Villeroi* in taking *la Motte*, where the duke of *Lorraine* had still a garrison, and before which place *Magalotti*, an *Italian* officer, for whom the cardinal intended a baton of *France*, had been killed.

^f THE *French* forces, being joined, marched under the command of the duke, the marshals *Grammont* and *Turenne*, in order to form the siege of *Hailbron*. After taking *Wimpfen*, which opened the passage of the *Neckar*, they continued their march towards *Nortlingen*, not far

Beginning of these disputes and discontents which at length produced a civil war.

The French army under marshal Turenne surprised by general Mercier.

The duke of Anguien, with the marshals

¹ Memoires d'Omer Talon, la Haye, 1732, 8 vol. 12mo. t. iii.
moires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i.

^k REINCOURT, LIMIERS.

^l Me-

Univerfel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. P. i. p. 300.

^m Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 229.

ⁿ Corps

moires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 283—289.

^o LIMIERS, REINCOURT.

^p Mc-

^q QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

^r Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

^s LIMIERS Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, tom. i.

from

Grammont
and Turenne,
beats the
Germans at
Nortlingen,
where general
Merci is
killed.

from which they found general *Merci*, encamped more strongly than at *Friburgh*, on a mountain surrounded by a morass, a large village in his centre, his right wing covered by a thick wood, his left by an old fortress, into which he had put several pieces of cannon. The duke determined to attack him even in this posture, and he performed it on the third of *August*. The command of the right wing was given to marshal *Grammont*, who was to oppose general *Glesne*; the marquis *de Castelnau* commanded in the centre; and marshal *Turenne*, with the *German* horse, in the left wing, was opposed to count *Merci*, who commanded the right of his own army. The duke took no post. The action began by attacking the village, which the marquis *de Castelnau* performed with great vigour; but was on the point of being repulsed, when the duke of *Anguien*, with his gens d'arms, came in to his relief, and carried their point. Marshal *Turenne* with infinite difficulty forced an eminence between the village and the enemies right wing, which he defeated with great slaughter, the brave count *Merci* being killed upon the spot. Marshal *Grammont*, with the *French* cavalry, was thoroughly beaten, and himself taken prisoner; and if general *Glesne* had not amused himself with attempting to plunder the baggage, he might have restored the fortune of the day, or at least he might have made a good retreat; but his troops being dispersed by the victors, he was himself made prisoner. The imperialists had three thousand killed, two thousand taken prisoners, and fifteen pieces of cannon: but the victory was very dearly bought. *Nortlingen* and *Dunkespiel* surrendered, and the victorious army besieged *Hailbron*. The duke of *Anguien*, falling ill, was obliged to leave the army to the command of marshal *Turenne*; and the archduke *Leopold* and general *Galas* advancing with a superior army to its relief, he raised the siege. The imperialists, after retaking *Nortlingen* and *Dunkespiel*, went into winter-quarters, as the marshal was about to do. But, being informed that there was a very weak garrison in *Treves*, he very unexpectedly advanced towards it, and invested the place, which opened its gates on the 19th of *November*, by which means it was restored to the elector, whose liberty the *French* plenipotentiaries at *Munster* had procured; the only remarkable thing they had done in the space of two years, which was chiefly owing to the disputes amongst themselves. Mr. *Servien* had the minister's confidence, which the duke of *Longueville* thought due to him from his rank, while the public have judged that Mr. *d'Avaux* had the best title of them all in point of merit.

Campaign in
Italy, and the
retreat of the
Barberins
into France.

ON the side of *Italy* there was a treaty concluded on the third of *April*, between the king and the dukes of *Savoy*, by which *Turin* and all the other places in which there were *French* garrisons, were delivered to the young duke. The execution of this treaty took up so much time, that the *Spaniards* might have taken advantage of it, if their forces in the duchy of *Milan* had been near so considerable as in times past; but, to say the truth, this long war had so exhausted both crowns, that, in the more distant scenes of action, things were carried on in a very languishing manner. In the summer campaign, when there was in a manner nothing to oppose them, the marquis *de Serra*, who commanded in the *Milanese*, only rendered himself master of the fortress of *Capiara*, which he demolished. In the autumn prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* took the field with the *French* and *Piedmontese* troops, and besieged *Rocca de Vigevano*, which surrendered on the 12th of *September*. But though the campaign ended here, we cannot quit *Italy* so soon. *Innocent* the tenth, who had ascended the papal throne by the assistance of the *Barberins*, who, in that, had sacrificed their attachment to *France*, was no sooner firmly seated thereon, than he began to make them feel the weight of his resentment, and that in so extraordinary a manner, as obliged them to have recourse to the protection of *France*, or rather to that of the cardinal, who, by his sole influence, procured it to be employed in their behalf in its utmost extent. In consequence of this, the cardinal *Antonio Barberini*, and his brother the prefect *Thadeus*, with his family, retired to *Paris*, where they were received with all possible marks of honour and respect. We cannot enter here at large into the motives of the cardinal's conduct, which has been censured by some, and commended by others; it is sufficient to say, that they brought with them immense sums of money, which they freely lent for carrying on the war on this side; and in consideration of which *Mazarine*, in process of time, advanced cardinal *Antonio* to the archiepiscopal see of *Rheims*, and the post of lord high almoner.

Count de Har-
court, viceroy
of Catalonia,
takes Roses,

THE minister was obliged, for his own justification, to take all imaginable care of the affairs in *Catalonia*, where the marshal *de la Mothe* was replaced by the count *de Harcourt*, with the title of viceroy. He opened the campaign towards the close of *March* with the siege of *Roses*,

^a Histoire du Prince de Conde, p. 108. AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, tom. i. p. 294. Memoires chronologiques & historiques. ^u Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, tom. i. ^w QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires chronologiques & historiques, Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 304, 305. ^x Histoire du Prince de Conde. ^y Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. ^z VITTORIO SIRI il Mercurio, tom. iv. p. ii. p. 299. ^a Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. ii. p. 28. ^b AUBERI, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 281, 282.

a an important port, strong by situation, well fortified, and in which there was a garrison of three thousand foot and three hundred horse. The count *du Pleffis Praslin* commanded the siege, and the count *de Harcourt* covered it. The place was well defended; and Don *Andrew de Cantelmo*, who commanded the army of *Spain*, did not find himself strong enough to undertake any thing for its relief, so that the place surrendered on the 26th of *May*, after forty-nine days open trenches ^d, which intitled the count *du Pleffis Praslin* to the baton of *France*; which as soon as he received, he was sent into *Piedmont*, to assist prince *Thomas of Savoy* ^e. After his departure, the count *de Harcourt* passed the *Segro* with all his forces, in order to give battle to the *Spaniards*, who were posted between *Liorens* and *Balaguier*. The battle was fought on the 22d of *June*, when the *Spanish* troops were beat, having 1000 men killed, and 2000 taken prisoners, which was followed by the loss of *Liorens* and *Balaguier* ^f. But this was not the greatest event of the year; the baron *d'Alby* formed a dangerous conspiracy for restoring *Barcelona* to the *Spaniards*, in which a great number of the inhabitants were embarked; but it was discovered on the very point of execution, by the great vigilance of the viceroy, by whose orders some of the principal criminals were severely punished ^g, and the malecontents put out of the power of acting for the future.

THE greatest efforts were made on the side of *Flanders*, where the duke of *Orleans* commanded, having under him the marshal *du Gassion*, and the count *de Rantzau*. The *Spaniards* were but weak, and the great diversion made by the prince of *Orange* very much facilitated the progress of the *French*. *Casal* was taken by storm, which opened a passage to the siege of *Mardyke*. This place was then no more than a very strong fort covered by marshes, into which the *Spaniards* had put a garrison of twelve hundred men, with all the ammunition and provisions necessary, general *Picolomini* being near with his army, to afford the besieged all the assistance in his power. The siege was carried on with great circumspection; and the *Dutch* fleet, commanded by admiral *Tromp*, blocked up the place by sea. It was surrendered on the 10th of *July*, after twenty days open trenches ^h; by which the count *de Rantzau*, abjuring the protestant religion, obtained the marshal's staff. To secure this conquest, the marshal *de Gassion* was sent to take the fort of *Link*, which he performed within the compass of the same month, being dangerously wounded in the attack. The two marshals next attacked *Bourbourg*, which, after a siege of ten days, was surrendered, and the garrison made prisoners of war. *Menin*, *Bethune*, and *Lillers*, followed; in the mean time the prince of *Orange* besieged *Hulst* ⁱ, a place of great strength and importance. The *Spaniards*, seeing him thus employed, assembled all their forces in *Flanders*, in order to recover some of the places they had lost; in which they met with some good fortune, for they recovered *Casal*, and surprised the fort of *Mardyke* ^k; but in the mean time the prince of *Orange* took *Hulst* on the 14th of *November*, after which the forces on both sides went into winter quarters.

AT home the cardinal found himself every day in fresh perplexities with the parliament; and very often his quarrels were about such trifles, that it was sufficiently evident this great and powerful body took a pleasure in embarrassing and perplexing his administration. He wanted not some true friends, who advised him to act with vigour; and to let the parliament know, that though kings were minors, yet the royal authority did not participate either of age or of youth, but was always the same; and that having declared the queen sole regent, they were as much bound to obedience as the rest of her subjects ^l. But the cardinal considered his own situation as a stranger that had no alliance, no support but from the queen; he had no adequate notions of the constitution of *France*, but took his opinions in that respect implicitly from others; and had also so many false friends, who either took a pleasure or found their interest in seeing him thus confounded, that he really knew not how to act. The queen herself did not discover any want of resolution; but, in the audiences that she gave to the committees of parliament, behaved with steadiness and dignity; and the chancellor was not wanting in the proper discharge of his office ^m. But, notwithstanding all this, the parliament were gainers by every dispute; and it was this that excited them, as soon as one was terminated, to set on foot another. In point of raising money, it was thought proper to make use of the king himself, who went in person to hold his bed of justice, when according to the established usage, the parliament registered the edicts, out of respect to the king's presence, without remonstrances ⁿ. In order to make the most of this expedient, the king carried nineteen money bills ^o at once; which offered so fair an occasion, that the advocate general *Talon* made a bold and eloquent speech, which the queen, more intent upon the spectacle than the importance of this transaction,

^d QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 50.
du Marechal du Pleffis Praslin, 4to, Paris, 1676.

^e LARRY, tom. i. p. 48.

^f de Fred. Henri Prince d'Orange.

^g AUBERT Hist. ire du Cardinal Mazarine.

^h moires d'Omer Talon, tom. iii.

ⁱ QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 37.

^k BUSSY, RABUTIN, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. ii. p. 78, 79.

^l Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i.

^m Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. VOLTAIRE, tom. i.

ⁿ Memoires de divers exploits & actions
Fastes des Rois de France, tom. ii. p. 298.

^o Memoires

^p Me-

could not help applauding^p; and it was not without concessions that a point of so great consequence, and in which there was nothing harsh or immoderate, was got over; and even with the help of these it was not without much difficulty the minister brought it to bear. The cardinal was no less embarrassed with the negotiation at *Munster*, where the *Spaniards* laboured assiduously, and with great address, to detach the states general from their interests, at the same time that the emperor acted with the same view, and with the like probability of success, in regard to the *Swedes*; but, in the management of these affairs, the cardinal discovered much greater abilities, and, with the assistance of the count of *Brienne*, enabled the *French* plenipotentiaries to make good their party with their allies^q. *Ladislaus*, king of *Poland*, having demanded the princess *Mary* of *Nevers* in marriage, the treaty was quickly concluded, and on the 9th of *November* the ambassadors espoused that princess in the name of their master^r. b
Madame la Marechale de Guebriant conducted the princess *Mary* into *Poland*; and was the first, and perhaps will be the last, that bore the title of ambassadress, which however was never better supported; for, notwithstanding some private histories of a disagreeable nature had taken a quicker passage than she to *Warsaw*, and made such an impression on the king's mind, that he had in a great measure lost the inclination of becoming a husband, yet the ambassadress managed things so well, that she not only carried her point, and saw the princess she carried placed upon the throne, but raised her own credit with the king so high, that, by his command, the same honours were paid to her that had been paid to the archduchess, who had conducted his first consort^s into *Poland*. This year the heiress of the illustrious family of *Roban* espoused the chevalier *Cbabot*, descended from the admiral of that name, but who was far from being rich; which so provoked her mother, that she produced a young man whose name was *Tancred*, affirming him to be her own son by the duke of *Roban*, and the true heir of the family; but, after a long suit which this occasioned, the determination was in favour of her daughter against a son, who made his appearance upon so critical an occasion^t. c

The king taken out of the hands of the women, and marshal Villeroy appointed his governor.

LEWIS the fourteenth was now turned of seven years old, and it was judged absolutely necessary to take him out of the hands of the women. But as the education of the young prince was a point of great consequence to the queen and her minister, it was judged most expedient to confide this great trust to the cardinal himself, who was by letters patents created surintendant of the king's education^u. The marquis de *Villeroi*, now raised to the rank of marshal of *France*, was declared his governor; and the abbé de *Beaumont*, better known by the name of *Perefixe*, afterwards archbishop of *Paris*, was his preceptor^v; but whether it was thro' the fault of the latter, as is commonly reported, or whether in fact the king had naturally slow parts, and no capacity of learning languages, so it certainly was, that he made but very little progress in what is generally stiled learning, tho' on the other hand it is no less certain, that, by the conversation of marshal *Villeroi*, and of the cardinal himself, he was informed of those things that it best became a king to know, was accustomed to think before he spoke, and to judge of persons and things without passion or prejudice. Calumny has imputed to the queen and the cardinal a desire of breeding him up in ignorance, that they might manage him the more easily, and keep public affairs the longer in their own hands; but his attachment to the cardinal, and his affection and reverence for marshal *Villeroi*, seem to afford an evidence sufficient to destroy any suspicions of this kind. It is certain that the cardinal himself was very sensible of the defects in the king's education; but at the same time suggested, that they were in a great measure unavoidable, and that he had laboured not unsuccessfully to correct them as he advanced in years, as far as it was in his power; and impartial judges have inclined to believe, that he asserted nothing in this respect that was contrary to truth^w. But notwithstanding this, the censures passed upon his preceptor have not been thought without foundation, and that his want of talents for the office confided to him were not discovered till it was too late. d

Disputes in the parliament of Paris, and delays in the negotiation at Munster.

THE presidents *Gayan* and *Barillon* dying towards the close of the year, revived the ill humour of the parliament at the beginning of this, and for two reasons. The first was, the president *Barillon* died in the fortrefs of *Pignerol*, to which he was sent as the author of the first quarrel. He was a magistrate of great parts and probity, but of so strange a temper, that he was ever at the head of some party or other. Under her difficulties, he had been very steady in the service of the queen, and very useful in getting the limitations contained in the king's declaration cancelled. But when this was done, he was the first to murmur, and the last to be reconciled to the court; so that, after condescending often to his humours, and f

^p Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 311, 312.

^q Negociations secretes de Munster, &c. tom. i.

^r Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 319—321, &c. REINCOURT, tom. i. p. 141.

^s Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 37—340.

^t Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 313.

^u AUBERI Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, Memoires de Madam de Motteville, tom. i. p. 347.

^v Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par VOLTAIRE, tom. i.

^w Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. iv. p. 163, 164.

- a sacrificing much to his repentment, the queen very unwillingly caused him to be arrested, and carried prisoner to the frontiers of *Piedmont*¹. The other cause was, that these two employments were disposed of to two young counsellors, with a dispensation for their want of age, which furnished fresh matter of complaint. When the court gave way in this, the chambers quarrelled amongst themselves, as if peace and the prosecution of their duty had been the most intolerable of all grievances. In the course of these debates, they advanced a little too openly that maxim which it imported them most to have concealed, “that they held the royal authority incomplete during a minority².” But the perplexity occasioned by these ill-timed animosities was still less than that which arose from the disagreement of the plenipotentiaries at *Munster*, where, at the same time, the imperial and *Spanish* ministers were practising every art to separate *France* from her allies. Amongst others, his catholic majesty proposed leaving it to the queen regent to dictate a peace, making her the high compliment to declare, that he looked upon her wisdom and piety to be such, that he was content she should adjust all things between her brother and her son. This imposed upon the *French* plenipotentiaries, who made no scruple of declaring, that they looked upon the peace as made, and they transmitted this offer to the queen. But she, by the advice of *Mazarine*, treated it in a proper manner; and, after expressing a due sense of the compliment, declared, that in a thing of such high importance she could not trust herself; that she would never listen to any terms of peace, but in conjunction with her allies, or negotiate any-where but at *Munster*³. The treaty of subsidy^b was renewed with the states; and the requisite measures having been taken for carrying on the war, the forces were permitted to act as if all thoughts had been lost of peace. Such as affirmed that this war was commenced by *Richelieu*, to render himself necessary to his master, might with equal reason allege, that it was persisted in by *Mazarine* to maintain his own authority in supporting that of his mistress. His enemies, it is certain, always objected his having no inclination to a general peace, though he professed the contrary.

- MARSHAL *Turenne* commanded on the side of *Germany*, the only side on which the minister, from the situation of public affairs, was able to do little. The whole army consisted but of eight thousand men; and all that could be expected was, that the marshal should make some effort to join the *Swedes*, which was apparently difficult, if not impracticable. *Turenne* himself treated the project as a chimera, and made dispositions of a very contrary nature. He prevailed upon the landgravine to throw a bridge over the *Rhine* at *Wesel*; and, passing there unexpectedly with his forces, prosecuted his march with such vigour, that, before the imperialists could reach him, he entered *Bavaria*, joined the *Swedes*, and besieged *Augsburgh*^c, which siege, however, he was obliged to raise in the beginning of *October*; but his junction with the *Swedes*, notwithstanding, was the principal motive that induced the electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to conclude a neutrality^d, in order to save their country, which was of as great consequence to *France* as a victory would have been. The reason that the army in *Germany* was so feeble, was, from the efforts made on the side of *Italy*, where the cardinal *Mazarine* was determined to employ the power of *France* to humble the pope, who not only prosecuted the *Barberins* with unrelenting severity, but had refused a hat to the archbishop of *Aix*, the cardinal's brother; and had even published a bull, insisting on the attendance of the whole sacred college at *Rome*, unless exempted by his holiness's permission^e. *Mazarine* knew perfectly well the temper of that court, upon which nothing can work but fear. Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* had orders to march with his forces to *Orbitello*, on the coast of *Tuscany*, where the duke de *Breze* embarked five thousand *French* troops to assist him in the siege, on board a fleet commanded by the duke de *Breze*. This was scarce done, before the *Spanish* armada appeared under the command of admiral *Pimentel*. The duke de *Breze* acted with great spirit, went immediately on board his own vessel, and put to sea with his fleet, in order to give that of the enemy battle. This engagement happened on the 14th of *June*, and it is said that he had the advantage, when unluckily, by a cannon shot, he lost his head in the flower of his age, being but twenty-seven^f. His vice admiral, the count d'*Oignon*, instead of prosecuting the fight, or regarding what might happen to the forces on shore, bore away for the coast of *France*, in order to secure *Brouage*, and the rest of the places of which, in consequence of his uncle *Richelieu*'s will, the duke was governor. This action, which one would have thought must have occasioned his disgrace, made his fortune^g. Prince *Thomas*, after laying before the place

Campaign in Germany and Italy, where the cardinal forces the pope to submission.

¹ Memoires d'Omer Talon, vol. iv. p. 57. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 226, 227.
² Memoires d'Omer Talon, vol. iv. ³ Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. iv. p. 170, 171. ^b Corps
 Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. P. i. p. 343. ^c Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne,
 QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. ^d Recueil des Traitez de Confederation & d'Alliance
 entre la Couronne de France & les Princes & Etats Etrangers, p. 401. FREDER. LEONARD, tom. iii.
^e Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. iv. p. 181, 182. ^f Memoires de Madame de Motteville,
 tom. i. p. 361. Memoires du Duc de Navailles, p. 36. ^g Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. ii.
 p. 181.

till he had lost the greatest part of his troops, was constrained to raise the siege. But *Mazarine*, persisting in his resolution, equipped another fleet of greater force than the former, embarked a fresh body of troops, and sent the marshals *Meilleraie* and *du Plessis Praslin*, into the island of *Elbe*, where they reduced *Piombino* and *Portolongone*^b. But, before this, the very terror of this armament forced pope *Innocent* to comply with the cardinal's terms, by which the *Barberins* were restored to all they had lost, which gained him great reputation^c, as, in the plenitude of their power, they had been his personal enemies, though he had been once their creature, which shewed his generosity in taking them under his protection. The duke of *Modena*, encouraged by this success, declared again on the side of *France*, and admitted a body of troops into his dominions.

Count de Harcourt forced to raise the siege of Lerida, which is highly censured in France.

THE count *de Harcourt* continued to command in *Catalonia*, and thought himself in possession of beating the *Spaniards*, who, after all his mistakes and misfortunes, were constrained to intrust the command of their forces once more to the marquis *de Leganez*. The count *de Harcourt*, tho' his army was not superior, proposed to himself to beat the marquis first, and then to take *Lerida*. On the other hand, the marquis very well knew that fighting was not his business, and therefore avoided it with great address. At length the count invested *Lerida*, a very strong place, and well provided in all respects. The marquis suffered him to remain there quietly enough for about six weeks, then harassed his foragers, and at length advanced towards his lines with his troops in order of battle; and, having presented himself in this manner frequently, he at length retired, as despairing of success. In the mean time he had provided a large convoy of provisions, under the escort of fifteen hundred chosen troops, and on the 21st of *November* they approached the place on one side, while he with all his forces marched back from the same distance on the other. The count *de Harcourt* judged rightly that he was in earnest, made the necessary dispositions to receive him, and defended his lines with great courage and intrepidity. But while he was thus employed, the *Spanish* troops who escorted the convoy forced one of his quarters, and entered the place; of which he was no sooner apprised, than he raised the siege, and made a regular retreat, but was obliged to leave behind his artillery, and the best part of his baggage^k. This unfortunate event cancelled all his former services, and induced the cardinal to remove and recal him; but being as complete a courtier as a captain, though he came in disgrace, he had not remained long at court before he wrought himself into very high favour.

The duke of Orleans takes Courtrai, and the prince of Conde Dunkirk.

ON the side of *Flanders* the *Spaniards* being in motion in the beginning of *May*, with an intent to strengthen the garrisons of the most exposed places, marshal *de Gassion* marched with two hundred horse to *Memin*, where being informed that the enemy's infantry were on one side the canal and their horse on the other, he marched with such celerity and secrecy, that he surprised six regiments of the latter, as they lay scattered in the villages, and killed, took, or dispersed them all^l. At the entrance of the campaign the army was commanded by the duke of *Orleans*, under whom served the duke of *Anguien*, and the marshals *Gassion* and *Rantzau*^m. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, with which about the middle of *June* they invested *Courtrai*ⁿ; the enemy, commanded by the duke of *Lorraine* and the generals *Bec* and *Lamboy*, were twenty-five thousand strong; who encamped so near them, that they cannonaded each other's camp with some effect. The abbé *de la Riviere*, who could not leave *Monfieur*, was not at all pleased with this situation, shewed it upon all occasions so much, and this timidity of his had so visible an operation on their councils, as hurt his master's credit. The place, however, surrendered on the 28th, after fifteen days open trenches^o. After this, the army of *France* joined that of *Holland*, upon which the duke of *Lorraine* retired under the cannon of *Bruges*. Much was expected, and much might have been done, after this junction; but the states general, and even the prince of *Orange* himself, had changed their sentiments, and were more afraid of their ally than of their enemies. In consequence of some disputes about command, they separated, six thousand *French* only, under the command of marshal *Grammont*, being left with the prince of *Orange*, the rest retired towards *Courtrai*, and, after a short respite, besieged *Bergues-Saint-Vinox*, which surrendered in three days. This facilitated the siege of *Mardyke*, which was long and bloody, because it could not be perfectly invested on the side of *Dunkirk*, from whence the garrison was every day as regularly relieved as the troops of the besiegers in their trenches; neither had it been taken at last, if the *Dutch*, to save appearances, after delaying as long as possible,

^b QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 385.

^c AUBERT Histoire du Cardinal de Mazarine, Histoire du Ministere du Cardinal Jules Mazarine, par GALEAZZO, premiere partie, p. 42, 43.

^k QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 302—311.

^l BUSSI Histoire de Louis XIV. ^m Memoires de Puysegur, p. 251.

ⁿ Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 567. ^o REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 252.

BUSSI, Memoires, Edit. de 1711. tom. i. p. 108.

a had not sent *Tromp* with a fleet before *Dunkirk*, which soon brought the place to capitulate, which it did on the 24th of *August*, and the garrison was made prisoners of war^p. The duke of *Anguien* signalized himself at this siege, in which he was wounded; notwithstanding which, the duke of *Orleans* left the command to him, being persuaded by his favourite to quit the army. The *Spaniards* had such a sense of this change, that the marquis *de Carracena*, with his forces, quitted the neighbourhood with such precipitation, that they abandoned *Furnes*, and thereby facilitated the design of the duke of *Anguien*, which he had cautiously concealed, and which now appeared to be the siege of *Dunkirk*. His army was so diminished, that it did not consist of above ten thousand foot and five thousand horse, his whole train of fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and not quite so many small ones. The garrison consisted of b two thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse, commanded by the marquis *de Lede*. The duke, though he made all the dispatch possible, was three weeks in finishing his lines; but in that time the *Dutch* fleet under *Tromp* arrived. The trenches were opened on the 24th of *September*, and the siege carried on with all possible vigour, and the place was very gallantly defended; but, as the garrison had no hopes of succour, the duke prevailed upon the governor to capitulate upon very honourable terms, provided he was not relieved within five days. This capitulation was signed on the 7th of *October*; and, the *Spanish* army not appearing, the *French* became masters of this important place^q. The duke of *Anguien*, having provided for the security of *Courtrai*, put his troops into winter quarters, and returned to reap the reward of his services at court, where, however, his presence was far from being c welcome.

We have before observed, that the duke of *Breze*'s death was considered as a thing of great consequence; it is necessary to explain this. The duke of *Anguien*, having married his sister, concluded he had a clear right to the employments and to the governments possessed by the deceased; and the service of the count *d'Oignon* consisted in this, that he put it in the power of the queen and her minister to consider how they should elude the duke's demand, by taking possession of *Brouage* and the isles adjacent. The prince of *Condé* solicited warmly; the duke himself wrote from the camp before *Mardyke* in very decent, but in very strong terms, and, which is much more extraordinary, he prevailed upon the duke of *Orleans* to write likewise in his favour. The queen was so much embarrassed, that she could find no d other method of avoiding the duke's application, but by having recourse again to *Richelieu*'s expedient, and causing letters patent to be expedited for the superintendence of commerce and the marine to herself. The parliament made some difficulty of verifying this grant; but, being acquainted with the true reason, they consented. When the duke of *Anguien* saw it impossible to have the thing, he seemed disposed to accept of an equivalent, but the difficulty was as great to find that^r. They offered to him the towns lately detached from *Lorraine*, which he refused, and proposed giving him an army sufficient to make the conquest of *Franche Comté*, which he might hold, rendering homage for it to the crown of *France*; but the court was not disposed to revive the ancient duchy of *Burgundy*, which, in the hands of princes of the blood, had formerly given so much trouble to *France*. In the course of this dispute died e *Henry* prince of *Condé*, on the 26th of *December*^s, a prince, who, with great faults, had also great virtues, and was singular in having a good and an ill quality, which hardly ever met, at least conspicuously, in any other man, these were, the love of justice, and the love of money. In respect to the latter, he was born the neediest, and died the richest, person of his rank in f *Europe*. At the time of his marriage he had not above five hundred pounds a-year of our money; at the time of his decease his annual income was computed at fifty thousand pounds. With the title of *Condé*, and this vast fortune, which the duke of *Anguien* inherited from his father, he kept, by the favour of the regent, the posts and governments which he had enjoyed, so that all mention of an equivalent was dropped, the generous disposition of the young prince making him ashamed to take notice of it. His brother *Armand*, prince of *Conti*, and his sister the duchess of *Longueville*, as yet had not interfered in public affairs.

The plenipotentiaries continued to treat at *Munster* and at *Osnabrug*, the catholics in the former of these cities, and the protestants in the latter. The *French* ministers, though able men, were strangely outwitted. Mr. *d'Avaux*, who had both a sound head and an honest heart, pressed the duke of *Longueville* to sign the treaty, assuring him, that, with respect to the interests of *France*, the terms proposed were extremely favourable. The duke himself was of the same opinion; yet Mr. *Servien* prevailed upon him not to sign, assuring him, that this was the way to procure still better^t. He had the secret of the court, or rather of the

^p Memoires de Puysegur, p. 254. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. ^q REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 257, 258. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 385. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. ^r Histoire du Prince de Condé, Memoires de Madame de Montpensier, Edit. de 1735, tom. i. p. 95, 96. ^s Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 394, 395. ^t Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 237, 238. AUBERT Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin.

cardinal, who, finding himself exceedingly embarrassed with the parliament on one side, and the princes of the blood on the other, concluded that, a peace once made, they would concur to his destruction. On the side of *Germany*, marshal *Turenne* commanded a small corps of troops, that could scarce be stiled an army; but, by his junction with the *Swedes* and *Hessians*, he had obliged the electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to sign the treaty of *Ulm*; after which he repassed the *Rhine*; and, in consequence of the orders he had received, he was on the point of marching into the *Low Countries*, after reducing several places, and rendering equal service to the *Swedes* and to the landgrave ^u of *Hesse*. This did not hinder the allies from taking it extremely amiss that he should be recalled; and the *Swedish* general *Wrangel* engaged *Rosen* to draw off the *German* and *Swedish* officers and troops that still remained of the forces once commanded by the duke of *Saxe Weysmar*; to prevent which, the marshal found himself obliged to arrest *Rosen*; and this offended that part of his small army to such a degree that they mutinied. *Turenne* did all that lay in his power to reduce them by fair means; and, when these failed, he attacked and dispersed them; after which he continued his march ^w. The elector of *Bavaria*, who had detached himself from the emperor purely to save his country, thought this a favourable opportunity for renewing the war, believing what they had so long fought was at length effected; and that the *French* and *Swedes*, after what had passed, could never act together again. Marshal *Turenne* saw this clearly, with all the consequences that must attend it; and, having represented them in the strongest light to the court, received both orders and reinforcements, passed the *Rhine*, and, in spite of all the obstacles that could be thrown in the way, came to the assistance of the *Swedes*; which so intirely effaced all memory of former misunderstandings, that they took quarters together in *Bavaria*, and thus punished the elector for his perfidy in breaking the peace ^x. In this transaction *Turenne* shewed as great prudence and presence of mind as in any action of his life.

Progress of the war in Italy and in Catalonia, where the French forces were but feeble.

ITALY furnished a great many remarkable events, which will be represented elsewhere. We shall only observe, that the constable of *Castile*, who commanded the *Spanish* troops, gained some advantages on the side of *Piedmont*; and would probably have done much more, if it had not been for the diversion made on the side of the *Modenese*, where a small body of *French* troops, under the command of Monsieur de *Navailles*, maintained their ground till they were joined by the marshal *du Plessis Praslin*, and then, in conjunction with the forces of the duke of *Modena*, acted offensively ^y. In the latter end of the year the duke of *Guise* made his romantic journey to *Naples*, where he performed things almost incredible, and where it is morally certain that he would have carried his point, if it had not been for the jealousy of *Mazarine*, who sent a fleet indeed to *Naples*, which might have done every thing, but which in effect did nothing ^z. On the side of *Catalonia* the prince of *Condé* commanded, but with an army much inferior in point of strength to his own rank, and to the nature of the service, though composed of good troops, and commanded by excellent officers ^a. The prince, however, considering rather for what end he was sent than the means that he had in his power, dismissed the fleet, that might have been of great service if he had attacked any of the ports, and resolved to attack *Lerida*, before which the marshal *de la Mothe* and the count *de Harcourt* had failed. Don *Antonio de Brito*, who had acquitted himself so well in the former sieges, commanded there still; and the *Spaniards*, who knew the importance of the place, had left him a garrison of three thousand men, well supplied with all things necessary. The prince came before the place in the middle of *May*, invested it, prepared the old lines, but did not break ground till the 27th, and then, according to the *Spanish* custom, opened his trenches with a concert of violins, a circumstance with which he was often reproached afterwards. After some progress made in the siege, it appeared, that they had made their attack on the wrong side; and that the shortest and wisest step they could take was to begin again. But, by this time, the *Spanish* army was formed, and advancing towards *Lerida*, where the governor had allowed them no respite from the time they began the siege. The prince, laying these circumstances together, very prudently resolved to retire in time, and having sent away the artillery and baggage, raised the siege on the 21st day after the trenches were opened, without losing a man ^b. The rest of the campaign was spent in preventing the *Spaniards* from gaining any farther advantage, and in taking a little place or two upon the frontiers of *Arragon*, in which the marshal *de Grammont* ^c, who commanded under the prince, gained great credit; and the prince himself, by the check he received before *Lerida*, that degree of caution which was the only quality wanting to render him a great captain.

^u Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne. ^w Memoires chronologiques & historiques, REINCOURT, Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. ^x Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. iv. ^y QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Memoires du Duc de Navailles. ^z AUBERI, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin, tom. i. REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Les Memoires de feu Monsieur le Duc de Guise, Paris, 1668, 4to. ^a Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 419. ^b LIMIERS, tom. i. p. 110. LARREY, tom. i. p. 101. Histoire du Prince de Condé. ^c QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

^a THE Spaniards, having united themselves still closer than formerly to the emperor, resolved to make great efforts on the side of *Flanders*, and with that view confided the government of the *Low Countries*, and the command of the army, to the archduke *Leopold*, who, reinforced with some *German* regiments, took the field in the beginning of *May*. On the other hand, *Mazarine*, extremely embarrassed in raising money, was very well pleased that the physicians of the duke of *Orleans* sent him to drink the waters of *Bourbon*, and gave the command of the army to the marshals *Gassion* and *Rantzau*. The archduke besieged *Armentier*, and, though it was very well defended, took it after fourteen days open trenches.^d He next besieged *Landreci*. Marshal *Gassion* would have attacked him in his lines, but *Rantzau* declined it; upon which it was agreed that they should endeavour to make a diversion. ^b *Rantzau* accordingly attacked the forts *Knocque*, *Nieudam*, and *Sluce*, while in the mean time marshal *de Gassion* besieged *La Bassée*, which he pressed with great vigour, knowing that *Landreci* could not hold long, and that he should have the archduke with his army at his elbow. In two days he carried the covered way, and began to batter in breach. On the fourth he prepared for a general assault; and at the same time sent the governor word, that, if he carried the place sword in hand, he would not spare man, woman, or child. The governor demanded four hours to consider: the marshal laid his watch on the ground before him, and bade the officer who brought the message tell the governor, that if in three quarters of an hour he did not deliver him a gate, he had no quarter to expect for himself or the rest of the inhabitants. The place surrendered;^e and the marshal had scarce taken possession, ^c before he had intelligence that *Landreci* surrendered the night before, which was the 18th of *July*, and that the archduke was in full march to relieve it. About the same time marshal *Rantzau* became master of *Dixmude*. On the 24th of *September* marshal *de Gassion* invested *Lens*, and pushed the siege with the same vivacity as he had done that of *La Bassée*; but, in the attack of the covered way, as he was endeavouring to pull up a palisade, he received a shot in the head, of which he died on the 2d of *October*^f following, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He was at that time in disgrace for having thrown an impertinent letter of *Mazarine's* upon^g the floor, and for having exclaimed against the idle expences of an opera, at a time when several places in the frontiers were in a very bad condition. France lost in him an able officer, and a man of honour^h. Monsieur *de Villequier* continued the siege, and forced *Lens* ^d to surrender the day after the marshal's death; the archduke, in revenge, besieged and recovered *Dixmude*, with which ended the campaignⁱ.

As the events of the war were not favourable, so the intrigues of the court were as troublesome to the cardinal as ever. The duke *de Longueville* was desirous of being made admiral of *France* at the same time with the prince of *Condé*: and not being able to obtain it, insisted on an equivalent, which he did obtain: for this was the cardinal's weakness; he was unwilling to reward services; he gave seldom out of friendship, but his timidity made him seem generous when he really was not so. The duke, who was already governor of *Normandy*, had the government of *Caen* and the citadel added to it, and a great lordship was bought for him in the neighbourhood of his sovereignty of *Neufchatel*^k; yet when the court intended to have passed into *Normandy*, there appeared such a backwardness in the people, that it was laid aside. Things went just at the same rate with the parliament, who affected to cancel or to limit edicts, just as they suited with their designs. *Mazarine* spoke high of the royal authority, confuted their reasons, negotiated all the time, and at length complied^l. The duke of *Anjou* had a severe fit of sickness, from which even the best judges thought it very doubtful whether he could recover^m. He was beginning to amend when the king fell sick, which quickly appeared to be the small-poxⁿ, which threw the whole nation into disorder. The cardinal negotiated, and made presents; but, if what he feared had taken effect, it is highly probable that most of his resources thus purchased would have failed him. Charles prince of *Wales*, and very soon after *James* duke of *York*, sons to the unfortunate king of *Great Britain*, were then at the *French* court with their mother, which gave it an air of splendor and magnificence, and which gave the flatterers of those times an opportunity of stiling *Paris* the asylum of princes^o; we shall see it the very next year expelling their own. At *Munster* things took a new turn; the plenipotentiaries closed with the proposals made on the part of *Spain*; the prince of *Orange*, now grown old, and worn out with fatigue and diseases, no longer opposed a separate peace^p: some say that he was wrought upon by ar-

Sources of the troubles in the court, and of cardinal Mazarine's apprehensions.

^d REINCOURT Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Memoires de Puysegur, p. 260. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. i. p. 399.

^e QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 80. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 42. ^f Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 76. ^g Idem ibid. p. 82.

^h Memoires chronologiques & historiques. ⁱ AUBERI, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, tom. i. p. 379. ^k Memoires politiques de du Mont. ^l Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iv.

^m Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 52. ⁿ AUBERI, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, tom. i. p. 376. ^o Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. i. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii.

^p Negociations secretes de Munster & d'Osnauburg, tom. iv. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii.

guments, others, that the *Spaniards* made the princefs of *Orange* fenfible of their liberality in a very high degree; to which it is added, that *Mazarine*, after repeated promifes, forgot to fend her a pair of rich diamonds, which gave her very great offence^a. The queen-regent, *Anne* of *Austria*, whom experience had taught to judge of affairs better than in times past, grew apprehenfive of that ill temper which appeared in the parliament; and of that complaisance which was natural to a minifter, and now likely to increafe, fince he had fent for a nephew and three nieces^r out of *Italy*, with an intent to eftablifh them in the kingdom: a circumftance which heightened the averfion the people had conceived againft him, and at the fame time made him more and more defirous of purfuing what he would have ftiled moderate counfel, though in reality he facrificed the interefts of the ftate, and made ufe of the wealth wrung from the people to bribe thofe who pretended to pity and protect them.

A. D. 1647.

The parliament moved rather by ambition than public fpirit to fall on the minifter at this time.

THIS year is the moft important of all the regency; but the events are fo various and fo complicated, that, in order to render them intelligible, we muft alter our method, and begin with the difputes between the parliament and the minifter. It was at this juncture the cardinal became odious; he deferved it afterwards, but then he was refpected and triumphant. If he continued the war, it was becaufe he durft not make peace; the great taxes he levied were abfolutely requifite to fupply the exigencies of the government; and, if there was any mifapplication in the finances, it was owing to *Monsieur* and the prince of *Condé*, the former having a paffion to fquander, the latter rapacious, and both taking what they pleafed. This difpofition gained them friends, and made the cardinal many enemies. The diftreff of the treasury obliging him to be frugal, which the world ftiled avarice, his modefty was accounted art, and his moderation afcribed to cowardice. At this time there was no room for thefe imputations; he was far from being rich, he was induftrious and indefatigable, he gave every body good words, he was ignorant of the conftitution of *France*, which made him fometimes too peremptory, and, upon recollection, too compliant. He became afterwards what he was now faid to be; but the parliament was not then in a condition to controul him. The parliament in the preceding year had rendered themfelves popular, by interpofting againft edicts that charged the neceffaries of life with heavy impositions. In order to obtain money, the court created twelve new mafters in the chamber of inquefts; that chamber refufed to receive them; and the parliament began to avow their doctrine, that, during a minority, no new charges, or, as we ftile them, offices, could be created^s. New incidents fell in; the court forbade the chambers to affemble, and they affembled, notwithstanding this prohibition^t. It is ftrange, but it is true, that the queen was for firm meafures^u, the minifter for mild ones. The reafon is not hard to find; the latter had more to fear than the former. The firft prefident was in the intereft of the court at the beginning; but, feeing reafon to doubt whether he fhould be fufained, began to trim, which enabled the parliament to go^w greater lengths. Thefe domeftic difputes had a ftrong influence on foreign affairs; it raifed the drooping fpirits of the *Spaniards*, it encouraged the *Dutch* to perfift in their new maxims, it difabled the minifter from purfuing the war with vigour, at the fame time that it took from him the power of making a good general peace. Thus, which has alfo happened elfewhere, thofe who complained loudeft were the caufers of what they complained againft.

The excellent conduct of the wife Count Turenne obliges the imperialifts to conclude the treaty of Munfter.

MARSHAL *Turenne* having, in the fpring, joined the *Swedes* under general *Wrangel*, refolved to attack the imperialifts under the command of general *Melander* and the duke of *Wirtemberg*; and they, on the other hand, paffed the *Danube*, in order to avoid fighting, if poffible; but the marshal, paffing that river at *Laufinghen*, purfued them with fuch violence, that he came up with, engaged, and beat a part of the army, where general *Melander* was killed. But the duke of *Wirtemberg*, with twelve hundred horfe, and two battalions of foot, occupied a meadow, and defended themfelves fo well, that they prevented an intire defeat. This is called the battle of *Zufmarhaufen*, or *Summerhaufen*^x, fought on the 17th. of *May*, in which the imperialifts loft four thoufand men, ten pieces of cannon, and the greateft part of their baggage. As a proof of their victory, the *French* and *Swedes* befieged *Rain*, a little town not far from *Augsburgh*, which quickly furrendered. Upon this the old elector of *Bavaria* found himfelf obliged to quit his dominions, and to retire to *Saltzburgh*^y. The victorious army gained thereby the advantage of plundering and raifing contributions as far as the river *Inn*; which was an inexpressible advantage, fince it enabled the marshal not only to fubfift, but to enrich his troops, who would otherwife have been forced to difperfe for want of pay. In *Bohemia*, another body of *Swedes*, under the command of the count *Coningsmark*, plundered a

^a Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 403—406.

^r AUBERT, Hiftoire du Cardinal Mazarine.

^s Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, Amfterdam, 1731, tom. i. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iv.

^t Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. p. 108.

^u Hiftoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. iv.

^w Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iv.

^x QUINCY, Hiftoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Hiftoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

^y Hiftoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. v. p. 268.

a part of the city of *Prague*, and acquired thereby an immense booty ; so that, under this dismal distress, and wearied by the representations of the elector of *Bavaria*, who threatened to quit the imperialists in earnest and for ever, the peace that had been so long negotiating was at length concluded², in spite of all the measures taken by *Spain* to prevent it ; and therefore, before we continue the progress of the war in other parts, we will clearly and concisely represent the nature and consequences of this peace with respect to *France*.

We have before observed, that the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* began to have a good understanding about two years after the conferences began, which was in some measure owing to the advances made by the *Spanish* plenipotentiaries, but chiefly to the mistakes of the *French*, though they were all of them great men. The duke of *Longueville*, whose sovereignty of *Neuchâtel* ran continually in his head, talked of nothing but sovereignty ; and shewed such an aversion for preserving the rights and liberties of the cities and lordship of *Alsace*, as gave the ministers of the republic a terror of having *France* for her neighbour. Mr. *d'Avaux*, a wise and moderate minister, made as strange a mistake when he passed through *Holland* into *Germany* : after several conferences with the chief persons of the republic, he thought it became him, after the example of the president *Jeanin*, to recommend in very warm terms their catholic subjects to the states general. The difference of the times, and the difference of the language, gave these harangues very different effects ; the former was well received, and the latter was very ill taken, and gave the states a very bad impression of the best of the *French* ministers. As for Mr. *Servien*, who had the cardinal's secret, he had also a great deal of the cardinal's manner ; he talked and wrote very plausibly, but his meaning could seldom be ascertained. There was great vivacity in his reasoning, his periods were perfectly well turned, and his conclusion seemed to follow his premises, but then they were not distinctly expressed. He drove the cardinal's project, for exchanging *Catalonia* and *Roussillon* against the *Low Countries* and the *Franche Comté*, very warmly with the *Spaniards*, who communicated all his propositions constantly to the *Dutch*. This alarmed them exceedingly ; and if they still carried on the war, and continued to negotiate in concert with *France*, it was in appearance only ; and the proposal of giving the marquisate of *Antwerp* to the prince of *Orange*, instead of gaining him, lost the states. The *Spaniards*, who had granted them very good terms, under the notion of a truce, offered to convert this project into a stable peace, which was accepted ; and the concurrence of *France* being demanded for form's sake, and to preserve an apparent regard for treaties, was, without that concurrence, signed on the 30th of *January*, which the *Spaniards* looked upon as a great point gained, and was a favourable precedent also for the emperor's making a like treaty with the *Swedes*.

THE treaty of *Osnauburg*, which settled the affairs relative to the protestants, was signed on the 6th of *August* ; that of *Munster* on the 24th of *October*. The last victories of marshal *Turenne*, and the dexterity with which he had reconciled himself to the *Swedes*, did more towards rendering this important negotiation favourable to *France*, than either the arts of the cardinal, or the address of the plenipotentiaries. To say the truth, this treaty could not have been more favourable, or more honourable. The supreme seignory of the bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and of the town of *Moyenvic*, were yielded to the *French* crown ; the emperor and the empire made also a cession of their rights on *Pignerol*, as also on *Brisac*, the landgraviate of the *Upper* and *Lower Alsace*, the *Sundgau*, and the provincial prefecture of the ten imperial cities in *Alsace* ; besides this, the king was allowed to have a garrison in *Philipsburgh*, and no new fortresses were to be erected between that and *Bale*. These were vast accessions in point of power and territory, and yet these apparent advantages were nothing in comparison of the benefits derived to *France* from the influence which this treaty created. The liberty of the empire was secured, the balance between the two religions settled, and all this seemed to be ascribed to *France*, and was to depend upon her for support. The *Swedes* had dominions given them in the empire, which was in effect attaching them for ever to *France*, and a free entrance into *Germany* secured to both these crowns ; so that the great project of *Richelieu*, with respect to abasing and constraining the power of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*, was most effectually executed ; and though this may seem to be contradicted by the last period of our history of this reign, yet if the reader will consider that this was intirely owing to the ill conduct of *France*, or more probably of Mr. *Louvois*, who, quitting the amiable influence of a protector, and introducing the tyrannical severity of a conqueror, drove all the states of the empire to support the house of *Austria* in her endeavours to maintain her own rights and theirs, we shall see that matter in its true light, and be convinced that the great advantages gained by this treaty were sacrificed for a time by the boundless ambition of *Lewis XIV.* and the natural brutality of that minister's temper. But, in our own times, we

² *Memoires historiques & chronologiques, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. v. Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. i. par. i. p. 450.*

have seen the spirit of this treaty revive, and *French* armies in the heart of the empire, invited a thither by *German* princes.

The campaign
in Italy and in
Catalonia, du-
ring the per-
plexed situation
of France at
home.

BUT, to leave this political digression, and to return to the history of the war: the marquis *de Navailles*, who had maintained his quarters upon the *Po* till joined by the marshal *du Plessis Praslin* and the duke of *Modena*, advanced with the army of the allies to attack that of *Spain*, intrenched under the command of the marquis *de Carracena*, upon the *Oglia*; which intrenchments, chiefly by his good conduct and gallant example, were forced, and the *Spaniards* obliged to retire to *Cremona*, with considerable loss, on the 30th of *June*^f. In consequence of this victory, they besieged *Cremona*^g; but, not having troops enough to invest so large a place, and some differences arising amongst the generals, they were constrained to raise it. The revolt of *Naples*, which the duke of *Guise* had excited, and managed with the wisdom of a statesman and the valour of a hero, came^h to nothing, for want of the smallest support, which cardinal *Mazarine* suffered to be imputed to his dislike to the duke, and to a variety of suspicions he was supposed to conceive, in order to conceal the real cause, which was, that he had not wherewithal to support him. The duke, being taken prisoner by the *Spaniards*ⁱ, availed himself with great ability of the current opinion, and saved his life by avowing himself an enemy to *France*; upon which he was sent into *Spain*, where he no sooner arrived, than the cardinal, in his turn, avowed, that he had done nothing but by command and under the authority of the *French* court^k, that he might no longer be considered as a prisoner of state, but as a prisoner of war. In *Catalonia* the marshal *du Schomberg* commanded, though the cardinal, by a strain of ambition not very consistent with that moderation which he affected, had given the title of viceroy to his brother the cardinal archbishop of *Aix*, who died when on the point of entering on the administration. The marshal, who had but a small army, invested *Tortosa* on the 4th of *July*, and, on the approach of *Don Francisco de Melos*, advanced to give him battle; which he declining, in consequence of express orders from his court, the marshal returned to the siege, and, finding the breach practicable, made a general assault, and took the place by storm on the 10th of the same month^l. This was a desperate and bloody affair; for not only the garrison, and a great part of the inhabitants, were put to the sword, but the bishop, with a half-pike in his hand, with several priests and monks about him, was found lying dead on the breach. With this conquest ended the campaign. The count *de Harcourt*, who knew that *Schomberg* was no favourite, very generously told the minister, that, though *Lerida* was a stronger place, yet *Tortosa* was the more important conquest of the two; and that it was very extraordinary that *Schomberg*, in worse circumstances than any of his predecessors, should, by his courage and conduct, achieve so great an enterprize, when even the few friends he had at court would have thought him very happy, if, at the close of the year, he had put the handful of troops he commanded into winter quarters without loss.

The sieges of
Ypres and
Courtrai, the
battle of Lens,
and the taking
of Furnes.

THE prince of *Condé* commanded in the *Low Countries*, having with him the marshals *de Grammont* and *Rantzau*; and, after some deliberation, he caused *Ypres* to be invested, and prosecuted the siege with great vigour^m. The archduke presented himself before his lines with a fine army, but found them so well fortified, that he did not attempt to force them. The prince, being delivered from this, met with no other extraordinary difficulty, so that on the 28th of *May* he became master of the place, after twenty-eight days open trenchesⁿ. In the mean time the archduke attacked *Courtrai*^o, a much smaller place indeed, but of greater importance. The governor, *Mr. Pallvau*, served in quality of lieutenant-general in the army of the prince of *Condé*, and had conducted the greatest part of his garrison to the siege of *Ypres*, so that the town was taken by assault, and the castle surrendered soon after. This disgrace was followed by another; marshal *Rantzau* formed the project of surprising *Ostend*^p; but, instead of succeeding, the troops, which were the best in the *French* army, were made prisoners of war. The archduke likewise reduced *Furnes*; and the *Flemings*, to whom this good fortune was new, spoke of the *French* army with contempt, because its motions were conducted with more than usual caution. The true reason of this was, that the prince, being informed Monsieur had gained a great ascendancy in the queen's council, thought it for his interest to make a tour to court, where, however, his stay was not long^q. On his return, he resolved to take the first opportunity of fighting; and, having received intelligence that the archduke was marching towards *Lens*, he directed his route thither, though his army did not consist of more than fourteen thousand men. He entered the plain, in which that place was situated, on the 19th of *August*, where he had the mortification of seeing *Lens* taken by

^f QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

Motteville, tom. ii. p. 165.

Louis XIV.

Histoire de Conde.

Louis XIV.

^g Memoires du Duc de Guise.

^h Memoires du Duc de Guise.

ⁱ Memoires de Puysegur, p. 265.

^j Memoires de Puysegur, p. 266, & suiv.

^k Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 269, 273.

^l Memoires du Duc de Navailles, liv. i. p. 73.

^m Memoires de Madame de

ⁿ QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de

^o REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

^p QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de

assault.

- a assault. He persisted, nevertheless, in his resolution of fighting; and accordingly attacked the enemy the next day, himself commanding the right, the marquis *de Chatillon* the main body, and marshal *Grammont* the left wing, of the army. At the beginning the *Spaniards* had very much the advantage, several officers of distinction being killed and taken; but the prince, making a new disposition, and attacking with great vigour, gained a complete victory, though the archduke distinguished himself extremely in respect to conduct as well as courage. The *Spaniards* had about four thousand men killed, and as many taken; they lost upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, and as many standards and colours. On the 21st of *August* *Lens* was retaken; and, on the 10th of the succeeding month, *Furnes*, where the prince of *Condé* was wounded in the thigh; after which, both armies separated, and went into winter quarters, the success of the campaign being rather of more consequence at home than abroad.

- THE campaign was almost as warm at court as in the field, and the minister was more indebted for his safety to the queen's fortitude than his own. The duke of *Beaufort* made his escape out of the castle of *Vincennes*. The parliament, by an arret, established an union with all the sovereign courts, in order to deliberate on the king's edicts. This was annulled by an edict of the council of state, which likewise forbade their assembling, in pursuance of the former edict, but it had no effect. On the 14th of *July* the parliament, by an arret, discharged all the intendants throughout the kingdom, and ordered them to be prosecuted for their oppressions, which edict the queen was obliged to confirm by a declaration. On the last day of the same month the king held a bed of justice, revoked certain edicts, and forbade the parliament to assemble. The chambers met the next day, in contempt of the royal authority: in this assembly the parties first took the names, reciprocally thrown by way of reproach, of *Mazarins* and *Frondeurs*. The cardinal, finding that all concessions were vain, and only furnished new pretensions, resolved to have recourse to bolder measures; and, on the 26th of *August*, when *Te Deum* was solemnly performed at *Notre Dame* for the victory gained at *Lens*, caused the president *Blancmenil*, and counsellor *Broussel*, to be arrested; which was done with great difficulty, and threw the whole city of *Paris* into confusion, all the entries of the streets being chained, and the barricades renewed. The queen and the whole court remained in terrible apprehensions all night: the next day the storm rose higher, and the queen was obliged to promise the prisoners should be set at liberty. She made a kind of escape soon after out of *Paris* to *Rouel*, with the king; she retired from thence to *Fontainebleau*, and at length to *St. Germain*. The cardinal attributed to them, though without any direct evidence, the ill temper of the parliament, banished Mr. *Chateaufort*; and, having caused *Chavigni* to be arrested, sent him prisoner to *Havre-de-Grace*, which served only to raise a new storm. The parliament persisted in and augmented its pretensions; at court there were infinite intrigues and dissensions. The duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé* amused the queen with fair promises, without giving her any real assistance. The cardinal was constrained to recall *Chavigni*. The parliament mistook their point, and treated the minister as the sole author of these confusions, who in reality had the least share in them, and was more disposed to accommodation than any body else. They excluded him from all conferences; and yet it was in virtue of his advice that things were compromised by the king's declaration of the 24th of *October*, which was verified by the parliament of *Paris*. By this ten millions were remitted in the *tailles*, two millions in the duties of entry; and, which was of the greatest importance, it was provided, that every *French* subject, charged with any crime of state, should stand intitled to a legal trial, according to the ordinary forms of justice. In order to gain a greater strength to the court, titles were very liberally bestowed; the duchy of *Rohan* was revived in favour of Monsieur *Chabot*, who had married the heiress. *Cœuvres* was erected into a duchy, by the name of *Estrees*, in favour of that marshal. The county of *Guiche* was likewise erected into a duchy, by the title of *Grammont*; as the county of *Tresines* also was by the name of *Gefures*. The abbe *de la Riviere*, who governed the duke of *Orleans*, and who had been promised a hat from *Rome*, was admitted into the council, to qualify his disappointment which arose from the prince of *Condé*; and thus, by the end of the year, things seemed to be pacified, though in reality there was scarce any body contented; for when men rise without merit, they are never contented with their places, because there is no more reason they should rest so low, than mount so high.

THIS artificial calm did not last long; the parliament, under pretence of infractions, began to resume their meetings, in which all things were conducted according to the old method.

^a QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. de Rochefoucault, p. 152. ^b Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. ^c Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. ii. p. 12. ^d Memoires de Gui Joly, Amsterdam, 1738, p. 10, 11. ^e Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 153. ^f Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. ^g Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. v. ^h Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 165. ⁱ Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. ^k L'Etat de France, tom. ii. p. 307—309. ^l Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i.

The rise of the two parties, Mazarins and Frondeurs, and disorders in the state.

A.D. 1648.

The parliament declare the minister a

disturber of
the public
peace, and an
enemy to the
kingdom, but at
length incline
to peace.

The better part of the assembly knew not by whom, or by what spirit, they were governed; a
abundance of great lords were discontented; they wanted power, they wanted places, that is, b
fortresses, where they might act like sovereigns; they wanted vast appointments; and yet, c
with all these private views, they instigated their partisans to declare loudly their zealous at-
tachment to the public good. The queen saw the disposition of the parliament, and
suspected the secret authors of these confusions; but she did not suspect they were so numerous,
or of so high quality, as they proved. She exposed her apprehensions to the duke of *Orleans*
and the prince of *Condé*; she made them sensible how much the monarchy suffered, and how
little the king, herself, and the royal family were safe at *Paris*, notwithstanding all her com-
plaisance at their request. In consequence of these explanations, it was determined to retire,
or rather to escape, to *St. Germain-en-laye*, and it was executed with great secrecy on the 6th d
of *January*, at four in the morning^d. The inhabitants of *Paris* were strangely astonished
when they found the royal family and the princes gone. By degrees they recovered, or
rather their fear gave them spirits. On the 8th the parliament, by a solemn arret, declared
cardinal *Mazarine* a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom^e. In this
state of affairs, the concealed chiefs found themselves obliged to declare: the prince of *Conti*,
the dukes of *Beaufort*, *Longueville*, *Bouillon*, and *Rochefoucault*, with all their adherents,
offered their services. The prince of *Conti* was declared generalissimo, the dukes of *Elbœuf*
and *Bouillon*, and the marshal *de la Motte*, generals. But the soul of the party was the co-
adjutor to the archbishop of *Paris*, so famous afterwards by the name of the cardinal *de Retz*, c
a man of prodigious abilities and prodigious vices. The parliament taxed themselves to raise
an army, and, in the space of six weeks, there was ten times as much money raised and
squandered away as the taxes amounted to, which had given the first rise, or rather the first
pretence, to these quarrels^f. The prince of *Condé*, with an army of between six and seven
thousand men, blocked up *Paris*, where, though the people were not in absolute want of
bread, yet they were very near it. The prince of *Conti*, to give them spirits, occupied *Cha-*
renton with three thousand men: the prince of *Condé*, to convince them of their own
weakness, caused it to be attacked by the duke *de Chatillon*, with a very small force; who
carried it, after a short dispute, but had the misfortune to be shot through the body^g, and
died with a fairer character than almost any man of his rank that he left behind him. On the
signal given by *Paris*, other parliaments and other provinces revolted, so that the whole d
kingdom was in confusion. Volumes have been written upon this subject, for which we can
spare only a very few lines. The whole conduct of the malcontents was wild and ridiculous;
their troops were beaten as often as they engaged; they refused admittance to an herald^h sent
by the king: they granted audience to a monk who took upon him the character of an agent
from the king of *Spain*. They caught at the distant assistance of the avowed enemies of the
kingdom, and they neglected what was absolutely in their power. If they had taken the
advice of the duke of *Bouillon*, the only man with a sound head they had amongst them, and
had sent a fourth part of the money they raised to his brother, the marshal *de Turenne*, whom
he had seduced from his duty, he had been enabled to march the army out of *Germany* to their
assistance: for want of this they found themselves under a necessity of making peace, to which e
the court was very much inclined.

Noble beha-
viour of the
first parlia-
ment, in the
conclusion of a
peace.

A CONFERENCE was agreed upon at *Rouel*; the parliament, the princes, and the city of
Paris, sent their deputies thither; on the part of the king came the duke of *Orleans*, the
prince of *Condé*, the cardinal, the chancellor, the marshal *de la Meilleraie*, the abbe *de la*
Riviere, Mr. *le Tellier*, and the count *de Brienne*ⁱ. The negociation was several times on
the point of being broken; the deputies were in terrible apprehensions, if they did not keep
close to their instructions; the prince of *Condé* was excessively warm, and, resenting the hatred
the people of *Paris* had expressed against him, behaved in such a manner, as made him still
more hated. On the 11th of *March* the treaty was concluded^k; but it was the end of the
month before the parliament and the city of *Paris* consented to and confirmed it. The first f
president, *Matthew Mole*, gained immortal reputation. His colleagues were afraid of signing
at *Rouel*, when, taking the pen, he said, "It is for the public service, and it is our duty to
"risque ourselves." At his return, he shewed the same intrepidity against the enemies of
peace amongst the princes and the parliament; and, after running infinite hazard there, re-
fused to go out privately, and hide himself from the people. His virtue was respected by the

^d *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. i. liv. ii. pag. 171.

^e *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. i. p. 45.

Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 195. *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii.

Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. iv. *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. iii.

^f *Memoires du Cardinal*

de Retz, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 231.

^g *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 233—236.

^h *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. p. 38.

^k *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. i. liv. ii.

p. 319, 320, & suiv. *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. i. *Memoires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours*, *Me-*
moires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii.

- a populace, and his courage and conduct saved the capital and the kingdom¹. By this treaty neither party carried their point; the parliament was permitted to assemble, which was what the court would have avoided; the minister was preserved, whom the parliament and people would have destroyed. A general amnesty was granted; and thus a temporary quiet was procured, without any extinction of hatred on either side. The coadjutor of *Paris* would not be included, as he says, in the amnesty. Cardinal *Mazarine* asserted, that he was included, not by name indeed, but in the general words. The former affected to shew his intrepidity by this declaration; and the latter, by his construction, expressed his contempt.
- On the side of *Germany*, at the opening of the present year, there was an army without a thousand men at the most, but it was under very singular circumstances. The troops as good as any then were in *Europe*, but a kind of mixed body of *Swedes*, *Swiss*, *German*, and *Dutch*, as well as *French*, were ill paid, and ready to serve any power that would but tempt them with money. The marshal himself, who had been long solicited by his brother the duke of *Bouillon*, seeing the times favourable, looking upon himself as ill used, and desirous of supporting the interests of his family, began to intrigue with the officers and soldiers, in hopes of gaining them for the parliament, and thereby rendering them serviceable to his views, or rather to his passion; for it is more than possible that the former were pretences only, and that his affection for the duchess of *Longueville* was the true motive to his infidelity. This shews of what real consequence it was to a government, that religion and morality should be considered as worthy the attention of persons of the highest rank, since there seems to be no manner of doubt, that, whatever colours might be given them, the troubles of *France*, which were fatal to the lives of many, the fortunes of more, and the liberties of the whole nation, sprung from the coquetries of half a dozen great ladies, who, with light heads and bad hearts, sacrificed every thing to their pleasures, according to the nature of the sex, who, having forfeited one, seldom respect any other kind of virtue. The minister very well knew the disposition of the army in *Germany*, and of their chief. He sent his orders, therefore, to general *Erlach*, to take the best care he could to defeat the marshal's intrigues; and, notwithstanding the extreme distress of the court, sent *Hervart*, intendant of the finances, with half a million of livres, to support that general's persuasions. This management had so excellent an effect, that, instead of debauching the forces, as he might have done, if the *Parisians* had furnished him with money, *Turenne* was obliged to retire, and thought himself happy that he escaped being arrested by them^m. The *Spaniards* did not let slip so fair an opportunity; they were early in the field, recovered *Xpres* by the 8th of *May*, and *St. Venant* on the 10th. But the peace of *Paris* being made, and the troops from *Germany* arrived, the count *de Harcourt* also took the field with an army of thirty thousand men, with which he besieged *Cambray*ⁿ. The place was very large, and not well fortified; and it is generally thought that the count would have taken it, but the *German* troops behaved suspiciously, and suffered a considerable reinforcement to get into the place, upon which the count *de Harcourt* raised the siege on the 3d of *July*. Some time after cardinal *Mazarine* came to the army, but it was not without some apprehensions. He was, however, better received than he expected, and had the same honours paid him that had been formerly paid to cardinal *Richelieu*, with which he was extremely well satisfied^o. The army afterwards took *Condé*, and some other places not worth keeping; and towards the end of *August*, or the beginning of *September*, went into winter quarters^p. On the side of *Italy* things went very indifferently; the duke of *Modena* was again forced to come to terms with the *Spaniards*, and even^q to take such as they thought fit to prescribe in *Catalonia*. Don *Juan de Garai* commanded for his catholic majesty; he rendered himself master of *Constantine* and other places, and even threatened to besiege *Barcelona*; but Monsieur *Marfin*, though able to do nothing else, put this out of his power^r.
- It was not without some apprehensions, that, after keeping the court in motion all the summer, the cardinal returned with their majesties to *Paris* in the autumn, where his *par-* *Return of the court to Paris, and the first symptoms of the revival of the troubles.* *tisans* having whispered that their majesties returned by his advice, the people received him not only with satisfaction, but with joy. But this was far from putting an end to the troubles: the queen found herself very uneasy, being obliged to live in a continual state of dissimulation, receiving courteously those who least deserved it, and bestowing favours on such as ought to have thought themselves happy if they escaped punishment. The duke of *Orleans* could not resist the temptation of becoming popular, or the prince of *Condé* the continual solicitations of his

¹ Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iii. Mémoires de Gui Joly, tom. i.
 dame de Motteville, tom. iii. pag. 201. Mémoires de Gui Joly, tom. i.
 de Louis XIV. Mémoires de Puysegur, pag. 291, 292. ^m Mémoires de Ma-
 COURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. Mémoires de Puysegur, p. 304. ⁿ QUINCY, Histoire Militaire
 Louis XIV. REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. ^p REIN-
 liv. ix. ^q QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de ^r Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

sister the duchess of *Longueville*. It was now that cardinal *Mazarine* began to alter his measures ; and, not having been able to gain the esteem of the *French* nation by his merit, thought it necessary to obtain an establishment, to make alliances, and to return the compliment they had paid him in plundering his house, and dispersing his library, by squeezing them, and oppressing their liberties, which before were far from his intentions. He had incurred the public hate, while attached sincerely to the public service. To overcome this, he attached himself intirely to his own interest ; and, having his passions more at command, and being a greater master of intrigue than any of them, it is no great wonder that he succeeded in this age of intrigues. In the mean time the state, the government, and the royal family, suffered extremely. The war was carried on with disadvantage on every side, and there were less hopes than ever of making a good peace. The *Frondeurs* were daily gathering strength ; the treasury was empty and the people not relieved ; the king's household in a great measure cashiered, for want of money to sustain it ; and, while private persons were acquiring titles, power, and fortune, by their crimes, the public, who paid for all, was brought to the very brink of ruin : a circumstance the more credible, as it has happened also elsewhere.

The queen causes the princes to be arrested, at which the people of Paris exceedingly rejoice.

A SUDDEN and a great change was brought about, in the beginning of the year, by all those silent and underhand methods that were now grown into fashion, and had in a manner banished candour and sincerity from the court. The prince of *Conde*, presuming upon his great services, treated every body with an air of haughtiness, that, notwithstanding his power, deprived him gradually of affection and esteem. He had framed to himself a strange notion of assuming absolute power, in an age and country where even legal authority was so far from producing obedience, that it could not secure respect. The manner in which he expressed this fancy united all parties against him. He had excited one of his dependents to make love to the queen¹, and undertook to prevent the effects of her resentment when she shewed an inclination to chastise him. He opposed the cardinal's marrying his niece into the house of *Vendosme*, looking upon it as a sign that he was withdrawing himself from his protection². In this situation there was an attempt made to assassinate him in *Paris*, which he attributed to the *Frondeurs*, and persecuted them so briskly for it in parliament, that they found the only method of securing safety was his destruction. Upon this motive, the coadjutor, by the interposition of the duchess of *Chevreuse*, proposed the matter to the queen and to the cardinal, who concurred in it, brought the duke of *Orleans* to consent, and, which was more, to discard his old favourite the abbé *de la Riviere*, for fear he should disclose the secret. Things being thus concerted, the prince of *Conde*, the prince of *Conti*, and the duke of *Longueville*, were arrested at council³, on the 18th of *January*, and sent prisoners to the *Bois des Vincennes* ; upon which the people of *Paris* made bonfires, who had rebelled upon the arresting *Broussell*, who was now well received in the queen's circle, and the government of the *Bastile* confirmed to his son. The duchess of *Longueville* made her escape, and retired into *Normandy*⁴ ; the duke of *Bouillon* retired into his territory of *Turenne* ; his brother the marshal to *Stenai*, where he quickly drew together a small force, and entered into a treaty with the *Spaniards*⁵. By this strange conjunction of the court with the *Frondeurs*, the cardinal found himself under the necessity of taking the seals from the chancellor *Seguier*, who was his best friend, and the queen's faithful servant, to give them to his rival *Chateaufeuf*⁶. When the seals were demanded, the chancellor said, that, as he lost them without imputation, he parted with them without pain.

Insurrections in Normandy, Burgundy, and Guienne, speedily and fully suppressed.

By the imprisonment of the princes, a new civil war commenced, before the old one was quite extinguished. The duchess of *Longueville* endeavoured to raise *Normandy*^a ; friends of the prince were in arms in *Burgundy* ; and *Guienne*, in consequence of the declaration of the parliament of *Bordeaux*, was still in a state of disobedience ever since the last broils. The court began first with *Normandy*, where the very presence of the king brought the people to submit, and obliged the duchess of *Longueville* to retire by sea into *Holland*, and from thence to marshal *Turenne* at *Stenai*, where, having drawn the flame of rebellion to a head, she had the courage to undertake a journey by land to *Bordeaux*, where the duke of *Bouillon*, and her other admirer the prince of *Marillac*, now become duke of *Rocheffoucault*, were admitted, with the princess of *Conde*, and was so lucky as to accomplish it, though she was once taken prisoner in her passage^b. In *Burgundy* the troubles were likewise speedily suppressed with little effusion of blood ; which, though it afforded the minister some satis-

^a Memoires de Rocheffoucault. ^b Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 53. ^c Memoires de M. Jaques du Saulx, Comte de Tavannes, p. 13. ^d Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 71. ^e Memoires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours, p. 68, 69. ^f Memoires du Gui Joly, tom. i. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne. ^g Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 76. ^h Memoires de Tavannes, p. 36. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. ⁱ Memoires du Gui Joly, tom. i. p. 166, 167.

a faction, yet this was in a great measure abated by the necessity he was under of being absent from *Paris*, where the duke of *Orleans* was left in the hands of the *Frondeurs*, who, though they had concurred with the cardinal in the imprisonment of the princes, were now negotiating with the duke a reconciliation with those princes, in order to the cardinal's destruction. In this perilous situation he caused the court to set out for *Bordeaux*, that the presence of the king might encourage the small army under the marshal *de la Meilleraie*. And it had this effect; for though the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rockefoucault* made a great and gallant resistance, yet the royalists, daily gaining ground, and the cardinal ever pressing better terms than they had reason to expect, the parliament would not have the complaisance to sacrifice themselves and their fellow citizens either to the interest or the caprice of those great men; who no sooner b discerned this, than they concurred in the treaty, and made very good terms for themselves, and, with the prince of *Conde*, and her young son the count *de Anguien*, went to pay their respects ^c to the queen. The two dukes had also several conferences with the cardinal, which alarmed the *Frondeurs* at *Paris* exceedingly.

In her return to that capital, the queen was afflicted with a fever, occasioned chiefly by the chagrin of the ill treatment she had met with at *Bordeaux*, notwithstanding the general amnesty which he had granted to all who had been embarked in the revolt; and her distemper ^d was increased, not only by the want of accommodations upon the road, which could not well be greater than they were, but by her displeasure at seeing so great pains taken by the *Spaniards* to support her rebellious subjects, and carry war into the heart of her dominions, c as the late king and herself had done into theirs; and, which was worst of all, that this was attended with so great success, as to find almost as little duty and respect in her capital as she had met with in *Bordeaux*. The cardinal met with the same, or rather with worse treatment; the *Frondeurs* had in a great measure gained the duke of *Orleans*, and were at the same time treating with the princes on a proposition that the prince of *Conde* ^e should marry the daughter of the duchess of *Chevreuse*; for the intrigues of a few women continued to be in reality the sources of those disturbances that distracted the state. In outward appearance, however, things passed quietly enough; the duke of *Orleans*, the keeper of the seals, the coadjutor, all paid their respect to the minister, who made them returns of the like kind, as being no stranger to their real sentiments, or to those of the duke of *Beaufort*, though he had procured for his father the duke of *Vendosme* the queen's resignation of the superintendance of d navigation and the marine, with the survivance in favour of this duke, though his youngest son, who could not prevail upon himself to be grateful at the expence of his popularity ^f. In such a state of things, the minister, after mature reflection, resolved to leave *Paris* and the court, in order to go to the army of the marshal *du Plessis Praslin*, on the frontier, with a view to revive the spirits of the soldiers, and mortify the malecontents, who had given evident marks of satisfaction; and marshal *Turenne* advancing so near to *Paris*, as to render it necessary to remove the princes, first beyond the *Seine*, and then to *Havre de-grace*, it may be, he thought it safer also to trust himself with an army commanded by a person ^g in whom he could confide, than in a city full of intrigues, where those who managed them were capable of any thing that might contribute to their own interests. But, before we speak of the transactions that followed his arrival in the army of the marshal, it will be necessary to speak of the progress of the war during this campaign.

THE domestic affairs of *France* being in this disorder, it may be easily conceived that the crown was in no condition to furnish the necessary supplies on all sides, and that of consequence those at the greatest distance suffered most. In *Italy*, *Portolongone*, in the island of *Elbe*, which had been taken with so much difficulty and expence, was surrendered to the *Spaniards* on the 15th of *August*, after a siege of forty-seven days ^h. In *Catalonia* things went still worse; the duke of *Mercœur*, who had the title of viceroy, after having caused count *Marfin* to be arrested, who was in the interest of the prince of *Conde*, made himself master f of *Salces*; but when the *Spanish* army was formed, they quickly made them sensible of their superiority, by recovering *Flix*, *Tortosa*, *Balaguer*, and several other places ⁱ. In *Lorrain*, the count *de Ligni* recovered several places ^k for the duke, till at length he received a severe check from the marquis *Ferte Senneterre*. But what made the greatest impression was, the attack made on the frontier by the *Spanish* army under the command of the archduke *Leopold*, the marquis *de Fuensaldagna*, and the marshal *Turenne*, whose intrigues had reduced him to the necessity of serving as a lieutenant general in a foreign service against the crown of *France*,

After all these successes, the cardinal is compelled to withdraw, and the queen is left in great distress.

Misfortunes Italy and in Catalonia, and defeat of the Spaniards and rebels at Rhétel.

^c Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. Memoires de Tavannes.

Brienne, tom. iii. p. 84. 87. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i.

moires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iv.

moires de Tavannes.

Louis XIV. tom. i Memoires historiques & chronologiques.

XIV. ^k Memoires du Marquis de Beauvau, p. 98.

^d Memoires du Comte de

^e Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. Me-

^f Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. liv. iii. Me-

^g QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de

^h QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis

after all the honours and rewards he had received. To this army *La Catelet* surrendered on the 15th of *June*, after a very gallant defence. The archduke advanced to *Guise*, and invested it; but the marshal *du Pleſſis Praſlin* obliged him to raise the siege on the 1st of *July*. This did not hinder Monsieur de *Turenne* from taking *la Capelle* on the 3d of *August*¹. It was from thence that he advanced with a body of four thousand horse, in order to deliver the princes out of the *Bois des Vincennes*; in which he had certainly succeeded, if he had not been betrayed by those about him^m. *Monzon* surrendered to the *Spaniards* on the 6th of *November*; the marshal *du Pleſſis Praſlin*, with his army, which did not consist of above fifteen thousand men, covered *Rheims*ⁿ. When cardinal *Mazarine* came to the army, he had determined upon the siege of *Rbetel*. As he was a man of a singular turn, he left the minister behind him; and whereas at court he was civil, but reserved, difficult of access, and sparing to a great degree, he was quite another man in the camp. He kept three or four open tables, conversed familiarly with the officers, and took great care of the private men. As a proof of this, he brought with him from *Paris* shoes and warm waistcoats, which he caused to be distributed amongst them, and bestowed small but frequent liberalities in money. *Rbetel* surrendered on the 15th of *December*, the weather being very severe. The army taking winter quarters in the adjacent villages on the 14th, the enemy, commanded by Don *Esteven de Gomara*, and marshal *Turenne*, attacked them the next morning; and, after a warm engagement, they were intirely beaten^o. Monsieur de *Turenne* with great difficulty escaped into a wood; the *Spaniards* lost four thousand men, and some of their best officers. Don *Esteven de Gomara* was taken prisoner, with eight pieces of cannon, and many standards and colours^p. This victory, gained under the eye at least of the minister, one would have thought might have done him some honour even with the people of *Paris*; but, at his return, he found them generally indisposed towards him, tho' *Té Deum* was sung; yet, except in the queen's palace, there were little or no rejoicings^q.

Cardinal Mazarine is compelled for the first time to retire out of the kingdom.

THE new year began with new troubles. The duke of *Orleans* could not be without a favourite; and, though he had himself better sense than any of those in whom he confided, and executed well even their bad designs, yet he would never act without advice, or trust himself with his own concerns. He loved power, he affected independency; he had it in as great a degree at this time as he could desire; and he might have kept it, and have restored the tranquillity of *France*, if, closing sincerely with the queen and her minister, he had demanded peremptorily the marriage of the king with mademoiselle. It is true, the queen was averse to it; but the cardinal thought it a right measure, if the duke could be prevailed on to act steadily. But he was now in the hands of the coadjutor, who, finding the minister not inclined to procure him a hat from *Rome*, pushed the duke of *Orleans* to secure his authority another way. The majority of the parliament were bent upon releasing the princes; the duchess of *Chevreuse* had treated with the duke of *Orleans*, and concerted three points, that the duke of *Anguien* should marry his youngest daughter, that the prince of *Conde* should marry her daughter, and Monsieur de *Chateaufneuf* should be raised to the dignity of prime minister. But, after all, even this party were more inclined to the cardinal, who was totally ignorant of their intrigue. The duke de *Rocheſoucault* went often to him, hinted in ambiguous terms his danger, and pressed him to preserve himself by setting at liberty the princes^r. Upon this occasion we discern not, in any of the memoirs, the arts of a consummate politician in the cardinal's conduct. He refined so much, and delayed so long, that at length all parties formed a league against him, and attacked him with such force, that he saw himself under the necessity of retiring. He found indeed the new marshals, Monsieur d'*Aumont*, Monsieur de *la Ferte Imbault*, stiled marshal d'*Eſtampes*, and Monsieur de *Ferte Senneterre*, called marshal de *la Ferte*, who, together with the count de *Grancey*, had the baton given them after the battle of *Rbetel*, full of professions of affection and esteem; but he durst not think of raising a civil war in the capital of *France*. On the 6th of *February*, not before he was in imminent danger, he quitted the palace, and went directly to *Havre-de-grace*, where it is thought he meant to make the princes sensible of his being the author of their freedom; but in this he was disappointed; for they, knowing he was forced to it; treated him civilly, but without making any great professions^s. In the mean time the queen was in a miserable situation; the duke of *Orleans* consulted with the coadjutor about taking the king from her, shutting her up in a

¹ REINCOURT, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. Memoires historiques & chronologiques. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

ⁿ Memoires de Puyſegur, pag. 308, 309. QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

^o Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 86.

^p Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

^r Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. liv. iii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iv. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. Memoires de Rocheſoucault, Memoires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours.

^s Memoires du Card. de Retz, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 187—203.

convent,

a convent, or assuming to himself the government under the title of the king's lieutenant general. Her former escape from *Paris* had made the people so jealous of her, that she was for a month imprisoned in her palace, and her authority, her rank, and even her sex, so little respected, that at midnight she was forced to let the mob come into her apartments, and draw the king's curtains, that they might see he was in bed and asleep¹. This continued till the arrival of the princes, when the parliament ordered a process against the minister, and, by an arret, excluded all foreigners from being of the king's council, and all cardinals, even tho' they were natives of *France*². The prince of *Conde*, finding himself without any rival since the retreat of the cardinal, and his own union with the duke of *Orleans*, thought himself at liberty to dispense with the *Frondeurs*; and though the duchess of *Chevreuse* had generously returned him the promise he had signed while in prison, as to the marriage of her brother with his daughter, that it might appear to be a matter of choice, he, by a strange stretch of power, compelled the queen to make a shew of forcing him to break the marriage. This induced the duchess of *Chevreuse*, the princess palatine, and even the coadjutor, to make a short turn; and, after all that had passed, to offer their services to the queen, whom, from humour, pride, or resentment, the prince of *Conde* continued to persecute with unrelenting severity, and, tho' contrary to the natural turn of his own temper, he was supported therein by the duke of *Orleans*³.

THE cardinal, after traversing the bishoprick of *Liege*, had retired to *Bruell*, at some distance from *Sedan*; and from thence not only carried on a regular correspondence with the queen, but with the heads of all the different parties, who conspired together in abusing and treating with him at the same time⁴. The coadjutor, finding himself slighted by the prince of *Conde*, and being assured of his hat by the cardinal, entered with the same violence into the intrigues for bringing back, as he had shewn in those for excluding him the court, proposing, in some councils, the arresting, or, if necessary, putting to death⁵, the prince of *Conde*. The queen was much better advised; she recalled, at the desire of the prince, Mr. *Chavigni*, that she might persuade the parliament of her having no intentions to recall the cardinal. She likewise dismissed *Le Tellier*, *Servien* and *de Leonne*, purely because the prince asserted they were friends to *Mazarine*⁶: but, perceiving that the prince was not softened by these concessions, she, by the advice of the *Frondeurs*, sent the count *de Brienne*, secretary of state, with an accusation against him, to the parliament, where, though he had consented to the measure, and corrected the charge with his own hand, the duke of *Orleans* sent another paper in his justification, to which the parliament gave their sanction⁷. The queen, however, finding she had acquired a greater strength, resolved to exert it, took the seals from *Chateauneuf*, and gave them to the first president⁸ *Mole*. This was in the month of *August*; but, finding she was not able to support him, she took the seals back, and returned them to the old chancellor *Seguier*. By a strange mixture of passions, the ambition of *Chateauneuf* taught him humility, inasmuch that he promised the queen all things; and the cardinal likewise, if he might be restored to favour. In consequence of this, upon the king's being declared major, on the 7th of *September*, he was raised to the object of all his intrigues, the post of prime minister⁹, and the seals again given to the first president. Upon this, against his own inclinations, and determined by the persuasions of his sister the duchess of *Longueville*, the prince of *Conde* raised a new civil war, by retiring into his government of *Guienne*, which he had exchanged with the duke of *Espernon* for *Burgundy*. He was joined by the dukes *de Rochefoucault*, *de Beaufort*, *de Nemours*, *de Richelieu*, the prince of *Tarentum*, the marquis *de la Force*, and Mr. *de Marfin*, who brought him the troops that should have defended *Catalonia*. The court did not leave him much time to collect his strength, but, advancing to *Bourges*, Mr. *Chateauneuf* prevailed upon the inhabitants to quit the party of the prince, and to receive their majesties¹⁰. The count *de Harcourt* commanded the army that was to oppose the prince of *Conde*; and in this embarrassed state of affairs the queen invited cardinal *Mazarine*, who was now at *Cologne*, to come and join the court at *Poitiers*; which so inflamed the parliament, otherwise well enough disposed, that, by an arret of the 29th of *December*, they proscribed that minister, and offered a reward of fifty thousand crowns¹¹ to any who would take him alive or dead, to be paid by the sale of his own library and effects. The Spaniards A. D. 1651.

¹ Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iv. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. ² Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 204. ³ Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. iv. ⁴ Idem ibid. ⁵ Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 85, 86. ⁶ Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 85, 86. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. ⁷ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. p. 79. ⁸ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 107. ⁹ Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 80. Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. liv. iii. ¹⁰ Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. ii. liv. ii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. ¹¹ Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. i. p. 221.

had by this time subdued almost all *Catalonia*, and blocked up *Barcelona*; they recovered likewise several places in the *Low Countries*; and might have done much more, if they had confided solely in their arms, instead of entering into treaties with the malecontents, by which they promised them vast succours, and lavished immense sums to all parties, not out of any particular regard to this or that, but because they thought, that, whatever contributed to the confusion of *France*, must be beneficial to *Spain*.

After much insincerity and trimming, the duke of Orleans and the parliament declare against the crown.

CARDINAL *Mazarine*, escorted by six thousand men, commanded by *Hocquincourt*, lately made marshal of *France*, came to *Poitiers*, surrounded^f by a croud of gallant officers, to whom he had given governments on the frontiers, and who had remained ever firmly attached to his service. He had likewise detached the duke of *Bouillon*, and his brother the viscount de *Turenne*, and taken thereby the best head and the best heart they had, from the malecontents. The parliament continued to act the same strange part as they had done for some time past, that is, they endeavoured to accommodate themselves to all parties, which did not give them the confidence so much as of one. They had verified the queen's edict, by which she declared the prince of *Conde* guilty of high treason. They set a price upon the cardinal's head; and formed a process against marshal *Hocquincourt*, for that protection he had given him^g. The duke of *Orleans* acted the very same part; he had on many occasions declared in strong terms for the royal authority, and yet towards the close of *January* he concluded a treaty with the prince of *Conde*^h, but at the same time reserved a liberty of conferring and living in friendship with the coadjutor, who was that prince's mortal enemy. He also brought a corps of troops in the *Spanish* service into *France*, which joined those commanded by the dukes of *Beaufort* and *Nemours*. Mademoiselle was sent by her father to *Orleans*, and had the good fortune to engage that city to declare for the princes by her presence solely; but to shew the true complexion of the public spirit that prevailed in this age, she immediately gave the queen mother to understand that she was not implacable, and that a person of her great talents and influence might be purchased at no higher price than that of the crown of *France*; and, in short, that she expected to espouse the kingⁱ.

The king and court twice saved from rebels by the courage and conduct of marshal Turenne.

As strange as this might appear, she might possibly have brought it to pass, and that by force of arms; for the surprize of *Orleans* put the court under so great a difficulty, that they were forced to lodge in the little town of *Gergaut*, which has a good bridge over the *Loire*, with a very small number of troops about the king's person. They were scarce arrived, when the duke of *Beaufort* with his forces took post on the other side, and began immediately to attack the bridge. Marshal *Turenne* happened to be there, and his presence saved the king and queen; he took two or three hundred men who were there, but who had neither ball nor powder, posted them at the houses joining to the bridge, caused the barrier to be thrown open, and, advancing with his sword drawn, called to his troops, with a loud voice, not to fire till the enemy were close. This astonished the baron de *Sirois*, who commanded the rebels; and induced him, instead of marching on, to barricade on his side. Marshal *Hocquincourt*, coming up with the guards, attacked that barricade; and *Sirois* being killed, his troops were dispersed^k. The boldness of *Turenne*, upon this occasion, saved the king and queen from being made prisoners. The dukes of *Beaufort* and *Nemours* having quarrelled, the prince of *Conde*, whose affairs were not in a good situation at *Guienne*, abandoned his troops there; and, accompanied only by a few friends, made, with infinite trouble and danger, a journey of one hundred and twenty leagues, to put himself at the head of this army on the *Loire*, where he arrived on the 26th of *March*. His presence restored order and courage to those troops that wanted both. The marshal *Hocquincourt* having quartered part of the king's army at *Blenau*, at too great a distance from the rest under marshal *Turenne*, the prince, on the 6th of *April*, attacked them in the night, and carried two quarters; and had infallibly beaten the whole army, and perhaps taken the royal family at *Gien*; if Monsieur *Turenne* had not advanced with four thousand foot to his assistance, and taken post on an eminence opposite to a wood. The prince, finding a pretty large aperture, caused his horse to advance through it, in order to attack Monsieur *Turenne*, whose troops moved slowly, as if they meant to retire. But as soon as a considerable part of the prince's army had passed, the battery, which the marshal had been preparing, fired upon them briskly on the right, while he with his forces attacked them in the front and on the left, so that, after suffering a considerable loss, the prince was obliged to retire^l.

^f Idem ibid. p. 223. *Memoires de Madame la Duchesse de Nemours*, p. 141.

^g *Memoires de Monsieur de Turenne*, tom. viii. part i. p. 80.

^h *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. p. 138.

ⁱ *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. iii. liv. iv. p. 104.

^j *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. iii. p. 144.

^k *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. p. 145.

^l *Memoires de Tavannes*, *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. iii. liv. iv. p. 107.

^m *Memoires de Gui*

ⁿ *Memoires de Madame de Motte-*

^o *Histoire du Vicomte*

^p *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*,

^q *Memoires de Tavannes*, *Me-*

a THE conduct of the duke of *Orleans* and of the parliament was of such a nature, that the prince thought it necessary to leave his army, in order to go thither, where, notwithstanding the parliament ^m had declared him guilty of high treason, he was well received. After his departure, marshal *Turenne*, with marshal *Hocquincourt*, attempted to surprize the army he had left in the neighbourhood of *Estampes*, and forced them to take shelter in the neighbourhood of that town, in one quarter of which twelve hundred of their best foot were cut to pieces. The two marshals besieged the rest in *Estampes*; and had very probably forced them to surrender, if the duke of *Lorraine*, having received a large sum of money from the *Spaniards*, had not penetrated into *France*, and, being acquainted with their distress, marched to their assistance ⁿ. This so much changed the face of affairs, that marshal *Turenne* found the king's army in great danger, as being obliged to fight several different corps of a sum of *French* gold determined his retreat, as the *Spanish* money had produced his invasion. The prince of *Conde*, by the interposition of the duke of *Roban*, negotiated with the court; and afterwards sent deputies to *St. Germain's*, to revive that negotiation. As the demands made for himself and those of his party were most exorbitant, though the duke of *Orleans* and himself had over and over assured the parliament that they had nothing in view but the expulsion of a foreign minister, the honour of *France*, and the ease of the people, who paid taxes both to the king and to the princes, cardinal *Mazarine* made them public, and took pains to let the world know, that though the first article of their instructions was, that they should have no correspondence with him upon any pretence, yet that was calculated only for the dupes at *Paris*, since they had made no scruple at *St. Germain's* of treating with him every day.

Duke Charles IV. of Lorraine paid by the Spaniards for entering France, and by the French for leaving it.

THE prince, finding himself equally disappointed on the side of the parliament and on the side of the court, put himself once more at the head of his troops, which were encamped at *St. Cloud*, having the river between him and marshal *Turenne*. But, receiving intelligence that marshal *la Ferte* was advancing with another army behind him, he found it necessary to march to *Charenton*, and, having passed the river there, marshal *Turenne* pressed him so close, that he was constrained to take shelter in the suburb of *St. Antoine*, where the inhabitants had thrown up some works to secure themselves against their good allies the troops of *Lorraine*. There, on the 2d of *July*, happened that famous engagement, of which, from an adjacent eminence, the king himself was spectator, and in which the prince and the viscount performed all that could be expected from the greatest masters in the art of war ^o. By the coming up, however, of the marshal *la Ferte*, the prince had been ruined, if *Broussel*, at the command of *Mademoiselle*, had not fired the cannon of the *Bastile* on the king's troops, at the same time that the people admitted the prince's forces into the city of *Paris*, which put an end to the dispute. There were abundance of brave men killed on both sides; amongst the rest, the cardinal lost his nephew. The princes claimed the victory, as they remained in possession of *Paris*. The use they made of it was terrible; in order to bring all the inhabitants to a submission as absolute as under the league, a general assembly was held at the *Hotel de Ville*. When they were in the midst of their consultations, they were attacked by an armed mob, who set fire to the gates, forced a passage, massacred some, and ransomed many, that is, made them pay largely for saving their lives, and in this they made no distinction of parties ^p. It was never known how this was brought about, or by whom; but it is very certain, that the prince of *Conde* might have put a stop to it; that he was applied to, and that he did not. However, on the 10th of *July*, the parliament declared the duke of *Orleans* lieutenant general of the kingdom, and the prince generalissimo of the forces for restoring the king to his liberty, who, they said, was deprived of it by cardinal *Mazarine* ^q. On the last day of the month the king published an edict, transferring the parliament of *Paris* to *Pontoise*, where he then was. Most of the presidents and twenty of the counsellors obeyed. The keeper of the seals, at the head of the new parliament, demanded, in very strong terms, of the king, the dismissal and departure of the cardinal. To this a long answer, containing a laboured apology for the minister, was given, concluding, however, with the king's assent. On the 19th of *August* ^r he set out for *Sedan*, leaving the affairs of state in the hands of prince *Thomas of Savoy*, and the army to the command of the viscount *de Turenne*.

The prince of Conde's forces, being beaten, save themselves in the city of Paris.

^m Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iii. liv. iv. p. 108.

^o Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 128, 129. Memoires du Duc de Navailles, liv. ii. p. 142, 143. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii. p. 15, 16. Memoires de Tavannes, p. 168, & suiv. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, tom. iv. p. 229. Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. viii. p. ii. p. 35.

^p Memoires de Tavannes, p. 178, & suiv. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 150. Memoires de Rochefoucault. ^q Memoires d'Omer Talon, tom. viii. p. ii. p. 54. ^r Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 160.

The king, on
the retreat of
the prince of
Conde, enters
the capital in
triumph.

THE last sedition had lost the princes the hearts of the citizens of *Paris*; they had only a the dregs of the parliament left, and even what they did in their favour was done by force. But the court, notwithstanding, was under the greatest uneasiness, the *Spanish* army advancing directly towards *Paris*. Application was made to the duke of *Longueville*, to know whether the king's person might be safe in *Normandy*. The answer was far from being favourable; it was then debated, whether he should retire to *Lyons*. The army commanded by marshal *Turenne* consisted but of eight thousand men, and upon this small force depended the fate of the king and kingdom. The councils, in this extremity, were chiefly directed by the duke de *Bouillon*, who, with all his faults, was perhaps the ablest man of that time. He and his brother rejected these timid measures, as equally unsafe and dishonourable. The marshal, with his small army, advanced to *Compeigne*, which, in another general, would have b been rash and imprudent*. The peculiar talent of this great man was, that he hardly ever failed of judging what effect his motions would produce in the mind of an enemy. He had saved the royal family at *Gergaut* by a prudent temerity; at *Blenau*, by his vigilance, he saved them again, by foreseeing that the *Spaniards*, who had a very high opinion of his discretion, would immediately suspect some mystery. They did so; and the count de *Fuensaldagna* marched back to cover *Flanders*, leaving the duke of *Lorraine*, with an army as strong as the marshal's, to assist the princes. The difficulties of the court did not end here; the duke of *Lorraine* advanced again towards *Paris*; the marshal encamped at *St. Germain*, near *Cressy*, where he received positive orders from the court to remain, because they were in treaty with the duke of *Lorraine*, who had promised not to remove. *Turenne* chose rather to hazard his c head than to trust to his promises, or their orders; and, judging he would attempt to pass the *Seine*, marched directly to *Villeneuve St. George*†, and thereby disappointed him. He encamped about a league higher, and was joined there by the prince of *Conde*. There he fortified himself, being much inferior in strength. The prince and duke thought themselves so secure of either beating or starving him, that they began to talk of disposing of governments and the great charges of the crown. In this situation things continued for a month, when Monsieur *Turenne*, took advantage of the duke and prince being gone to *Paris* to divert themselves with their mistresses, to march to *Corbeil*, and thence to *Meaux*, which he performed without loss, and without being attacked. By this time the royalists were grown so d potent in *Paris*, that the prince of *Conde* grew weary of being there, and on the 14th of *October*‡ quitted that city, to go and throw himself into the arms of the *Spaniards*. On the 21st the king§, accompanied by *Charles II.* entered in triumph into his capital, which the duke of *Orleans* quitted at the same time. He went directly to the *Louvre*, and sent an order to *Broussel* to deliver up the *Bastile*, on pain of being hanged at the gate. He presently submitted. The next day the king held his bed¶ of justice, where the parliament verified four declarations; for their own re-union, a general amnesty, a prohibition of their meddling for the future with affairs of state, and the expulsion of three presidents and nine counsellors, amongst whom was *Broussel*. The coadjutor, now become cardinal de *Retz*, by outwitting the minister at *Rome*, delayed paying his respects till the 19th of *December*, and, after a civil reception, was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Vincennes*‡. He was the head of the faction of the *Frondeurs*, and with him it ended. It may not be amiss, before we speak of the operations of the war, which still went on, to mention the fate of some of those busy men, who, by their ambition and avarice, excited these troubles. Monsieur de *Chateaufort*, exiled on the cardinal's first return, broke his heart in his own house at *Montrouge*; *Chavigni* died of rage and in despair, insulted by the prince of *Conde* in his last moments; the duke of *Beaufort* killed his brother-in-law the duke of *Nemours* by a pistol shot in the streets of *Paris*; and the prince of *Conti* and the duchess of *Longueville* remained blocked up in *Bordeaux*‡, where, some misunderstandings arising between them, they caballed against each other.

The progress
of the war in
Catalonia,
Italy, and in
the Low
Countries.

In *Catalonia*, the desertion of count *Marsin*, in order to carry his troops to the prince of e *Conde*, lost all that had been acquired with so much blood and treasure. The marshal de la *Motte* surrendered *Barcelona* by a capitulation on the 23d of *October*, together with all that he held in that principality, except *Roses*; but he obtained honourable terms for the *French* troops, and the preservation of their privileges for the people. In *Italy*, *Casal* was also lost; and it was with much difficulty that the duke of *Mantua* was prevailed upon to declare himself neuter, and the duke of *Savoy* hindered from putting himself under the protec-

* *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. pag. 156, 157. *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. v. *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. ii. † *Memoires du Cardinal de Retz*, tom. iii. p. 234. ‡ *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. ii. § *Idem ibid.* p. 39. ¶ *Memoires d'Omer Talon*, tom. viii. P. ii. p. 106. † *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. i. p. 56, 57. *Memoires de Madame de Motteville*, tom. v. pag. 163. ‡ *Memoires de Mad. de Motteville*, *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. ii.

a tion of *Spain*^a. In this situation the court offered the crown of *Portugal* to enter into engagements not to make peace with *Spain*, but in conjunction with her, provided, in this time of distress, she undertook to advance two millions of crowns in five years, of which eight hundred thousand were to be paid immediately. The *Portuguese* thought this proposition exorbitant, and complained loudly afterwards of what was the consequence of their hasty judgment^b. On the side of *Flanders*, the *Spaniards* were at liberty to do what they could at least, if not what they pleased. *France* had no army to oppose, and consequently the governors of their fortresses had no succours to expect. They abandoned *Mardyke* in the middle of *April*. The archduke *Leopold* besieged *Graveline* with an army of thirty thousand men, which surrendered on the 18th of *May*, after sixty-nine days open trenches^c. He next attacked *Dunkirk*, which
b was defended by the marshal *d'Estades*. The duke of *Vendosme*, in quality of high admiral, was ordered to equip a fleet for its relief, which he performed with infinite difficulty, and at a vast expence; but, in the chanel, by the command of *Cromwell*, he was attacked by the *English* fleet, and, except three, all the vessels of which it was composed were taken^d. At that time, it seems, he chose rather to have *Dunkirk* in the hands of the *Spaniards* than of the *French*; he afterwards changed his opinion; however, after thirty-nine days open trenches, the place surrendered on the 16th of *September*^e. To these successes they made no doubt of adding the taking winter quarters in *Lorraine*, the army of the prince of *Conde* and of the duke of *Lorraine* consisting of at least twenty-five thousand men.

His highness took *Rhetel* and *Chateau Porcien* towards the end of *October*; about the
c middle of *November* he reduced *St. Menehaud*, which was a place of importance, and then marched to *Bar-le-Duc*, in which he committed, according to the opinion of Monsieur *Tu-*
renne, a great fault^f, that place being strong, and his army much exposed. He had, how-
ever, the good fortune to take the greatest part of the garrison in the lower town; so that he
was very quickly and unexpectedly master of the place. To these conquests he added those
of *Ligri*, *Voyd*, and *Commerci*. Marshal *Turenne* was by this time arrived with the king's
army, not above twelve thousand strong, at *Stainville*; he passed the *Meuse* as soon as possible,
and pushed the prince of *Conde* from *Voyd* to *Commerci*, from thence to *St. Michel*, and in
six days time to *Luxembourg*. His highness had weakened his army by putting his infantry into
so many places; the marshal knew this, and pushed him so hard, that he had not time to re-
d cover his force, or to entrench himself. When he had carried his point, the marshal *la Ferte*,
d who commanded in *Lorraine*, recovered all the places with the troops of his province. At
the siege of *Bar-le-Duc*, cardinal *Mazarine* arrived in the army, and brought with him a
considerable reinforcement out of *Picardy*; the prince of *Conde* attempted its relief in vain.
After it was reduced, the army marched into *Champagne*, and, though in the depth of winter,
recovered *Chateau Porcien* and *Vervin*: by this means M. *Turenne* performed his undertaking^g,
that the enemy should take no quarters in *France*.

As long as cardinal *Mazarine* remained out of the kingdom, the queen could not appre-
hend the royal authority was thoroughly established; Mr. *de Navailles*, therefore, towards
the middle of *January*, was sent with a strong escorte to fetch him from *Sedan*^h. When
e he drew near the capital, the king, and his brother the duke of *Anjou*, went to meet him;
and he returned with them in the coach, not only without any emotion, but even with visible
marks of satisfaction and joyⁱ. In order to make this as public as might be, he was invited
to dine at the *Hotel-de-Ville*^j. The minister managed all this affair with great address; the
parliament had mortgaged their own funds during the war; the rents of the *Hotel-de-Ville*
were very ill paid; the cardinal brought a plan with him for regulating these, which was
immediately executed. The regularity with which the judges salaries were paid, and the
punctual discharge of the citizens annuities, were irresistible proofs of their being mistaken
in times past, and that *Mazarine* was an excellent minister. The keeper of the seals had
hitherto executed that employment without quitting the post of first president; but, this
f being attended with many inconveniencies, he disposed of the latter to the president *Bel-*
lievre^k. The coadjutor, though in prison, could not be quiet, and his party still gave the
court some apprehensions. Not that he was the hero which he appears in his own memoirs;
so far from it, that, when his friends had employed fifty thousand crowns to purchase his

The marshal
Turenne, by
his address,
obliges the
enemy to retire
into Luxem-
burgh and
Flanders.

A. D. 1652.

Return of car-
dinal Maza-
rine, and his
great applica-
tion to the re-
storing regu-
larity in the
government.

^a QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 169.

^b Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. i. liv. xv. p. 216. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 140, & suiv.

^c QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Puysegur.

^d Lord CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, HEATH's Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, LE CLERC, Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 315.

^e QUINCY, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. CLARENDON's History of the Rebellion, Life of Oliver Cromwell, Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. liv. xv.

^f Histoire du Prince de Conde.

^g Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, Memoires de Puysegur.

^h Memoires du Duc de Navailles, liv. ii. p. 151, 152.

ⁱ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 164, 165.

^j Histoire du Ministere du Cardinal Mazarine, par GALEAZZO GUALDO, seconde partie, p. 45, 46, 47.

^k Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. liv. xv. p. 25.

liberty, he refused to go out, from a dread of being assassinated by the person who managed a that design ¹. He would even have accepted the offers that were made him for the resignation of his rights to the archbishoprick of *Paris*, if the remains of his party had not made him ashamed of it. The pope entered warmly into his quarrel, not purely out of respect to him, but out of pique to the court of *France*, or rather to *Mazarine*. His holiness was highly offended at the insults offered to a prince of the church, and threatened to send a legate to espouse his cause, and to carry things to extremities. The minister ^m observed, upon this, to the nunçio, that he himself was a cardinal as well as Mr. *de Retz*; and that the holy father was very calm and undisturbed when the parliament set a price upon his head, in defiance of the royal authority. That illustrious body, not much inclined to be in love with any authority but their own, protested against this measure of the court of *Rome*, and requested b the king ⁿ to forbid the legate's entering into his dominions.

The remains of rebellion extinguished in all parts of the kingdom by treaty or by force.

THE sparks of rebellion that still remained in different places were gradually extinguished; *Bellegarde*, the only place in *Burgundy* that held for the prince of *Conde*, had for its governor the count *de Bouteville*, so famous afterwards under the title of the marshal *de Luxembourg*. He defended it gallantly against the duke *de Espernon*, governor of the province, who had his father's spirit. When the breach was practicable, and the count saw that they were about to make a general assault, he intimated, that perhaps he might listen to terms, if he was summoned. The duke answered, that the usage was to summon enemies, but not rebels. He had, however, good terms given him, and the place surrendered on the 8th of *July* ^o. Other places in different parts of the kingdom had the like fate; in some the people expelled c their garrisons, and admitted the king's troops. The only places that held out were those in the government of the count *de Oignon*, and the city of *Bordeaux*. In respect to the former, *Brouage* and *Oleron* were of such consequence, that the cardinal listened to his demands, and, upon the payment of four hundred thousand livres, and the delivery of the baton of *France*, he admitted the king's forces. He was not ashamed to appear at court afterwards under the name of marshal *Foucault* ^p. The prince of *Conti* and the duchess of *Longueville* capitulated in *Bordeaux*, and the count *de Marfin* was permitted to march with two thousand five hundred men to join the prince of *Conde*. The citizens also made the best terms they could ^q. In order to fix the power of the monarchy on the firmest basis, and to procure an infantry that might be depended upon, the cardinal very prudently renewed the ancient d alliance with the *Swiss* cantons ^r. But we find no marks of gratitude or justice rendered to the reformed in *France*, who, in all these quarrels, adhered inviolably to the crown ^s, had dispossessed the rebels of *Rochelle*, and, notwithstanding their fortifications were demolished, had defended other places from a principle of duty; which most of the *French* writers ^t, from motives of policy, have been content to bury in silence, but which ought to be preserved in a work consecrated to truth.

Progress of the war in Italy and Catalonia, where the Spaniards were victorious this campaign.

IN *Italy* the *Spaniards* had proposed to the duke of *Savoy* their assistance for the recovery of *Pignerol*, and the proposition was not absolutely refused. It was therefore at all events necessary to have an able general and a considerable army in that country; the marshal *de Grancei* was sent thither with all the troops that could be spared, and he came time enough e to prevent the effects of this negotiation ¹. The marquis *de Carracena*, who commanded in the *Milanese*, was piqued at this; and, having received considerable reinforcements from *Naples* and *Sicily*, he passed the *Tanaro*, in hopes of surprising the *French* army; but the marshal, having good intelligence, quitted his camp as the *Spaniards* were passing, in expectation of gaining some advantage over them before they were thoroughly formed; but, when he arrived in sight of their army, he found them disposed in order of battle. This engagement, which happened on the 23d of *September*, is stiled in history the battle of *Roquette* ^u. The marshal claimed the victory, because the enemy were obliged to repass the river; and, in conjunction with the duke of *Savoy*, the *French* forces crossed the *Sessia*, took the castle of *Carpignano*, and went into winter quarters in the plentiful country of *Navarre*. The marquis f *du Pleffis Belliere* commanded in *Catalonia*, and delivered *Roses* from a kind of blockade. He afterwards besieged *Gironne*, having called the marshal *d'Hocquincourt* to his assistance; but they had the misfortune to be beaten by Don *Juan* of *Austria*, who came to the relief of the place, and who afterwards made himself master of the *Ampourdan*. The marshal, being

¹ *Memoires de Gui Joly*, tom. ii.

moires de Gui Joly, tom. ii.

tom. ii. liv. xvi.

tom. ii. liv. xvi.

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tom. ii. liv. xvi.

^m *Memoires du Comte de Brienne*, tom. iii. p. 165. 169.

^o *QUINCY*, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire de Louis XIV.

^p *BARDÆUS* de rebus Gallicis, p. 649.

^q *Corps Universel Diplomatique*, tom. vi. part. ii. p. 65.

^r *MARTI*, p. 240, 241.

^s *MARTI*, p. 240, 241.

^t *QUINCY*, Histoire

^u *Memoires de Montglat*,

^v *Memoires de Montglat*,

^w *Memoires de Montglat*,

^x *Memoires de Montglat*,

^y *Memoires de Montglat*,

^z *Memoires de Montglat*,

^{aa} *Memoires de Montglat*,

^{ab} *Memoires de Montglat*,

^{ac} *Memoires de Montglat*,

^{ad} *Memoires de Montglat*,

^{ae} *Memoires de Montglat*,

^{af} *Memoires de Montglat*,

^{ag} *Memoires de Montglat*,

a by the troops from *Guienne*, made a fresh irruption into *Catalonia* in *December*, and relieved *Rosès*, that was blocked up a second time ; he also beat a corps of *Spanish* cavalry ; and had perhaps done more, but the severity of the weather obliged him to return into winter quarters ^w.

THE great stress of the war lay on the side of the *Low Countries* ; the prince of *Conde* had the pompous title of generalissimo of his catholic majesty's armies, and it was stipulated by treaty, that he should have all he conquered in *France*, in order to form for himself a principality on that side. They had without doubt a superior force, but then part of the forces were in the county of *Luxembourg* with the princes and the duke of *Lorrain*, and part in *Flanders* under the count de *Fuensaldagna*. Marshal *Turenne* had about seventeen thousand men ; he forebaw that the prince would assemble his army about *Rhetel*, in order to have all *Champagne* open before him. It was a backward season ; and the marshal having, with incredible diligence, brought his troops into the field, took possession of the very camp the prince had marked for the *Spaniards* on the 1st of *July*, and on the 5th *Rhetel* surrendered ^x. This disconcerted the prince, who afterwards entered *Picardy*, and advanced as far as *Roie* ; but, being continually followed by *Turenne*, he was not able to take any place of importance ; and, as the season began to advance, he resolved to besiege *Rocroi* about the middle of *September*, with which the *Spaniards* were very little pleased. The marshals *Turenne* and *la Ferte* besieged *Mouzon*, which surrendered on the 26th, as *Rocroi* did to the prince on the 30th ^y. The campaign was closed by the siege of *St. Menchaud*, which was as bravely defended by *Montal* as *Mouzon* had been by colonel *Wolfe*. The place was not surrendered till the 26th of *November*, after thirty-three days open trenches. It was one of those belonging to the prince of *Conde*, and the *Spaniards* were not very forward to succour it ^z. The prince had indeed all possible respect paid him ; but this went to his person only, and not to his advice, or the campaign had been more to their advantage. The little time that Monsieur *Turenne* had spent amongst the *Spaniards* had rendered him so well acquainted with their dispositions and manner of acting, that he formed as just notions of what passed in their councils of war as if he had been present at them, and took his measures accordingly ^a. Besides the marshal before-mentioned, there were two others made this year, Mr. de *Miosans*, who was stiled the marshal d' *Albret* ; the other, Monsieur de *Pulvau*, called afterwards the marshal de *Clerambaut*.

THE new year was opened in a manner very agreeable to the minister ; the prince of *Conti*, who, since the surrender of *Bourdeaux*, was retired to *Pizenas*, grew out of temper there with himself, and with all the world. As he had good sense at the bottom, and an excellent education, he took at last a short resolution of making himself easy both with respect to his public and private affairs. He had been intended for the church, and was possessed of benefices to a great value ; he wrote to the minister, and offered to resign them all into his hands for a proper establishment with one of his nieces. It may be presumed that the cardinal did not hesitate ; he gave him the choice, and he fixed on Madame *Martinozzi*, the best and the most beautiful of the three. The prince of *Conde* wrote to his brother in the bitterest terms, without considering that he had shewn the same complaisance for *Richelieu* as the prince of *Conti* had done for *Mazarine*. The marriage was celebrated in *February* ^b, and the prince and princess of *Conti* were esteemed the happiest couple in *France*, and sustained that character as long as they lived. This did not hinder the making the process of the prince of *Conde* before the parliament, who, after assigning him a day to come in, condemned him to suffer death as a traitor, and to forfeit all his honours and estates. The like sentence was passed upon all his adherents, with this difference only, that the manner of their death was pointed out ^c. It was soon after discovered that the prince had passed sentence of death, though in another way, on the cardinal minister ; in short, a design was laid to assassinate him. One *Ricoux*, and two or three other persons, hired to perpetrate this action, were condemned and executed ; but the cardinal, either from a natural mildness of temper, or that studied moderation which accompanied his actions, took no notice of some persons of higher rank, and particularly a lady ^d of very great quality, who had dipped deeply in this and other intrigues. It is not impossible that this disposition of the cardinal, whether natural or feigned, encouraged

^w Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. liv. xvii. p. 256—258. de Puysegur, p. 368. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv.

Montglat, tom. iv. ^a Memoires du Duc d'York, p. 304.

ville, tom. v. p. 168. Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 173. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii.

^c Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. Memoires de Madame de Montpensier, tom. iii.

moires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 180. Memoires de Madame de Montpensier, tom. ii. Histoire du Duchesse de Chastillon.

^x Histoire du Prince de Conde, Memoires

^y Memoires de Puysegur, QINCY, Histoire

^z Histoire du Prince de Conde, Memoires de

^b Memoires de Madame de Motte-

the parliament to attempt several times the revival of the old spirit. Once, when they held an extraordinary assembly, at which the cardinal was extremely alarmed, the king went from Vincennes to Paris, and, being in his hunting dress, entered the hall in a close coat, with large boots, a cap on his head, and a long whip in his hand, and walked up directly to the first president's chair, in which having seated himself, he told them, they were not to assemble themselves in an extraordinary manner but by his permission^c. This did more than all the edicts and declarations hitherto had done; they forbore to assemble, and they forbore to remonstrate; but they did not forbear to grumble as much as ever, or to wish ardently for an opportunity of doing more: it was the business of the minister to prevent, as much as in him lay, their having such an opportunity.

The cardinal de Retz, now become archbishop of Paris, makes his escape to Rome.

THE affair of the cardinal *de Retz* grew every day more and more embarrassed; he was desirous of his liberty, and, in order to obtain it, had begun to treat for his demission. In the mean time his uncle the archbishop of *Paris* died on the 21st of *March*; and the chapter, without acquainting the king, acknowledged the cardinal in that quality, and suffered him to take possession of the see by proxy. How much soever this offended, the chapter remained firm; and, if the cardinal had done so, things might have come to great extremities. His impatience would not suffer this; he apprehended from *Mazarine* that treatment which *Mazarine* would have met with if he had been in his place; and this extinguished in his heart that heroism which dwelt upon his tongue, and which appears still in his writings. He consented to a demission, provided he might be committed to the custody of the marshal *de la Meillerai*, to which the court consented^e. He was accordingly removed from Vincennes to the citadel of *Nantes*, from whence his party had pressed him to make his escape, though he had given his word to the marshal, and the marshal to the court: after which it was proposed he should go to *Paris*, disown his demission, and assume his archiepiscopal dignity; which if he had done, it might have kindled a flame not easy to be extinguished. But, in making his escape, he was in such terror and confusion, that he fell from his horse, and dislocated his shoulder^f; upon this accident he was carried to the house of the duke of *Brisac*, afterwards to that of the duke of *Retz*, and from thence he made his escape into *Spain*^g; but, notwithstanding the example given him by the prince of *Conde*, he refused to enter into any engagements with that crown, and only desired leave to continue his journey to *Rome*^h, where, on his arrival, he was treated with all the respect which his holiness thought due to the capital enemy of *Mazarine*. On the 7th of *June* the king^k was crowned at *Rheims* by the bishop of *Soissons*, the archbishop (duke of *Nemours*) not being in priests orders. The king, being informed that, after all the services the duke of *Lorraine* had rendered the *Spaniards*, they had seized and sent him prisoner into *Spain*, he, by a solemn edictⁱ, commanded all the subjects of that prince to quit the service of *Spain*, and either to retire into his dominions, or to enter into the king's troops; which had its effects, thro' the concurrence of the duchess *Nicola*.

The campaign in Italy, and the descent of the duke of Guise upon the kingdom of Naples.

IN *Italy* there passed nothing very remarkable; on the side of the *Milanese* the marquis *de Carracena*, though he could not prevent the marshal *de Grancei* from penetrating into that duchy during the summer, yet managed the little force he had so well, as to put it out of his power to take quarters there during the winter, so that both sides in their turns^m prevailed. We have before mentioned the enterprize and the imprisonment of the duke of *Guise*, to whom the *Spanish* court had restored his liberty, out of complaisance to the prince of *Conde*, and in hopes he would create some disturbances in *France*; but, on his arrival there, he either found things so altered, that he despaired of success, or found himself so well received by the king and his minister, that he had no inclination to it. But being a person of much vanity, as well as of great courage and capacity, he could not help boasting of the great intelligence he still had in the kingdom of *Naples*; and as he was naturally eloquent, and the cardinal perfectly well knew the disposition of that nation, he at last either persuaded or persecuted him into consenting he should make an expedition. Accordingly a fleet of forty sail of ships and gallies were equipped in autumn; with which, notwithstanding many obstacles, he at length arrived upon the coast, and on the 15th of *November* made himself master of *Castelmere*ⁿ. After this, he published his manifestoes, in which he promised much more than he was able to perform; but the inhabitants were so much changed in their temper, or so much

^c AUBERT, Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine, tom. ii. p. 438. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 176.

^f Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. v. p. 173. GALEAZZO GUALDO, troisieme partie, p. 200, 201.

^g GALEAZZO GUALDO, troisieme partie, p. 207.

^h Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. iii. liv. iv. p. 330. 334. GALEAZZO GUALDO, tom. iii. pag. 210.

ⁱ Memoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii. GALEAZZO GUALDO, tom. iii. p. 216.

^k Memoires de Gui Joly, tom. ii.

^l Memoires de Madame de Montpensier, tom. ii. p. 9. Memoires de Montglat, tom. iv. p. 55. GALEAZZO GUALDO, tom. ii. p. 267.

276. 277, & suiv.

^m QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i.

ⁿ Histoire de Louis XIV. liv. xviii. p. 302. Memoires historiques & chronologiques, QUINCY, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

tom. i. pag. 193. GALEAZZO GUALDO, tom. iii. pag. 431.

a frightened at the consequences of a revolt, that, instead of rising in his favour, they refused him so much as provisions, which obliged him to abandon his new conquest, and to return with his fleet into *Provence*°. Some have observed, that this made the cardinal as ridiculous as himself; but it is highly probable that minister might mean to render the hatred between the duke of *Guise* and the *Spaniards* both irreconcilable and perpetual; and, if he did, without doubt this expedition answered his end, and delivered *France* from any apprehensions of the house of *Guise*.

b THE prince of *Conti*, to whom the king had offered all his brother's charges and go-
vernments, and who had generously refused them, commanded in *Catalonia*, where, though he
had not a very numerous army, it was however composed of good troops, commanded by
c some of the best officers in *France*; amongst these were the duke of *Candale*, the marquis de
Merinville, and the count of *Buffy Rabutin*. He opened the campaign in the month of
June, and on the 5th of *July* made himself master of *Villafranca*, the capital of the little
county of *Conflans*, after four days open trenches. He afterwards took *Castillon*, and re-
victualled *Roses*°. In the autumn campaign he attacked *Puicerda*, a place strong by situ-
ation, and which had a good garrison. He had the misfortune, at the beginning of the siege,
to lose his principal engineer; and this was so great a loss, that, in all probability, he would
have been constrained to raise the siege, if the garrison had not had a greater, which was the
loss of their governor. This dispirited them to such a degree, that they surrendered on the
22d of *October*, after fourteen days open trenches°. This conquest made the prince master of
c *Cerdagna*, and, to cover that district, he took the castle of *Belvere*. The inhabitants of
Urgel and *Montcallier*, upon this, took up arms, expelled the few *Spanish* troops that were in
them, and admitted those of the prince of *Conti*°, with which ended this campaign.

On the side of the *Low Countries*, it was resolved to open the campaign with the siege of
d *Stenai*°, a place belonging to the prince of *Condé*, which had been taken from the duchy of
Lorraine in the late king's time, and torn from the court, with other places, by the prince, in
this. The garrison was numerous, and commanded by the count de *Chamilli*, an excellent
officer, and the place was strong and well provided. The project of the siege was formed by Mr.
Fabert, governor of *Sedan*, to whom the cardinal had great obligations, as having received and
protected him in his distress, and used great fidelity in respect to his family and treasures, which
e had been committed to his charge. It was invested towards the end of *June*, and the marshals
Turenne and *la Ferte* commanded the army that covered it, consisting of about sixteen thousand
men. The king made his first campaign here, and had an opportunity of seeing some of the
great improvements that *Fabert* had made in the art of war. The prince of *Condé* was ex-
tremely uneasy, and desired to have the troops of *Lorraine* added to his own, in order to relieve
the place; but duke *Francis*, whom the *Spaniards* had sent for to command his brother's
troops, absolutely refused to act, unless the place, when relieved, was given back to *Lorraine*°. The
prince then proposed the siege of *Arras*, in hopes this would oblige the *French* army to
raise the siege of *Stenai*. The siege of this great city was accordingly formed by the arch-
duke *Leopold*, the prince of *Condé*, and the count de *Fuensaldagna*, and pressed with all pos-
f sible vigour. The marshals *Turenne* and *la Ferte* came and encamped in the neighbourhood
of the *Spaniards*, who had twenty-five thousand men. *Turenne* tried every method to oblige
the enemy to raise the siege without hazarding a battle, or forcing their lines, but without
effect°. At length *Stenai* surrendered on the sixth of *August*, after thirty-three days open
trenches; and the best part of the troops employed in the siege were sent under marshal *Hoc-
quincourt* to join *Turenne*, who, against the advice, and contrary to the inclinations of most of
his officers, resolved to force the lines, which he performed on the twenty-fifth of *August*, and
made himself master of the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the *Spaniards*, though
the prince of *Condé* gained as great reputation by his retreat, as the marshal by his victory°;
for his catholic majesty, in a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, said, "That the arch-
f " duke and the count de *Fuensaldagna* had besieged *Arras*, but that *Condé* had saved the *Spanish*
" army." It may be remarked, that the taking of this city in 1640 was no less useful to the
reputation of *Richelieu*, than now the protecting of it was to his successor *Mazarine*, whose
vanity made him attribute to himself the glory of this transaction. There could indeed be
nothing more ridiculously insolent and supercilious than the conduct of the prime ministers of

° Histoire de Louis XIV. liv. xviii.

P Mémoires de Buffy Rabutin, tom. i. p. 402. GALEAZZO

GUALDO, tom. iii. p. 297.

° Mémoires historiques & chronologiques, GALEAZZO GUALDO, tom. iii.

p. 400, & suiv.

° QUINCY, Mémoires de Buffy Rabutin, tom. i. Mémoires de Montglat, tom. iv.

° Mémoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 174. Mémoires de Montglat, tom. iv. p. 57. Mémoires de Puy-
segur, p. 381.

° Vie de Condé, pag. 451. GALEAZZO GUALDO, tom. iii. p. 220, 221, & suiv. Histoire

du Vicomte de Turenne, tom. iv.

° Mémoires du Comte de Brienne, tom. iii. p. 175. Mémoires du

Duc de Navailles, liv. ii. p. 158. GALEAZZO GUALDO, tom. iii. p. 127, & suiv.

° Mémoires de

Puysegur, p. 381—393, 394. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne.

Spanish ministers.

France and Spain, who governed those kingdoms with the most absolute sway, and sustained a bitter war merely to gratify their own animosity, to the ruin of the industry, commerce, and felicity, of the people. Don *Lewis de Haro* had the same dominion over *Philip* the fourth that *Mazarine* maintained over all the actions of *Lewis* the fourteenth. Neither scarce ever mentioned the names of their sovereigns in any public transactions; and it must be acknowledged there was hardly a crowned head in *Europe*, at this period, that had any personal glory. *Christiana*, queen of *Sweden*, alone kept up the dignity of her throne, governed independent of haughty ministers, and assumed the real prerogatives of royalty; but this princess resigned her crown to *Charles Gustavus*, her cousin, and the nephew of the great *Adolphus*, and retired to *France*, where she was regarded only by the learned ^a.

A D. 1655.
A treaty concluded between France and England.

WHILE *France* was torn with civil divisions, *England* was in the height of power and grandeur, and the usurper *Cromwell* feared and courted by all the states in *Europe*. Policy had obliged him to sign a peace with *Holland*, when the whole nation cried out for the continuance of the war, to revenge the insults committed in the *East Indies*, and oblige that insolent republic to pay the due respect to the *British* flag. All the satisfaction, however, which the protector obtained on this occasion, was an acknowledgement of the superiority of the *English* flag in the narrow seas; that the republic should never chuse a prince of the house of *Orange* for stadtholder or admiral; and that the interests of the *Stuart* family should be wholly renounced. *Mazarine*, on the other hand, suffered the commerce, marine, and finances, of *France*, to decline. With the same power that *Cromwell* had in *England*, he wanted that elevation of soul which could turn the misfortunes of the kingdom to the good of the people. Don *Lewis de Haro* offered to assist the protector to besiege *Calais*: *Mazarine* hoped to gain him by an offer of putting *Dunkirk* into his hands, as soon as the *Spanish* garrison could be dispossessed: the prince of *Condé* used all his influence with him; but *Cromwell* was too politic to regard the solicitations of a prince without a party in *France*, or interest in *Spain*. In the end he embraced the proposals of *Mazarine*, and concluded a treaty with the king of *France*, but without making mention of *Dunkirk*. He treated his most Christian majesty upon a footing of equality, obliged him to acknowledge his title of protector, and give notice to the fugitive king of *England* to quit the *French* territories.

Turenne opens a way into the Spanish Netherlands.

In the mean time *Turenne* was pursuing his conquests, and had early in the campaign opened a way to the *Spanish Netherlands*, by obliging *Landreci* and *Quesnoi* to surrender. This was in fact paving a way for all the advantages gained by *France* the 18th of *August*, and *St. Guillaîne* was taken by the 25th, at which last siege the king, who had served the campaign, commanded in person (A). *Quiers* and *Catillon* surrendered some days before, and the marquis de *Heronville* had forced the *Spaniards* to raise the siege of *Solfona*. But these were not the whole of the king's successes; for the duke de *Vendôme*, with an inferior force, defeated the *Spanish* fleet before *Barcelona* ^b.

DURING the winter, several proposals of peace were made by *Spain*, which were all rejected by cardinal *Mazarine*, highly elated with the successes of the former campaign, and full of expectation from the alliance contracted with *Cromwell*, who had already effected the conquest of the island of *Jamaica*. *Spain* endeavoured to be revenged of the cardinal. Don *Lewis de Haro* dispersed writings at all the courts in *Europe* against *Mazarine*, accusing him of having violated all the laws human and divine, and sacrificed honour and religion by contracting an alliance with a murderer and usurper, and driving out of the *French* dominions king *Charles* the second and his brother the duke of *York*, the grandchildren of *Henry* the fourth, and cousins of *Lewis* the fourteenth. But the cardinal answered the whole accusation, by shewing publicly the proposals made by *Spain* to the protector; though it must be acknowledged that *Spain* had not the same natural ties and obligations to countenance the fugitive princes as *France*.

A. D. 1656.
He is forced to raise the siege of Valenciennes.

THE finances of both parties were now reduced so low, that, with the most eager inclinations to push the war with vigour, they wanted the ability. It was the month of *July* before any thing considerable was undertaken in the field; at length *Turenne* opened the campaign by laying siege to *Valenciennes*, where he experienced the same turn of fortune that *Condé* had the preceding year before *Arras*. The *Spanish* army not being yet assembled, he marched expeditiously to *Tournay*, hoping to surprise this fortress, at that time defended only by a slender

^a Siccle, t. i. p. 74.

^b HAINAULT, Hist. de France, t. ii. p. 70, & seq.

(A) The president *Hainault* expressly affirms, that *Lewis* commanded at this siege, by which he probably means that he was present at it (1). *Voltaire* says, that *Mazarine* introduced him to the theatre of war; but would not suffer him to mount it, after he had attained the age of twenty-one years (2); this was at the siege of *Dunkirk*, anno 1658.

(1) *Hainault*, t. ii. p. 704.

(2) *Siccle*, t. i. p. 73.

garrison;

a garrison. Finding, however, that several regiments of the enemy were encamped in the neighbourhood, he altered his purpose, and marched strait to *Valenciennes*. This town was defended only by 2000 foot and 200 horse of regular troops; but the inhabitants, to the number of 10,000 men, were armed. The very evening of his arrival he invested the place, drove the enemy from two redoubts, and next morning began to draw lines of circumvallation. The marshal *de la Ferte*, who had joined him a few days before, was posted with his army on the eminence, to right of the river towards *St. Amand*, while the viscount took post on the left of the river towards the plain. By the third day the lines were sufficiently advanced to prevent any succours from being thrown in to the besieged. An attempt made by the enemy to that purpose was frustrated, and a great number of *Spanish* officers and soldiers taken prisoners. On the sixth day the lines were completed, with a double ditch defended by pallisadoes; the men wrought first at the avenues most exposed, and afterwards at those places the least liable to an attack. But the *Spaniards* were not idle; they made use of several reservoirs near *Bouchain* to swell the river *Scheld*, which divides the town into two parts, and drown the country. The viscount's army was greatly incommoded by this proceeding; but his indefatigable industry surmounted the difficulty. He caused the reservoirs to be drained, several channels to be dug, and turned the course of the water so as to drown one quarter of the city. Finding this step ineffectual, the prince of *Condé*, now assisted by Don *John* of *Austria*, assembled his army with all expedition at *Douai*, and posted himself on an eminence near the *Lorrainers* camp, within half a cannon shot of the *French* lines. On his left he had the *Scheld*, over which he threw six bridges. The *Spanish* army amounted to 20,000 men; and, as it was nearly as strong as the viscount's, he foresaw, by their motions, they would attack him in his camp, and accordingly turned his chief thoughts to the defence of his lines. As the marshal *de la Ferte*'s quarter was most exposed, it was fortified with double lines pallisadoed, one of which was new, and the other old; but the marshal, thinking the first sufficient, ordered the other to be levelled. On the 16th advice was brought that the enemy had sent away their baggage, and were drawn off in order of battle. As they were so near as to reach the intrenchments in half an hour, the viscount sent repeated messages to the marshal, exhorting him to be on the watch; but his advice was slighted. In the beginning of the night he was attacked, and his lines forced with little difficulty. Finding the enemy had entered his quarters, the marshal flew with some squadrons to repulse them; but all was now in confusion, his personal bravery was excited to no purpose, and all his endeavours to retrieve his mistake ineffectual. *Condé*, with the *Spanish* infantry, having filled up the ditches, marched directly to the town, while the cavalry were sent in pursuit of the fugitives. *La Ferte* was taken prisoner at the head of the gens d'armes, with more than 400 officers, and near 4000 soldiers. *Marfin* had in the mean time attacked *Turenne*'s quarters, who had weakened himself to succour *La Ferte*, but he was repulsed with great loss. However, the viscount's success could not prevent the fatal consequences of the marshal's defeat, for by day-break the shouts of joy in *Valenciennes* proclaimed that the town was relieved. It was now that *Turenne* stood in need of all his capacity to draw off the broken troops in the face of a victorious enemy. He sent immediately to the trenches, with orders for the troops to retire; but, they being above a league distant, his directions could not be executed without great loss. In a short time, however, he retrieved matters, that, after dismounting the cannon, and levelling the lines, he marched off *Turenne's* *fine retreat*. in such good order with his artillery and baggage, that the enemy durst not attack him. As his march was directed to *Quesnoy*, it was thought he would have retired to the frontiers of *France*; and it is probable indeed he would have retreated to *Picardy*, had he not been sensible that such a motion would have disturbed the court, and given new life to the king's enemies. He therefore halted at *Quesnoy*, and marched back with some regiments to meet the prince of *Condé* and Don *John*, who had come in pursuit of him. At the first approach of the enemy, the *French* began to move the baggage; but the viscount, firing a pistol at a soldier busied in loading a cart, commanded, on pain of death, that no one should quit his post. When the *Spaniards* came near enough to discover his camp, they were astonished at the air of resolution he maintained with his tents standing, and camp unfortified. This intrepidity obliged *Condé* to change his design, at the same time that it removed the apprehensions and panic in the *French* army, by shewing so little precaution upon so pressing an occasion.

The enemy directed their march with an intention to lay siege to *Condé*; and *Turenne*, penetrating their design, sent a thousand horse, each with a sack of corn behind him, to victual the place. In a word, the conduct of the viscount, during this whole unfortunate affair, drew upon him the admiration of all *Europe*, and was perhaps one of the most daring and masterly strokes of his life. All the *French* writers speak of it as something supernatural; and the king was so ravished with the stand made at *Quesnoy*, that he ordered *Tellier* his secretary to return

* HAINAULT Hist. p. 707. VOLT. p. 78. La Vie de Turenne, p. 290.

his thanks to the viscount, for retrieving the reputation of his arms, after so unhappy a defeat. ^a He could not, however, prevent the fate of the town of *Conde*; all the means in his power was to retard it, gain time to refresh his troops, and balance the loss by the reduction of *Capelle*, while the enemy was in sight with a superior army. “This,” says *Voltaire*, “was the first time that the broken remains of a vanquished army had dared to undertake a siege^d.” The prince of *Condé* and Don *John*, who had, after reducing *Conde*, laid siege to *St. Guillaine*, dropped that enterprize, and hastened to the relief of *Capelle*. They advanced within a league of the *French* intrenchments; but the infantry being much fatigued with their march, and the heavy rains which had fallen for the whole day, they continued for two days within sight of *Turenne*’s camp without offering battle, while he battered the town to powder with his cannon, and obliged it to surrender. Immediately he repaired the breaches, left a good garrison in the ^b place, and, by his expedition, threw succours into *St. Guillaine*, before the enemy had time to return. With this transaction the campaign ended, both armies contenting themselves with observing each other’s motions, and frustrating all the attempts of either side by proper movements and dispositions. Whatever his success had been, *Turenne* had raised his reputation to the highest pitch of glory by the affair of *Valenciennes*. He repaired that defeat, checked the ardour of the great *Condé*, surprised the magazines at *Capelle* of a victorious army, and obliged one of the greatest generals in the world, flushed with victory, to retreat before him, at the very time he had undertaken to pursue him.

Turenne takes the enemy’s magazines at Capelle.

The Fronde party intirely quashed.

^c DURING the recess of military affairs it was that the duke of *Orleans* came to court, having accommodated differences with the cardinal. After staying eight days with his majesty and eminence at *Compeigne*, he retired to *Blois*, where he passed the remainder of his life in peace and tranquillity, so that now not a shadow of the *Fronde* remained. The duke of *Orleans*, the prince of *Conti*, and the duchess of *Longueville*, had obtained the king’s pardon; the prince of *Conde* might be considered as a *Spanish* general; and cardinal *de Retz*, having broke through his confinement, was wandering in *Europe*.

A. D. 1657.
Treaty with England.

THE next year was opened by a closer connection with *Oliver Cromwell*, a treaty offensive and defensive against *Spain* being concluded between the court of *France* and the commonwealth of *England*. His eminence the cardinal was diligent to repair the losses of the former year, and laboured hard to put the king’s forces in a condition to undertake something important. By the treaty, *Cromwell* engaged to send six thousand foot into *Flanders*, on condition that the *French* should attempt the reduction of *Mardyke*, *Gravelin*, or *Dunkirk*, and deliver into his hands which ever of these places should be soonest taken. By the month of *May* the viscount was enabled to take the field; and, perceiving that the *English* were slow in their motions, and the *Spaniards* busied in securing their maritime towns, he formed the design of surprising *Cambray*. To disguise his intention, the king went to *Montreuil*, by which the enemy might be induced to think that his army would be chiefly employed about the sea-coasts; and the marshal *la Ferte* had instructions to march towards the frontiers, to prevent the *Spanish* troops, quartered in the provinces of *Luxemburgh*, *Guelderland*, *Juliers*, and *Brabant*, from passing. *Turenne* set out with his cavalry from the neighbourhood of *Bethune*, and arrived in less than two days before *Cambray*, which he invested the next day, on being ^d joined by the infantry. He relied on *La Ferte*’s obstructing the prince of *Condé*, and was disappointed; for that general, crossing the *Meuse*, marched with all his cavalry to *Valenciennes*, and arrived at *Bouchain* on the very day the viscount had invested *Cambray*. About ^e 11 o’clock at night he advanced towards the *French* camp with three thousand horse; but, however rapid and secret his motions were, *Turenne* had intelligence, though he could not prevent the prince from throwing himself with all his troops into the city. This was indeed so fine a manœuvre, that *Turenne* himself bestowed on it the highest encomiums, and declared it an action worthy of the great *Condé*, whose expedition was so extraordinary, that the garrison, not expecting it was possible he should so soon have foiled the viscount, kept the prince a long time at the counterscarp, before they could be persuaded but it was a body of the ^f enemy.

The extraordinary march performed by Condé.

Endeavour to surprise Calais.

TURENNE now thought it would be in vain to continue the siege; he therefore took the road to *St. Quintin*, in order to cover the frontiers. Here he was joined by the king, the cardinal, and the body of *English* auxiliaries. *La Ferte* had immediate orders to lay siege to *Montmedi*, by this diversion to prevent the enemy from attacking any place in *Flanders* that was unprovided; while *Turenne* undertook to cover the siege, and at the same time watch the motions of the *Spanish* army. The prince of *Condé* and Don *John* made several marches and countermarches to amuse him, with a view of falling suddenly upon *Calais*. Joining their forces near *Charlemont*, they made a feint, as if they intended to relieve *Montmedi*, and then suddenly detached the prince *de Lignes* to seize, when the tide was low, a suburb of the town,

^d T. i. p. 77.
p. 24.

^e HAINAULT, t. ii. *ibid.* BUSSI RABUTIN, p. 204.

^f La Vie de Condé,

a joining the quay; which would infallibly have put *Calais* into their hands, had the enterprize succeeded. But the prince arrived too late; the tide was up to the walls, and the garrison apprised of his intention^a.

After the surrender of *Montmedi*, *Turenne* marched to lay siege to *St. Venant*, a town upon the *Lys*, in the country of *Artois*. The enemy were fatigued with marches, and the viscount knew they could not succour the place; but *Condé*, however, found means to cut off a strong convoy going to the *French* camp. Instead of attempting the relief of *St. Venant*, which, they foresaw, must be attended with a battle, the *Spanish* generals laid siege to *Ardres*, contrary to the opinion of *Condé*, whose patience was quite spent with the unnecessary delays, the loss of opportunities, and the constant opposition to all vigorous measures, of his colleagues. While the *Spaniards* were weakening themselves before *Ardres*, *Turenne* pressed the siege of *St. Venant* without intermission, distributing his own plate among the soldiers, to prevent their murmuring on account of the arrears due to them. Animated by his generosity, the troops forwarded the works with incredible diligence; and so punctually executed all the orders of *Turenne* that the garrison was forced to capitulate, without waiting to sign the articles of capitulation. He detached 4000 horse towards *Ardres*; which corps the *Spanish* generals mistaking for the whole *French* army coming to fall upon them, instantly struck their tents, and raised the siege. The campaign ended with the taking of *Mardyke*, which held out but a few days, and was, according to treaty, put into the hands of *Oliver Cromwell*. *Turenne takes St. Venant; obliges the enemy to raise the siege of Ardres.*

In *Catalonia* matters were equally prosperous for the king, the marquis de *St. Arbre* having obliged the *Spaniards* to raise the siege of *Urgel*. In *Italy* the prince of *Conti* and the duke of *Modena* raised the siege of *Alexandria de la Paglia* in the *Milanese*; but as the chief efforts of the *French* were made in *Flanders*, we shall confine ourselves to a minute relation only of these, as they wholly determine the fate of the war.

The death of the president *Bellievre*, which fell out this year, was matter of great satisfaction to the cardinal, who looked upon him as the only man able to obstruct his designs, and willing to clip the wings of his soaring ambition. We shall close the year with just mentioning a change made in the council of state, the number being now reduced to twenty-four; and a bull published by *Alexander VII.* confirming the bull of pope *Innocent X.* received in *France* by a registered declaration, and condemning the five chief propositions of the *Jansenists*. Four prelates refusing to sign it, headed by *Arnaud* bishop of *Angres*, this business made a considerable noise, and might have been attended with the worst consequences, had not the grievances of the people, from the weight of taxes to support a tedious and bloody war, turned their hands to other concerns^b.

No sooner did the season admit of taking the field, than the viscount *Turenne* made preparations to besiege *Dunkirk*; but his designs were for a time retarded by some untoward accidents. The marshal *d'Hocquincourt*, whose treasonable practices in the year 1655 had been discovered and disconcerted by *Turenne*, and which treason had been pardoned by the king, now again renewed his engagements with the prince of *Condé*, gained over the town mayor of *Hedin*, and prevailed on him to receive a *Spanish* garrison into the place. On the other hand, marshal *d'Aumont* suffered himself to be duped by the inhabitants of *Ostend*, who, pretending they would admit the *French*, seized upon a body of 600 men sent by the marshal to take possession. Several commotions arose among the nobility in the different provinces of *France*, notwithstanding which, the cardinal, in compliance with *Cromwell's* pressing remonstrances, ordered *Turenne* to make the necessary dispositions for investing *Dunkirk*. The viscount foresaw the difficulties that would attend it; but his orders were peremptory. To attack *Dunkirk*, while *Furnes*, *Bergue*, and *Graveline*, were in the power of the enemy, was in a manner to be blocked up himself while he was investing *Dunkirk*. Besides, to begin his operations so early in the year, before there was forage for the cavalry, was to expose them to the danger of perishing with hunger. However, he complied, relying upon his own genius to surmount every difficulty^c.

The inhabitants of *Dunkirk* were no sooner apprized of his intention, than, opening the sluices, they laid the whole country under water as far as the lake of *Bergue*, formed by the overflowings of the *Colme*. By this every passage, except by the dike leading from *Bergue* to *Dunkirk*, was obstructed, and even this the late heavy rains had rendered almost impassable. On this dike two strong forts were raised, each garrisoned by 1000 men; and the marquis de *Lede*, a consummate master in the defence of towns, was sent with 2000 foot to reinforce and take command of the garrison. *Turenne* was not discouraged by the hardness of the enterprize; he knew the necessity of obedience, and persisted, unmoved by the remonstrances of his officers and friends, who dreaded the consequences to the army, and the viscount's reputation. With so inconsiderable an army as 8000 men, he marched into *Artois*, passed the

^a La Vie de Condé, p. 82.

^b Ibid.

^c HAINAULT, p. 709.

^d La Vie de Turenne.

Lys, and advanced towards the *Colme*, where he surprised a redoubt raised to defend the passage of the river. On his arrival before *Dunkirk*, he saw the town floating in a sea, and immediately set about filling up the ditches, laying bridges over the canals, and taking every measure that could render the passage by the dike practicable. Several redoubts and forts on the canals and dike being taken, he arrived at length; after encountering numberless difficulties. Every thing necessary for the siege and the support of the troops was brought from *Calais*; and the men were set to work upon the lines, forming a curve round the town of the figure of a crescent. Twenty *English* men of war blocked up the port, so that *Dunkirk* was everywhere hemmed in by sea and land, at flood; but as the sand was for six hours at ebb tide left dry, by which the garrison had an easy passage to *Newport* on the east, or *Gravelin* on the west, the viscount terminated each extremity of his line with a staccado reaching cross the sand quite to the lowest water-mark. These staccadoes were formed of vast piles fastened together by strong iron chains; behind the pales was a barricade of bomb chests, which were drawn thence by horses as the tide came in, and replaced as it went out. Still farther back were ranged several barks with cannon, which defended the approach to the staccadoes; a part of the cavalry kept guard at night, so that now the pass was quite blockaded. Such were the works which drew the king, the cardinal, and the whole court, to be spectators of a siege that promised the highest military entertainment. Before the works were finished, the *English* auxiliaries, to the number of 6000 men, landed, and joined the viscount. They were immediately under the direction of major-general *Morgan*, a brave experienced officer; though *Lockhart*, *Cromwell's* ambassador, had the nominal direction. The trenches were opened by two approaches, one of which was carried on by the *French*, the other by the *English*, who seemed to rival and outvie each other in bold actions, diligence, and conduct. At first the enemy made several brisk sallies, but were always repulsed; and so vigorously did *Turenne* push his measures, that some of the pallisades on the glacis were torn away, several traverses in the covered way taken, and preparations making to effect a lodgment on the counterscarp, before the *Spaniards* thought of putting themselves in motion, or stopping the progress of the king's arms. They could scarce persuade themselves that *Turenne* would have ventured upon that enterprize, before he had possessed himself of the surrounding fortresses; but perceiving that he was actually engaged in the siege, they made the necessary preparations for attacking his lines. The prince of *Condé* detached marshal *Hocquincourt* with his own regiment to reconnoitre the viscount's disposition; he came to an action with some out-parties, and was killed on the spot. *Turenne* had determined to go out of his lines, and attack the *Spaniards*; *Condé* suspected his design, and communicated his opinion to Don *John* and the other *Spanish* generals, who disregarding his admonition, he turned round to the duke of *Gloucester*, at that time in the *Spanish* army, and asked, "If he had ever seen a battle won?" The duke answering that he had not, *Condé* replied, *In half an hour you will see in what manner we shall lose one*¹. This intuitive spirit seized in a moment every object, and perceived at the first glance that *Turenne's* disposition must carry the day. The *English* led the attack, and behaved with great intrepidity. The marquis de *Crequi* charged the enemy with his right wing, and the marquis de *Castlemere*, marching along the strand with his left wing, wheeled suddenly to the right, and attacked the *Spaniards* in flank. General *Morgan* led his troops up the sand hills, so steep, that the soldiers supported each other with the butt ends of their muskets, and gained possession after a slight resistance; but the duke of *York*, hastening thither with his guards, rallied the *Spaniards*, surrounded the *English*, and made several prisoners by force, all refusing to lay down their arms or surrender. Their obstinacy maintained their ground, till they were joined by some *French* battalions, when their attack became so furious, that the enemy were soon broke, and put in confusion. The marquis de *Castlemere* was no less successful on the flank, where the *Spaniards* were intirely broke and dispersed by the cavalry. *Crequi* had made a bold onset with the right wing; but, pushing in too far, he was attacked and repulsed by the prince of *Condé*, to the front of the right wing of the *French* army. No general possessed the art of pursuing every advantage like the prince; putting himself at the head of a corps of horse, attended by the general officers and volunteers of fashion in the *Spanish* army, he charged with such astonishing intrepidity, as had well nigh forced his way through the *French* lines, and penetrated to *Dunkirk*; but the rest of the army being dispersed, and the viscount *Turenne* coming with fresh troops from the centre, the prince was attacked on all hands, and obliged to cut his way back with terrible loss, after having a horse shot under him, and exposing his person to the most imminent perils. With this last effort the enemy yielded the victory, after a resistance which reflected honour upon *Condé* alone, who had now distinguished the fire and vigour of his genius as much as he had signalized his talents for war upon other occasions. His retreat was equally bold and masterly; for to him alone

¹ La Vie de Turenne, t. i. p. 310.

- a was it owing that the greater part of the *Spanish* army was not made prisoners. He rallied the troops, and defended the rear of the army with a body of horse; which kept so good a countenance, that *Turenne* was forced to drop the pursuit where the prince commanded, tho' the rest of the defeated army was chased to the gates of *Furnes*. About 9000 were taken prisoners, and a number more considerable fell by the sword, but not without considerable loss on the side of the conquerors. Among the slain in the king's army may be reckoned the brave marquis *de Castelnau*, as he died of his wounds a few days after the battle, his gallant conduct having first been rewarded with the baton of marshal. It will be sufficient to quote a paragraph of *Turenne's* letter to his lady, to shew that his modesty was equal to his merit: "The enemy, says he, came to us, and, God be praised! they have been defeated; I was pretty busy all day, which has fatigued me; I wish you a good night, I am going to bed."
- b Another man would have written in an exulting ostentatious stile, that would have destroyed the whole merit of his conduct.

NEXT day after the battle *Turenne* resumed the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour; and the garrison, though now without hope of succour, made so gallant a defence, that it was three days before the besiegers effected a lodgment on the counterscarp, the foot of which they had reached before the defeat of the *Spaniards*. At length, all the outworks *Dunkirk surrenders.* being taken, the town surrendered on the 24th of *June*, ten days after the battle, and eighteen days from the opening of the trenches. It would probably have held out longer, had not the marquis *de Lede*, the brave governor, been unfortunately killed. The garrison, now reduced to 1000 foot and 700 horse, marched out with the honours of war; and his majesty, with all his court, came from *Mardyke* to make his triumphal entry. Some writers allege, that cardinal *Mazarine* wanted to equivocate the treaty with *Cromwell*, and for some time delayed putting the town into the hands of the *English*; but was soon forced to yield to the untractable temper of that usurper, whom he equally dreaded and admired^m.

- THE vanity of *Mazarine* broke out upon this as upon a late former occasion which we mentioned. He was fond of having the honour of the battle of the *Downs*, and the reduction of *Dunkirk* ascribed to him; whereas *Turenne* was above disputing what he did not rate so high, what he knew the world would wholly attribute to him, and what was no more than the result of that duty which he owed to his king, his country, and his own reputation. *The extraordinary vanity of Mazarine.*
- d But he refused the request made to him by the cardinal, by *Moret*, of writing a letter, in which he should ascribe to *Mazarine* the honour of having projected the siege, and formed the plan of the battle. *Turenne* smiled at the request, and answered, that his eminence might employ what means he thought proper to impress mankind with a high opinion of his military capacity; that he would never contradict it; but must beg to be excused, if he would not consent to authorize a falsehood under his hand-writing. As terms exceedingly alluring were proposed to the viscount, *Mazarine*, though greatly mortified, could not but admire the greatness of his soul, and that disinterestedness which characterized every action of his lifeⁿ.

- Two days after the surrender of *Dunkirk*, the little fortress of *Bergue* yielded to the fortune of the conquerors, and admitted a *French* garrison. *Furnes* and *Dixmude* had the same fate; *Furnes and Dixmude taken.*
- e but the king's illness forced *Turenne* to stop the course of his conquests, which now would probably have been more rapid than ever, as the whole *Spanish* army was divided in garrison towns, and no enemy to oppose him in the field. Upon the king's recovery, *Turenne* again renewed his operations, after having been forced to loiter inactive while the fate of the kingdom hung in suspense during his majesty's illness, which was extremely dangerous. To finish a campaign begun so gloriously, *Mazarine* sent for *La Ferte's* army from *Lorraine*; the two generals waited on his eminence at *Cassel*, and here it was resolved that the marshal should lay siege to *Gravelin*, while the viscount covered the siege with his army. This last precaution was necessary, as the enemy had got together a considerable force, and would certainly attempt the relief of the town. They did so; but their endeavours were frustrated by the vigilance of *Turenne*, who disposed his army so happily, that the trenches were opened, and the siege carried on without impediment until the 30th of *August*, when the town surrendered. This obliged the *Spanish* army to retire to *Ypres*; the cardinal returned to court, and *la Ferte* solicited leave of absence, so that the sole command of the army devolved on *Turenne* for the remainder of the campaign^o.

THE viscount, leaving count *Schomberg* with seven or eight regiments to cover his conquests, *Turenne's* marched towards *Thielt*, thereby to persuade the enemy that he had a design upon some of the great cities, *Ghent*, *Bruges*, or *Brussels*, and by this means gain the opportunity of besieging *further conquests.* *Oudenarde*, *Menin*, and *Ypres*. His feint succeeded; he laid siege to *Oudenarde*, and took it after a slight resistance. The want of heavy cannon and provisions was now the cause why he did not actually make an attempt on *Brussels*; a consideration which obliged him to content

^m Siecle, t. i. p. 79.ⁿ Idem ibid.^o RABUTIN, sub hoc anno. La Vie de Turenne, p. 322.

himself

himself with staying in the neighbourhood of the maritime towns, the more easily to support a his army, and seize the first occasion of falling upon *Courtrai*, *Menin*, and *Ypres*. On his way thither he surprised and defeated the prince *de Lignes*, who proposed throwing himself with a considerable reinforcement into *Tournay*. Of this whole detachment, consisting of 2000 foot and 1500 horse, only 600 horse escaped with the prince. *Menin* surrendered without a stroke; and *Ypres* stood but a short siege, the prince *de Lignes* being permitted to march out with all the honours of war. These advantages were succeeded by the reduction of *Grammont* and *Ninove*, places useful only to the viscount during his residence in that country. With this last transaction the campaign ended, after *Turenne* had dispersed and defeated the *Spanish* army, taken *Dixmude*, *Dunkirk*, *Gravelin*, and other important places, to the number of twelve towns and cities, and subdued the whole country between the *Yper*, the *Lys*, and the *Scheld*. Leaving 100 troops of horse and 5000 foot in the conquered places, he led his army back to *France*, and returned himself to court, where he was highly caressed and distinguished. b

In *Italy* the campaign had been pretty successful. The duke of *Modena*, having established quarters in the frontiers of *Mantua*, obliged that duke, who had declared for *Spain*, to embrace a neutrality. The marquis *de Villa* took the strong fortrefs of *Trim* in *Montferrat* on the 21st of *July*, and *Mortare* in the *Milanese* surrendered by the 25th of *August*. On the side of *Portugal* the war was not more fortunate for *Spain*; Don *Lewis de Haro* was constrained to raise the siege of *Elvas*, after being defeated and driven from his lines by the *Portuguese* and marshal *Schomberg*. We shall conclude the transactions of the year with observing, that the death of *Oliver Cromwell*, connected in close alliance with *France*, afforded more satisfaction to the king and cardinal, than if it had pleased Heaven to remove the bitterest of their enemies. They perfectly knew the protector's disposition, and that they could never expect his friendship but while he was pursuing his own interest. They eagerly wished to see a *French* garrison in *Dunkirk*, of which they might despair in his life-time. They, in a word, were forced to court the protector, because they feared him; and the pride and cunning of *Mazarine* were made to stoop to the superior genius and capacity of *Cromwell*.^p c

Death of
Oliver Crom-
well.

Spain makes
proposals of
peace, which
are accepted.

THE winter, as usual, introduced the subject of peace; his catholic majesty began to be alarmed at the rapid conquests of *France*, especially in the *Netherlands*; he apprehended that the viscount might possibly carry his victorious arms into the heart of his dominions, after d first over-running all *Flanders*. Accordingly, he made overtures for a peace, which were strongly seconded by the queen, who, looking upon the king's recovery as the peculiar blessing of Heaven, thought herself obliged to shew her gratitude by stopping the effusion of Christian blood. She declared, with some warmth, to the cardinal, that she could not, without acting against all the sentiments of her heart, and neglecting the true interest of *France*, refuse equitable terms of accommodation. In both kingdoms she observed the cities were dispeopled, the provinces desolated, the few remaining inhabitants distressed, and the treasures consumed; every thing, she said, seemed to call aloud for peace, as the only remedy for those miseries under which all Christendom laboured. But cardinal *Mazarine* was influenced by motives different from those the queen represented. He had never intirely dropped the e scheme of marrying the king to the infanta *Maria Theresa*, who might again be presumptive heiress of the crown by the death of the young prince her brother, born since *Lyonne's* negotiation. To draw the court of *Madrid* into his measures, he pretended he was going to conclude a treaty of marriage between *Lewis* and the princess *Marguerite* of *Savoy*; carried his majesty in the depth of winter to *Lyons*, and prevailed on the duchess of *Savoy* to come there, accompanied by her two daughters. In the mean time he hinted to the *Spanish* minister, that the time was now come to prepare for the alliance between *Lewis* and the infanta, or for an irreconcilable war between the two nations. In consequence of this insinuation, *Pimentel* was dispatched to *Lyons* with advantageous proposals from the *Spanish* ministry. They were accepted by *Mazarine*; the duchess of *Savoy* sent back with her two daughters; f and the court returned to *Paris*, where it was agreed with the *Spanish* ambassador, that the cardinal and Don *Lewis de Haro* should have an interview on the frontiers, in the *Isle of Pheasants*, in the *Pyrenees*. To prevent all disputes about precedency, two lodges of the same fashion were built, and at an equal distance from both was a hall with two opposite doors, by which the ministers entered at the same time, and two chairs, of which they took possession without ceremony, or possibility of altercation. The first conference was in the month of *August*, and in eight or nine meetings the whole treaty was adjusted, and more business finished in a few days by these subtle politicians, than the mediators of all the nations in *Europe* had been able in five years to effect at *Munster*.

^p VOLT. Siccle, ut supra.

a THE first articles of the treaty of the *Pyrenees* related to commerce. It was next stipulated, *Treaty of the Pyrenees.* that the most Christian king should marry the infanta, with a portion of 500,000 gold crowns. Afterwards followed the regulation concerning the restitution of the conquests on either side. Here his catholic majesty promised to pardon the rebellious *Catalans*, and to renounce his pretensions on *Alsace*. The treaty of *Querasque* was confirmed, and regard preserved to the *French*. Spain restored *Verceil* to the duke of *Savoy*; *Reggio* to the duke of *Modena*; his whole territories to the prince of *Monaco*; and to the duke of *Newburg* the city of *Juliers*, sequestered for several years past in the hands of the house of *Austria*. But the affair of the prince of *Condé* was the most difficult to accommodate; so many obstructions arose, and both ministers frequently grew so warm, that they were on the point of breaking off the conference. At last, however, the cardinal, reflecting on the importance of gaining back to his allegiance such a hero as *Condé*, yielded to the *Spanish* minister's remonstrance, but on condition that *Avenne* should be surrendered to *France*. The whole treaty consisted of 124 articles; but we chose to omit those which did not immediately relate to our design^a.

IN this manner ended a war between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, which had continued for the space of twenty-one years, and been marked with scenes of blood and devastation that shewed the peculiar rancour of both nations, almost ever since linked in the closest ties of friendship. *Alsace*, *Roussillon*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, became provinces of *France*. Thus the principal objects of *Richelieu's* politics, viz. the extension of the boundaries of the *French* monarch, were happily executed by the victories of *Turenne*, and the negociations of *Mazarine*. Whatever ridicule the witty *St. Evremond*, in his letter to *Crequi*, may have cast on this treaty, it certainly was not the work of a day, nor of a minister of ordinary capacity. *Mazarine*, perhaps, never upon any other occasion displayed so much political foresight. The marriage between *Lewis* and the infanta was negociated about four years before; but then the cardinal would seem to have only certain advantages gained by the peace of *Munster* in view: he was not apprized at that time of the prodigious changes which this alliance between the crowns of *France* and *Spain* would introduce into the politics of *Europe*. *Voltaire* intimates, that it was not without some struggles he could bring himself to renounce the ambitious project he is said to have formed of marrying his niece *Mademoiselle Mancini* to the king^r. This was the last material transaction of the cardinal's administration; and it is alone sufficient to prove, that he was penetrating and sagacious. He died on the following year, released *Lewis* from *Mazarine's* bondage of rigid tutelage, suffered that prince at length to become a sovereign, and to wield the scepter as well as to wear the diadem. Writers are greatly divided about the character of his minister, whom some think little inferior in capacity to *Richelieu*; while others affirm, that all his notions consisted in chicane and artifice, and his success proceeded from good fortune and perseverance. But candour must own, that *Mazarine* was subtle, enterprising, indefatigable; that he was vain, haughty, and avaricious. The eclat with which he returned from banishment, the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, the absolute dominion he gained at court, his triumph over all his competitors, his last testament, his immense wealth, and little arts to gain the reputation of a warrior, are proofs of our allegations^s. His good sense, rather than his genius, raised him to the highest pinnacle of fame and power; the selfishness of his disposition prevented his using his authority for the good of the public, or leaving any vestiges of that elevation of soul which creates the true statesman (A).

^a DANIEL Hist. de France, tom. v. HAINAULT, p. 715. t. i. p. 16.

^r Siecle, t. i. p. 84.

^s PELLISON,

(A) It ought to have been observed, that the king's marriage was solemnized at *St. John de Luz* on the 9th of *June*, 1660; and that their majesties made their public entry into *Paris* on the 26th of *August*, with all possible magnificence and splendor. On this occasion was

built the gate of *St. Antoine*; but it somewhat diminished the lustre of the procession, that foreign ministers declined attending, because *M. Fabert* had ordered, that marshals of *France* should take place of them (1).

(1) Hainault, p. 717.

S E C T. XIV.

History of France, from the death of cardinal Mazarine, to the peace of Utrecht.

Lewis XIV.
takes the reins
of government
into his own
hands.

AT the death of *Mazarine*, a variety of attempts were made to gain the same ascendance over the king, which that minister had long maintained; but *Lewis* had tasted too much restraint and controul, ever again to submit to the same authority. All imagined that a prince, bred up in perfect ignorance of the art of government, would soon find himself oppressed with the weight of public affairs; but they were astonished when they saw him determined to try the strength of his own genius, and fix the several departments of his ministers, beyond which they were not permitted to act. They were still more amazed to see him give separate hours of audience to each; to see the finances put upon the best footing, discipline restored among the troops, and all the luxuries and pleasures of a court blended with a regular attention to the business of the nation.

ON the 5th of *September*, M. *Fouquet*, superintendant of the finances, was arrested at *Nantz*, for some misdemeanors committed in the office of solicitor general to the parliament of *Paris*. Of all his professed friends, M. *Pellison* alone now adhered to him in his misfortune, and shewed, that his attachment was to the person, and not to the dignity, of the unhappy criminal, who was condemned first to perpetual banishment, and then, for reasons of state, to perpetual imprisonment. The place of superintendant was suppressed, but the chief direction of the finances was committed to *Colbert*, as comptroller-general; a person bred to business under *Mazarine*, and formed by nature for the very office to which he was promoted. *Le Tellier* held the post of secretary of state for domestic affairs, and *de Louvois* for that of foreign; all were unconnected with each other, and subject to no controul but the sovereign's. Regular accounts were delivered to the king, of whatever was transacted in their several offices. They were applauded, reprimanded, and consulted, according to their defects, and the confidence reposed in them; but *Colbert*, from the nature of his office, and his own capacity, soon engrossed the greater share of power and influence. The great number of changes introduced into public employments, the salutary edicts published on this occasion, and the excellent choice of ministers, all reflect great honour on this period of the reign of *Lewis XIV*. To specify them all would be tedious and unnecessary, as the reader may find them in such a variety of authentic books, memoirs, lives, and histories^a.

A dispute between the
French and
Spanish am-
bassadors in
London.

A DISPUTE between the *French* and *Spanish* ambassadors, at *London*, about precedence, had almost involved the two kingdoms in a fresh war. These kinds of disputes were formerly decided at *Rome*; for the pope, who disposed of kingdoms and states by a bull, thought he might with much more reason take cognizance of points of honour. With respect to *France* and *Spain*, the precedence was always adjudged to that court most in favour, or most dreaded by his holiness, so that the dispute rested undetermined. When the *Swedish* ambassador made his public entry, the count *d'Estrade*, ambassador from *Lewis*, demanded the place of honour in the procession of baron *Watteville*, ambassador from *Philip*. The *Spaniard*, having gained the populace on his side by the brilliancy of his train, and the liberality with which he threw money among them, first cut the traces of the *French* ambassador's chariot, wounded several of his attendants, suffered his own servants to commit the grossest insults, and then marched at the head of his retinue with their swords drawn, and the most insulting expressions of triumph. *Lewis*, informed of the affront put on *d'Estrade*, recalled his ambassador from *Madrid*, ordered the *Spanish* minister immediately to quit *France*, broke off the conferences in *Flanders* about adjusting the frontier, and gave notice to his father-in-law *Philip IV*. that unless he acknowledged the superiority of the *French* crown, and made proper satisfaction for the affront, he would immediately resume the war. *Philip* had no inclination again to plunge his people in those misfortunes out of which they had so lately emerged by the peace of the *Pyrenees*; he sent the count *de Fuentes* to declare to his majesty at *Fontainebleau*, in presence of all the foreign ministers at that time in *France*, "that the *Spanish* ministers would not henceforward treat about precedence with the *French*." This declaration did not absolutely acknowledge the pre-eminence of *Lewis*, but it certainly implied the weakness of *Philip*.

The pope is forced to make
concessions to
Lewis.

A. D. 1662.

ANOTHER affair of a similar nature happened in *Italy*, from which *Lewis* extricated himself with great honour. The insolence of the duke of *Crequi's* servant occasioned a tumult in the streets of *Rome*, in which some *Italians* were killed, and several wounded among the city guard. Animated by *Mario Coigi*, the pope's brother, who highly resented the indignity sustained by the *Romans*, and hated *Crequi*, the populace besieged the ambassador in his house,

^a PELLISON, p. 28.

a dragged his lady out of her coach as she was entering the house, killed a *French* page, and wounded several domestics. The duke immediately quitted *Rome*, and complained loudly to the king of the insult offered to his ambassador, not only by the populace at *Rome*, but by the pope's relations, and even by himself. *Lewis* demanded reparation; but the pope temporised, and endeavoured to put off what he durst not absolutely refuse. At length, after four months' altercation, he sent two of the populace, and the governor, supposed to have abetted the sedition, into *France*; but he was terrified to find that the king threatened to besiege *Rome*, had actually ordered troops to file off for *Italy*, and appointed the marshal *Plessis Praslin* to command on that service. However, before he consented to make the humiliating concessions required, he implored the mediation of all the catholic princes, and endeavoured to stir them up against *Lewis*; but the circumstances of *Europe* were unfavourable to his design, and his conduct served only to incense the king, without hurting him. At last his holiness found, that complying was his only resource; he banished his brother, sent his nephew cardinal *Chigi* in quality of legate to *France*, to make the king ample satisfaction, to promise the abolition of the town guards, and that a pyramid should be erected in *Rome*, to perpetuate the injury done to the ambassador, and the concessions made to his master. *Chigi* was the first legate ever sent from thence to solicit pardon; formerly they came to impose laws, and exact tythes, and nothing could be more mortifying than this diminution from the dignity of that sovereign of kings, and representative of *St. Peter* ^b.

c But while *Lewis* was thus employed in supporting the dignity, he did not neglect the necessary measures to augment the power, of his crown. The finances were so well managed by *Colbert*, as to put the king in a condition to treat with the *English* about the sale of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke*. 5,000,000 of livres were offered, a sum too great for the needy and prodigal *Charles* to refuse, though he was shamefully disposing of the price of *English* blood. *Lewis* immediately employed thirty thousand men in erecting works at *Dunkirk*, which were executed with such expedition, that in a little time the *English*, who had just quitted it, would scarce have known the town ^c.

d It was the maxim of *Lewis* to endeavour to augment and enlarge his dominions by negotiation, but to hold himself in constant readiness to make war, to keep his frontier in good condition, and his troops complete and well disciplined. It was the policy of the *French* kings, from the time of *Francis* the first, to keep a good correspondence with the *Porte*, and even to maintain an alliance with the grand *Turk*, for the benefit of trade, and clipping the wings of the house of *Austria*. But though it was the interest of *France* that the emperor should be kept in constant employment by the *Turks*, it was not convenient that *Germany* should be over-run by that warlike people. To prevent *Hungary* from falling into the hands of the infidels, *Lewis* deviated from the policy of his ancestors, became the auxiliary of the house of *Austria*, and detached 6000 men under the count *Coligni*, the last branch of that family, so celebrated in the civil wars, to assist the emperor, and join *Montecuculi*, a general afterwards employed by the emperor to balance the fortune and rival the glory of the great *Turenne* ^d.

e Though the crowns of *France* and *Spain* were at peace, yet *Lewis* did not fail to assist *Portugal* against his own father-in-law. *Mazarine*, finding he could not include the *Portuguese* in the peace of the *Pyrenees*, formally abandoned their interest; but as the *Spaniards* had been guilty of divers slight infractions of that treaty, *Lewis* thought himself at liberty privately to espouse the cause of *Portugal*. Marshal *Schomberg*, a foreigner and a protestant, was permitted to serve them with 4000 *French* soldiers paid with *Lewis's* money, but supposed to be hired by the king of *Portugal*. The *French* monarch could not think of the re-union of the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, by the conquest of the latter kingdom; and that this might have been the case, had not marshal *Schomberg* very opportunely arrived, is more than probable. The *French* troops, joined to the *Portuguese*, obtained the signal victory of *Villa Viciosa*, which established the duke of *Bragança* on the throne of *Portugal*. Thus *Lewis*, upon his first taking the reins of government, obtained the reputation of a politic and even of a warlike prince, before he had even entered upon open war.

f It was deemed no slight proof his genius for the cabinet, his having so artfully tampered with the duke of *Lorraine*, that enterprising and whimsical prince. From him he obtained the city of *Marsol*, and the reversion of the duchy of *Lorraine* at the death of *Charles IV.* on condition that a certain sum of money should be paid to himself, and the rights of princes of the blood of *France* conferred on his heirs. It was likewise no bad instance of his policy, that he improved the marine of *France*, from five or six frigates, to thirty ships of the line, during the war between *England* and *Holland*. *Voltaire* relates, that when the *Dutch* demanded his aid in the beginning of that war, an old fireship was the only vessel of war in the harbour of ^{The weak state of the marine of France.}

^b PELLISON, t. i. p. 117.
p. 343.

^c Sieck, t. i. p. 103.

^d PELLISON, ut supra. Vie de Turenne,

Brest (A). We shall now see him acting in a higher capacity, and, by the most aspiring views and daring projects, threatening the liberties of *Europe*. a

Lewis forms
pretensions up-
on the Nether-
lands. THE death of *Philip IV.* afforded *Lewis* the first opportunity of displaying his talents in casuistry for the purposes of his ambition. The artful pen of *Louvois* drew up that subtle manifesto, wherein *Lewis*, in right of his queen, claimed *Cambresis*, *Burgundy*, *Luxemburgh*, and the greatest part of the *Spanish Netherlands*, by virtue of the right of devolution that takes place in the *Low Countries*, by which the children of the first marriage, male or female, inherit before those of the second. *Maria Theresa*, queen of *France*, was the only remaining child of *Philip IV.* by the first marriage, so that the king's pretensions seemed to be founded not only on the constitution of the country, but the decrees of the council of *Mechlin*, which authorize this law of succession, and the acknowledgement of the dukes of *Brabant* and *Charles V.* who submitted to it. Unfortunately, however, for *Lewis*, he had renounced all pretensions to the *Spanish* succession before the solemnization of his marriage; but this difficulty was easily removed, by asserting, that it was out of his power to surrender the rights of his queen and her children. b

He invades
Flanders, LEWIS wanted not specious arguments, and able heads about him to enforce them, but he relied more on the sword than the pen. His forces, he knew, would carry conviction where his arguments might happen to fail; accordingly he marched to *Flanders* at the head of thirty-five thousand men, sending at the same time a corps of eight thousand, under marshal *d'Aumont*, towards *Dunkirk*; and another of four thousand, under the marquis *de Crequi*, into *Luxemburgh*. The queen was appointed regent during his majesty's absence, and a council nominated to assist her, at which presided the chancellor *Seguir*, and the marshal *d'Etrees*. *Colbert* had so managed the finances, that the resources of the state were greatly multiplied, and the revenues put into the best order; while *Louvois*, the new minister, placed in the department of war, had made prodigious preparations for the campaign, and distributed magazines of every kind along the frontier. *Louvois* had first introduced that custom, which the weakness of the government had till then rendered impracticable, of supporting vast armies by magazines. On whatever side the king turned his arms, necessities of every kind were ready, quarters for the troops marked out, and even the marches regulated. *Turenne*, now created a marshal of *France*, commanded under the king, his majesty declaring his intention to learn the art of war from this great general. c

Takes several
towns, and NOTHING could withstand the efforts of an army so well provided, animated with the presence of a young ambitious king, and headed by the most experienced and renowned officer in *Europe*; but the frontier was quite defenceless, and *Lewis* entered *Charleroi* as he would *Paris*. *Furnes*, *Armentieres*, and *Courtrai*, were taken in two days; the king sat down before *Douai*, and took it next morning; and even *Lille*, the most beautiful and best fortified town in the *Netherlands*, garrisoned with 6000 men, stood a siege of no more than nine days. *Lille* appeared so strong, that *Louvois* would have dissuaded his majesty from it; it was defended by fourteen royal bastions; the inhabitants able to carry arms amounted to 20,000; the governor was an officer of great experience, and the garrison was well provided with every necessary for sustaining a siege. Indeed the *Spaniards* seemed to have bestowed their whole care on this town, while they neglected almost every other. The reliance *Lewis* had on the abilities of *Turenne*, and his order to finish the campaign with some difficult enterprize that would reflect real glory on his arms, made him deaf to the remonstrances of his minister. The place was invested, and lines of circumvallation drawn, with all possible expedition. After five vigorous sallies, in which nothing remarkable occurred, the count *de Croni*, the governor, capitulated, and marched out with his garrison to *Ypres*. The count *de Marsin*, and prince *de Lignes*, not knowing that the city had capitulated, were advancing to throw succours into it. They were suddenly attacked and defeated by the marquis *de Crequi* and the marquis *de Bellefonds*, who took 1500 prisoners, eighteen standards, and five pair of kettle-drums. d

concludes the
campaign with
the reduction of
Lille.

AFTER this victory, the king returned to *Paris*, without having once experienced the hardships or dangers of a campaign; for the army marched with such abundance, and overran the country with so much ease, that the court thought themselves upon a tour of pleasure. e

^a Siccle, t. i. p. 107.

^f VOLT. ut supra, HAINAULT, p. 734.

^g PELLIS. vol. i. p. 122.

(A) *Lewis* balanced a considerable time whether he should declare in favour of *England* or *Holland*; he was ashamed to discover the weakness of his marine, and afraid to throw *Charles II.* into the arms of *Spain*. At last, however, he detached six thousand men to assist the *Hollanders* against the bishop of *Munster*, that warlike

and ambitious prelate, so long the scourge and terror of the republic. Before the peace concluded at *Breda*, a *French* squadron of thirty ships, under the duke *de Beauport*, had joined the *Dutch*, which shews the vast increase of the marine, under the auspices of *Colbert* and *Louvois* (1).

(1) *Hainault*, p. 735.

- a THE rapidity of these conquests gave the alarm to *Brussels*; the citizens removed all their best effects to *Antwerp*. It is probable that the reduction of the whole country would have been the work of no more than one campaign, had the king's forces been numerous enough to garrison the towns he had taken. *Louvois* advised the putting strong garrisons, and fortifying them. His advice was followed, and the direction of the works committed to *Vauban*, A. D. 1668. Men were now surprised to see towns fortified with works as level as the field, and high walls despised as food only for the artillery. It was matter of astonishment to behold places made strong in proportion as they appeared more naked and defenceless. The citadel of *Lille* was constructed on this principle, and it has been admired as a master-piece in the kind ^{Vauban fortifies the conquered towns.}
- b ALL the states of *Europe* were alarmed at these conquests, which seemed to wait only for the death of the sickly *Charles II.* king of *Spain*, to grasp at the union of both crowns, and thence lay the foundation of universal empire. The *Dutch* were more immediately exposed to his designs, and wished for an opportunity of uniting with *England* in a confederacy that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ambition of *Lewis*. The king of *England*, The triple alliance formed. ambassador extraordinary to the *Hague*, with full powers to conclude a treaty with the states general, and stipulate the terms most promising to stop the career of *Lewis*. In five days the alliance was concluded, every difficulty yielding to the address of the *English* minister, whose abilities shone forth with uncommon lustre on this occasion. The king of *Sweden* acceded to this alliance, as a principal; and thus was formed the triple alliance, by which the contracting powers assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the difference between *France* and *Spain* in the *Netherlands*, as well as in the war between *Spain* and *Portugal*. Its object was, to support the *Spanish* monarchy, restrain the exorbitant power of *France*, and prevent a dreadful war in which all *Europe* would probably be involved. The scheme was well concerted; it was therefore applauded, and, with respect to *England*, seemed by far the wisest step entered upon during the reign of *Charles II.*
- c THE triple alliance was founded upon an alternative which *Lewis* had proposed to the court of *Madrid*. He offered to relinquish the rights of his queen, on condition the court of *Spain* would either consent to his keeping the conquests already made in the *Low Countries*, or, in their stead, cede to him *Franche Comté*, with the towns of *Cambray*, *Aix*, and *St. Omer*. The queen regent of *Spain* kept aloof, in expectation of the happy effects of the triple alliance; and *Lewis* ordered his troops to file off towards *Franche Comté*, and gave the prince of *Condé* the command, having under him his friend *Bouteville Montmorenci*, who never forsook him in the midst of adversity. It was thought the prince was set up by *Louvois* to lessen the reputation of *Turenne* with his master, who consulted him not only as the general of his armies, but as a minister. *Condé* and *Turenne* had been old rivals; they could not but admire, while they continued to hate, each other. *Turenne* gave up the command, assuring the king, that he could not have bestowed his favour upon a general half so deserving as *Condé*; and the prince received it with a compliment to *Turenne*, that whoever succeeded must appear to uncommon disadvantage. *Condé* felt his martial ardour return, when he saw himself at the head of an army, which at the same time intimated an oblivion of his past conduct. He assembled his troops, entered *Franche Comté*, made himself master of it in ten days, and obtained the government of his conquests for a reward ^{The prince of Condé over-runs Franche Comté.}

THE queen regent of *Spain*, finding that no benefit hitherto resulted from the triple alliance, and that the conquest of the whole *Netherlands* might be effected in almost as short a time as *Condé* employed in the reduction of *Franche Comté*, consented at length to the *French* king's keeping his conquests in the *Low Countries*, on the supposition that the *Dutch* would necessarily be obliged to oppose him, should he attempt to extend his acquisition in the *Netherlands*. It seemed extraordinary that her *Spanish* majesty had not rather preferred ceding *Franche Comté*, together with *Cambray*, *Aix*, and *St. Omer*, than thus to expose all the great towns in *Flanders* by the vicinity of so enterprising and ambitious a neighbour as *Lewis*. But this was a refined stroke of policy in the marquis de *Castel Rodrigo*, indispensably to engage the *English* and *Dutch* on the side of *Spain*. The *Dutch* used all their influence to oppose a measure which threatened danger to themselves; but the court of *Spain* was not to be altered in their resolutions, especially as the king of *France* gave weight to the negotiation with an army of 100,000 men, great part of which he ordered to take the route towards *Brussels*. *Aix-la-Chapelle* was the place fixed upon for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, who were immediately sent thither from *France*, *Spain*, *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*. The treaty ^{A peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle.} was signed in *May*, after a very short negotiation, and by it *Lewis* remained in possession of all the towns he had reduced in *Flanders*. He restored *Franche Comté* to the *Spaniards*, and

^b Sicile, t. i. p. 113.^c HAINAULT, t. ii. p. 734.^k Vie de Condé, p. 204.

the peace was guarantied by the powers composing the triple alliance. The vanity of the republic of the states general broke out in an insolent and ridiculous medal struck by public order, with a pompous inscription, arrogating to herself the honour of having given peace to all Europe. *Joshua Van Beuningen*, the Dutch plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, was weak enough to strike another, in which he compared himself to *Joshua* stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the French monarch. These and other unseasonable marks of pride gave umbrage to *Lewis*, who seemed to remember them in the sequel, when he found an opportunity to punish the presumption of the republic¹.

It was not long before the king took ample vengeance; but he first employed himself in the arts of peace, in beautifying, regulating, adorning, and embellishing his kingdom, with all the arts of taste and magnificence. His conduct proved, that an absolute king, with a disposition to do good, may easily accomplish every inclination. He had nothing to do but to direct, and the successes in the administration were as rapid as those in the field: every difficulty yielded to the genius and indefatigable industry of *Colbert* and *Louvois*, two ministers born to raise the French monarchy to the highest pitch of grandeur. Sea-ports, before naked and desolate, were surrounded with works, and filled with shipping. About sixty large men of war were equipped, and ready to put to sea at the shortest notice. New colonies flourished in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, which reflected no less honour on the administration than they returned wealth to the nation. The arts were cultivated with the utmost assiduity, and the finest taste for painting and architecture broke forth in many magnificent monuments of *Lewis's* patronage. Learning in all its branches flourished, and reason and taste united to expel the remains of Gothic barbarism out of France. In this manner was the French monarch employed, when the excessive pride and power of the republic of *Holland* drew upon her his jealousy, and that bloody war which had almost ended in the total annihilation of the states general of the United Provinces^m.

The king studies the arts of peace.

The state of Holland.

This republic, by invariably pursuing the maxims of perfect prudence, industry, and frugality, had attained the highest pitch of grandeur and glory. *Amsterdam* was become the emporium of Europe, and the richest city in the universe. *Holland* alone contained three millions of souls, and all the other provinces were proportionably populous. The states dispatched ministers and consuls to *China*, *Siam*, and *Bengal*, to the great mogul, the king of *Persia*, the khân of *Tartary*, the grand signor, the czar of *Muscovy*, and the princes of *Africa*. They were considered as an important weight in the scale of Europe, and no treaty was concluded without their ambassadors. The late triple alliance, into which they had entered, gave *Lewis* suspicion that they proposed to set bounds to his ambition, and clip those bold pinions which had so swiftly conveyed his conquests over the Low Countries. *Van Beuningen's* insolence at the late treaty, and since during his residence at the French court, highly disgusted his majesty, who was shocked at the presumption and pride of a republic just started out of obscurity, and gained, in the space of a century, out of the ocean. But what was still more alarming to *Lewis*, was the probability that the Dutch would ruin the manufactures of France, and his new established commerce in the Indies. His jealousy discovered itself in divers instances; and the pensioner *De Witt*, his brother, and his party, did all in their power to remove these prejudices; but the unhappy differences, which then prevailed in the United Provinces, frustrated all their endeavours. The prince of *Orange's* family, the avowed enemies of France, and the impudent vanity of *Van Beuningen* increased the king's distrust. *Lewis* watched every motion of prince *William*, and perceived that all his measures tended to oppose the ambition of France, establish the power of his own family, and augment the grandeur of a republic formed by his ancestors, and rescued out of slavery by their victorious courageⁿ.

A. D. 1670. Lewis's designs upon the United Provinces.

He fixes on Lorrain.

Lewis now sought every opportunity of breaking with the Dutch, less perhaps from any dread of their power, or ability to injure him, than with a view to enlarge his dominions by the intire conquest of the Low Countries. He knew that the whole strength of the republic consisted in her marine; that her frontier was weak, her provinces divided, and the chief power in the hands of men inveterately set against the family of *Orange*, the ancient captains of the republic. His first attempt was to dissolve the triple alliance, and disengage from it *Charles II.* king of *Great Britain*. In this business the duchess of *Orleans* was employed; she went to *England*, under pretence of visiting the king her brother: her negotiation was successful, and she returned triumphant to *Paris*. In the mean time *Lewis* possessed himself of *Lorrain*, of which he took possession, under pretence that duke *Charles* was forming alliances in the empire against France, and infringing every article of the treaty he had so lately concluded with his most Christian majesty. In this manner was this restless, turbulent, and suspicious prince, deprived a second time of his dominions, and forced to wander a vagabond, first to *Cologne*, and then to *Frankfort*, there to wait for better fortune, or a more favourable opportunity

¹ VOLT. p. 121.

^m Siecle, t. i. p. 128.

ⁿ Id. ibid. & sup.

a opportunity of embroiling the empire. Upon this occasion we cannot agree with those writers who assert, that the ambition of *Lewis* led him to commit the most flagrant acts of tyranny and oppression with respect to *Charles IV.* In our opinion, self-defence and political prudence dictated, that some restraint should be laid upon the conduct of a prince, who was acting in his natural element when he was fomenting divisions among all his neighbours^o.

Lewis spent the year following in negotiations with the emperor, *Spain*, and *Sweden*, with the electors of *Cologne* and *Brandenburgh*, with the bishop of *Munster*, and other spiritual and temporal *German* princes. His design was to prevent their acceding to the triple alliance; from which he had already weaned one power, the most considerable of the whole. The ambitious, rapacious, and warlike, bishop of *Munster*, beheld with uneasiness the growing power of the *United Provinces*; he pretended, that they had made several attempts upon the counties of *Stirum*, *Culemburg*, *Bentheim*, and *East Friesland*; that they had seized on *Ravestein* on the *Meuse*, and several other places belonging to his bishoprick. In his own defence he concluded a treaty with *France*, and prevailed on the elector of *Cologne* to follow his example. By signing a treaty with these two princes the king opened a way to *Holland* by the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*; he established by this means places of arms and magazines in a country distant from his own dominions, and secured a retreat in case his enterprize proved abortive. With respect to the emperor, every artifice was used to keep him neutral; and indeed his own inclinations co-operated but little in favour of the *Dutch*, whom he regarded as subjects revolted from the princes of his family, and in possession of several places belonging to the empire. In *Sweden*, *Lewis's* negotiations were equally successful; for here he prevailed so far with *Charles XI.* as to obtain a stipulation, that if the emperor, or any of the princes of the empire, joined their forces to the *Dutch*, a *Swedish* army should then march into the very heart of *Germany* and join the *French*, in order to force those princes to observe the treaty of *Westphalia*.

WHATEVER the views of *Lewis's* allies might have been, it is but too probable his intention was not to curb, but to destroy, the republic, and thereby to annex the *United Provinces* to his own dominions. At least he wanted to reduce all the towns and fortresses possessed by the *Dutch* on the *Meuse*, in *Brabant*, and in *Flanders*; while the bishop of *Munster* watched the opportunity of retaking all his towns in *Overysse* and *Zutphen*; the elector of *Cologne*, *Rhinberg*, and the places dependent on his electorate; and the king of *Great Britain* to possess himself of certain islands in the province of *Zealand* for the security of the *British* trade^p.

Of all the *Germanic* body, the elector of *Brandenburgh* alone interested himself for the safety of the *States General*. The peace of *Westphalia* had prevented this enterprising prince from extending his dominions in *Germany*, and retaking *Pomerania* from the *Swedes*. He had long aspired at the stadtholdership of *Holland*; and though that office had been for six years suppressed, yet he flattered himself, that, in case of a war, he might obtain it, perpetuate it in his family, and in time reduce *Holland* by dint of force, intrigue, and stratagem. With this view he winked at the encroachments of the *Dutch* in the country of *Cleves*; he made no demands upon them for the large sums owing him by the republic; he suffered them quietly to possess several of his towns; he interested himself in their quarrels with their neighbours; he rejected the proposals of several princes of the empire, and even those of *France*, endeavouring by every possible method to insinuate himself into the friendship and confidence of the *States*. In the end he concluded a treaty with them, whereby it was stipulated, that he should assist the republic with 25,000 men. *Beverning*, the *Dutch* ambassador at *Madrid*, disconcerted all the schemes of *France* at that court, and engaged the queen of *Spain* to furnish money and troops for the defence of the *United Provinces*. Thus was the face of *Europe* wholly changed. *France* and *England*, who had contributed largely to the raising and aggrandizing the republic, were now incited to destroy her; while *Spain*, that for an age had been endeavouring to suppress her, was arming for her support. *Pierre de Groot*, the *Dutch* minister at *Paris*, was employed to penetrate into *Lewis's* designs; he gave his constituents notice that he foresaw a terrible storm ready to fall upon them, which they might nevertheless break by seasonable submissions and proper acknowledgements. Upon this the states wrote to the king, endeavouring to appease his wrath; but, finding him inexorable, they prepared for receiving him, and provided for the security of their provinces. But the long peace the republic had enjoyed destroyed her standing forces, and little confidence could be reposed in new levied soldiers^q.

As soon as matters were ripe for execution, *Lewis* ordered an army of 100,000 men to file off towards the *Rhine*. Before the opening of the campaign, and previous to his declaration of war, he divided his army into four columns, commanding one in person, with the marshal *Turenne* under him. Another was led by the prince of *Conde*, assisted by the marshals *Humieres* and *Bellefonds*; the third was headed by *Crequi*, and the fourth marched to *Westphalia*, under the conduct of the duke of *Luxembourg*, to join the bishop of *Munster*. As the marshals

^o HAINAULT Hist. p. 743.

^p Ibid. 747.

^q Hist. des Provinces Unies, p. 426.

Crequi,

A. D. 1671.

Designs of the
bishop of
Munster.

The elector of
Branden-
burgh espouses
the cause of
the Dutch.

A. D. 1672.

The king's ar-
my begin their
march.

Crequi, Bellefonds, and Humieres, refused to receive orders from *Turenne*, they were banished; a but, after six months exile, were recalled, at the instance of the whole body of marshals in *France*, upon their making proper submissions.

The Dutch
preparations.

SUCH an army drawing towards their frontiers could not but terrify the *Dutch*, now torn with civil factions. The partisans of the *Orange* family were for abolishing the perpetual edict, and raising *William III.* to the dignity enjoyed by his predecessors; but the *De Witt* faction opposed him violently, though they could not prevent the young prince from being chosen captain general and high admiral. Many persons hoped that *William's* new dignity would incline his uncle *Charles II.* to return to the triple alliance; but that hope was frustrated by the conduct of his majesty, who, in conjunction with the most Christian king, declared war against the States General on the 7th day of *April*. A month after, the elector of *Cologne* b and bishop of *Munster* followed the example of the two kings. The *Dutch* put themselves in the best posture of defence that circumstances would admit. *Maastricht* was strongly garrisoned; the prince of *Orange* had assembled an army of 25,000 men, with which he advanced to the banks of the *Iffel*, and the *Dutch* fleet cruised off the mouth of the *Thames*, to prevent the junction of the naval forces of *England* and *France*, which amounted to 150 ships. All *Europe* watched the first motions of two powerful kings, seconded by the greatest generals of the age.

The king be-
gins the cam-
paign.

His most Christian majesty set out from *St. Germain en Laye* about the end of *April*, and joined his army at *Charleroy*. It was composed of twenty-three companies of gens d'armes, life-guards, musqueteers, and light horse, two regiments of the *French* and *Swiss* guards, c fourteen regiments of foreign infantry, and sixty regiments of light horse or dragoons, comprising in all an army of 110,000 fighting men, under the command of marshal *Turenne* as captain-general. *Holland* could only be attacked by the *Rhine* or the *Meuse*, and the generals and ministers differed by which of these inlets they were to make the first impressions. The former were for laying siege to *Maastricht*, the latter thought the enterprize hazardous, and too expensive for any utility it could produce. They were for marching towards the *Rhine* to encourage the allies of *France*, then penetrating into the heart of *Holland*, and thereby facilitating the taking of towns upon the *Meuse*. At last, after several deliberations, it was determined to make both attacks at the same time, in order the more to divide the enemies forces, and disconcert their councils. It is probable that *Turenne* always opposed the siege of *Maastricht*, d for we find him, immediately after the surrender of *Maseick*, strongly dissuading the king from that enterprize, in opposition to the sentiments of the prince of *Conde*. At last he prevailed, and it was resolved in council to advance towards the *Rhine*, and besiege at the same time the towns of *Rhinberg*, *Vessel*, *Orsoi*, and *Burick*. These places were all well fortified, and deemed the keys of *Holland*; however, the *Dutch* did not appear disturbed at their being invested, as they were only under their protection, and did not immediately belong to the *United Provinces*. They were, besides, in hopes, that any attempts upon the territory of *Cleves* would hasten the preparations of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and even rouse the emperor into a sense of the danger he was in from the vast designs of *Lewis*. Nothing could oppose armies so well appointed, led by generals so skilful and so experienced. The four towns surrendered within e a few days of each other, and *Rhinberg*, that held out longest, opened its gates on the 7th of *June*. A few days after the town and fort of *Rhees* and the town of *Emerick* surrendered; upon which the king resolved to pass the *Rhine* by a ford, over which the cavalry were to swim. This bold enterprize was projected and conducted by *Conde*, who, in the face of two regiments of foot, and several squadrons of horse, under general *Wartz*, intrenched on the opposite side, effected the passage, in the same order, and with as much regularity, as if he had marched his troops on dry land. The enemy made a stout resistance; but were driven from their post, after having killed the duke de *Longueville* on the spot, and wounded the prince of *Conde* in the wrist, which disabled him for some time from attending the service, and obliged him to resign the command of his army to *Turenne*. f

The rapidity of
his conquests.

It is almost incredible with what rapidity towns and fortresses yielded to the fortune of his majesty's arms. The reduction of *Beiau*, the most fruitful country of the *United Provinces*, and the surrender of *Tolbus* fort, obliged the prince of *Orange* to abandon the *Iffel*, lest he should be attacked in the rear, and retire to the very heart of the country, as far as *Rhenen*, in the province of *Utrecht*. By this means the town of *Arnheim*, the forts of *Knotsemburgh*, *Voorn*, *St. Andre*, and *Skenck*, this last the strongest in the *Netherlands* (having cost the great *Henry Frederic* prince of *Orange* a seven months siege), a variety of other towns and forts, surrendered as soon as summoned; and at last *Nimeguen*, a town strong from the nature of the works and fortifications, and garrisoned by 8000 fighting men, including the inhabitants, was invested. After the citizens had, for eight days, exhibited signal proofs of courage

^a Histoire des Provinces Unies, p. 426.

^b Siecle, t. i. p. 178. PELLIS. t. ii. p. 219.

a in defence of their liberties they were forced to yield to the superior good fortune, skill, and experience, of *Turenne* [†].

In the mean time the bishop of *Munster* and elector of *Cologne*, having joined the body of troops under the command of the duke of *Luxembourg*, the united army entered the province of *Overyffel*, and by dint of cruelty, and the terror which the duke spread, reduced the towns as soon as he appeared before them. Animated by that implacable rage that constantly attends religious wars, the two prelates obliged the duke to exert a severity, by no means suited to his nature, against heretics and the rebellious subjects of the house of *Austria*. Next the king's forces penetrated into the province of *Utrecht*, where their conquests went on with the same rapidity, and put the capital of the province in the utmost danger. To retard its fate, the *Dutch* could imagine no other expedient than opening sluices, and overflowing the country. The other towns followed the example of *Utrecht*, and *Holland*, *Brabant*, and *Dutch Flanders*, was one vast lake, the towns rising like islands in the midst of the waters. Farther to stem the torrent of *Lewis*'s conquests, the people were persuaded the only barrier was to lodge the supreme power in the hands of the prince of *Orange*. They accordingly obliged the states of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* to abrogate the perpetual edict, and unite the dignity of stadtholder to those of captain general and high admiral, with which the prince was already invested. They likewise sent remonstrances so pathetic to his majesty, that *Charles*, moved with the situation of the republic, and jealous of the designs of *Lewis*, dispatched the duke of *Buckingham* and earl of *Arlington* into *Holland*, to quiet the fears of the *Dutch*, and insist upon the king's penetrating no farther into *Holland*. In case of *Lewis*'s refusal, his *Britannic* majesty declared he would break the alliance, as he perceived, that, instead of securing *Zealand* to the *English*, agreeable to the treaty, the designs of *France* were to unite the whole republic to their own monarchy ^u. His most Christian majesty had in fact no great regard to the menaces of an ally he despised; but as persisting obstinately to advance into a country, which the inundation rendered impassable, might terminate in blasting all the blooming laurels he had acquired, he seemed, out of compliment to the king of *England*, to listen to terms of accommodation; which, after all his victories, could not fail of proving advantageous. In the space of three months he had conquered the provinces of *Guelderland*, *Overyffel*, and *Utrecht*, taken above fifty towns and forts, and made 24,000 prisoners. *Conde* and *Turenne* advised his majesty to send the prisoners to work upon the canal of *Languedoc*, and to leave all the places that were not essential to the preservation of his conquests; but *Louvois* was of a different opinion, and his sentiments determined the king. The prisoners were released for a trifling ransom, and the king's army totally reduced and exhausted by the continual drains made to garrison the conquered places ^w.

A NEGOCIATION was set on foot at *Boxtel*, near *Bois-le-duc*, whither the king, attended by the *English* ambassadors and the *Dutch* deputies, repaired. What he chiefly insisted upon was a treaty of commerce, for regulating the rights of the *French* and *Dutch East and West India* companies; the public exercise of the catholic religion in all the territories of the States General; twenty millions of livres to reimburse his expences in the war, and a confirmation of his conquests on the *Meuse*, ^{Insistent terms offered by Lewis rejected.} On the the opposite side of the *Rhine*, and in the empire, in consideration of his restoring the three provinces. His *Britannic* majesty demanded the compliment of the flag where-ever his ships appeared, a million sterling for his expences, a hundred thousand pounds sterling yearly for the right of fishing on the coasts of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, a share in all the commerce of the *Indies*, and the perpetuity of the stadtholdership for his nephew the prince of *Orange*. These propositions were rejected with disdain by the *Dutch*, who, animated by their stadtholder, resolved to wait a change of fortune in the midst of the waters. They used every expedient to rouse the princes of *Germany* in their defence, and so successfully, that the elector of *Brandenburgh*, the nearest and most interested prince, prepared to take the field. The undaunted courage, the vigilance, and public spirit, of the prince of *Orange*, gained him the intire confidence and affection of the republic, and excited their resentment against the two *De Witts*, his implacable enemies, whom they accused of receiving pensions from *Lewis*. The suggestion was false; but possibly their love of liberty, and jealousy of the house of *Orange*, had carried these two great politicians too far in their pacific measures and complaisance to the power of the *French* monarch. The pensioner was attacked in the street by the populace, and by his personal bravery broke through the croud, and saved his life, though covered with wounds ^x (A). Seditions in Holland.

WILLIAM

[†] Siecle, t. i. p. 178. PELIS. t. ii. p. 219.

AULT, sub hoc an.

^u WICQF. Hist. 229. Sir W. TEMP. Mem.

^x Mem. de De Witt, p. 209.

^w HAIN-

(A) Soon after the sedition broke out afresh, and the partisans of the house of *Orange* again stirred up the animosity of the republic against the *De Witts*. MOD. HIST. VOL. IX.

Several crimes were laid to the pensioner's charge, but he cleared himself. Suborned witnesses accused his brother of an attempt to poison the prince of *Orange*. 6 A

Cornelius

The emperor
espouses the
Dutch.

A. D. 1673.

Turenne baff-
les the impe-
rial army.

Policy of
France.

Conde retires
beyond the
Meuse.

WILLIAM of *Orange* in the mean time daily ingratiated himself more. He gave up his whole fortune for the safety of the state, and exerted himself with such prudence and ability, that all *Europe* began to unite against the two kings, by the month of *July*. Every prince in *Germany* was in motion to succour the *Dutch*. The emperor, the king of *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, the duke of *Brunswick Lunenburgh*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, immediately ordered their troops to join; several of the other princes were preparing to take the field. All were jealous, *England* began to waver, and there was not a power in *Europe* upon whom *Lewis* the fourteenth could heartily rely. The army of *Brandenburgh*, commanded by the elector in person, and the forces of the empire, under the famous count *Montecuculi*, joined near *Heidelsheim*, and composed a body of 40,000 men. *Turenne*, now appointed generalissimo of the king's army on his majesty's return to *Paris*, marches to oppose the enemy's passing the *Rhine*. For three whole months were the elector and *Montecuculi* employed in abortive attempts to effect a passage at *Mentz*, *Coblentz*, *Strasburgh*, and other places. This answered the purpose of making a powerful diversion in favour of the *Dutch*, though they could not accomplish their design of joining the prince of *Orange*. After repeated disappointments, the imperial army directed its march to *Westphalia*, and *Turenne* followed, in order to keep the bishop of *Munster* steady to his engagements. Here the viscount displayed the greatest talents for the cabinet and the field. For half the campaign he, with a body of 16,000 men, baffled every stratagem of the elector of *Brandenburgh* and *Montecuculi*, the most renowned general of the empire, at the head of an army near triple his strength. He obliged them to go into winter-quarters, in a country harrassed and exhausted, and confirmed the bishop of *Munster* in the alliance of *France*, at the very time he was upon terms with the emperor. He obliged the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who took the chief command during *Montecuculi*'s illness, to abandon the siege of *Warle*, took *Unna*, *Kamen*, *Altena*, *Berkembaum*, and several other towns and fortresses. By continuing his operations, he forced the elector out of his winter-quarters again into the field, chased him from post to post, until he obliged him to quit *Westphalia*, repass the *Weser*, and retire with precipitation into the bishopric of *Hildesheim*. After taking possession of all the elector's towns in *Westphalia*, he pursued him into the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, and at length, by mere dint of superior genius, forced him to seek shelter in his hereditary dominions. All this was effected after *Louvois* had appointed the marshal's army quarters in *Alsace* and *Lorraine*, amidst the rigours of a severe winter, opposed by a superior enemy, by the artifices of *Louvois*, and seconded only by his own prudence, and the affections of his troops, which he maintained in defiance of all the difficulties, hardships, and dangers, they encountered^r. It was indeed supposed, that *Montecuculi* was prevented from giving *Turenne* battle by the remonstrances of prince *Lobkowitz*, the emperor's ambassador, influenced by the gold of *Lewis*. Certain indeed it is, that *Montecuculi*'s illness arose from his chagrin at seeing all his projects frustrated by the unsteady dilatory conduct of the court of *Vienna*. *Lewis*'s negotiations disturbed *Europe* no less than his arms. His tools and creatures swarmed in every court. *Leopold* could not be prevented from declaring in favour of *Holland*; but his ministers were bought off from seconding the emperor's intentions. The whole *English* nation exclaimed against the alliance of their king with *France*; but *Charles* stood in need of *French* gold to supply his extravagance and profligacy. The elector of *Bavaria* had indeed been compelled by *Lewis* to retire to his capital; but it was by dint of intrigue that he was forced from his alliance with *Holland*, and constrained to sign a peace with *France*^z.

WHILE *Turenne* was thus employed on the *Rhine*, *Conde*, having recovered of his wounds, returned to the command of the army in *Holland*. He besieged and took *Maestricht* in thirteen days. Having repaired the fortifications, he proposed making himself master of several other towns; but the inundations every-where stopt his course. All his attempts to draw off the waters were vain, and he was forced to content himself with preserving, without pretending to extend, the king's conquests.

WHATEVER glory the king might have acquired by land, certain it is that the conduct of his admirals deserved equal praise with that of his generals. In little more than twelve months the *French* were taught the art of naval war. Before they fought ship to ship; but

^r Siecle, p. 149, & seq. Vie de Tur. p. 100.

^z Siecle, p. 150, & seq.

Cornelius was imprisoned, and treated with great barbarity. While he was under the torture, he sung that ode of *Horace*, *Justum & tenacem propositi virum*. His brother took him out of prison after sentence of banishment was pronounced; the tumult rose high, and both the *De Witts* were cruelly torn in pieces in the streets. *William* of *Orange* seemed touched at

this terrible sacrifice; he made the pensioner's eulogium, and ordered the murderers to be prosecuted; however, the clemency he shewed them, the advantages he obtained by the massacre, and the animosity he bore the *De Witts*, convinced all men, that he countenanced the murder.

understood

a understood nothing of those evolutions by which whole fleets imitate the movements of armies. The duke of *York*, afterwards *James* the second, invented the method of giving all orders at sea by means of signals; this and every other part of the art the *French* borrowed from the *English*, and became so apt scholars, that they ventured to give battle to the *Hollanders*, the great rivals of the *English* on that element. Their fleet, amounting to forty sail, besides fire-ships, joined to the *English*, gave battle three different times to the *Dutch*. *Ruyter* gained additional glory in these engagements, and *D'Estrees*, the *French* admiral, acquired the esteem of *De Ruyter*. Valour and conduct were on both sides so great, that victory remained undecided ^a.

In the mean time *Spain* declares in favour of the *Dutch*, and prevails upon the emperor to act more heartily in the cause of *Holland*, and defence of the liberties of *Europe*. The prince of *Orange* was reinforced by 10,000 *Spaniards*, sent to him by the governor of the *Low Countries*. *Philip* had concluded a treaty with the States at the *Hague*, whereby he declared war against *France*, engaged the emperor to make a powerful diversion on the *Rhine*, stipulated not to accept of peace before the *Dutch* had retrieved all their losses, and obtained from them a promise to listen to no terms of accommodation before his catholic majesty was reinstated in all his possessions in the *Low Countries*, previous to the peace of the *Pyrenees*. *Montecuculi* was ordered to advance with 30,000 men to *Franconia*; and *Turenne*, joining the troops of *Cologne* and *Munster*, passed the *Main*, and took post in the electorate of *Mentz*. The prince of *Orange* receiving no impediments from *Conde*, who was forced, on account of the inundations, to repass the *Meuse*, thought this a proper time for action, as the enemy had no considerable forces in the heart of the *United Provinces*. He ordered some troops to file off secretly to *Amsterdam* and *Muyden*, lined with infantry the intrenchments which secured the passage to *Holland*, and to deceive the duke of *Luxemburgh*, who commanded in *Utrecht*, sent some forces by sea to attack *Bowmel*. The duke, not penetrating the prince's design, came to succour that place, and *William*, finding his stratagem succeed, marched to *Naerden*, and with 25,000 men invested and took the place before the duke could provide for its security. Encouraged by this success the *Dutch* took courage, fortune inclined in their favour, and in a short time all the horrors of war were removed from the interior parts of the *United Provinces* to the *Spanish Netherlands*. Neither the experience and consummate address of *Turenne*, the genius of *Vauban*, or the indefatigable vigilance of *Louvois*, could repair the error committed in ruining the army, to garrison the conquered towns. Even *Conde's* fire seemed extinguished in the waters with which the *Dutch* had drowned their country. Instead of penetrating farther he was obliged to retreat. *Turenne* could not prevent the junction of *Montecuculi* and the prince of *Orange*, nor the loss of *Bonne*. This junction, and the declaration of *Spain*, obliged the armies of *France* to abandon the three provinces with still more rapidity than they conquered them. The triumphal arch at *St. Denis* was hardly erected as a monument of *Lewis's* victories, before the fruits of those victories were relinquished. In a word, the parliament of *England* would no longer suffer *Charles* to be the mercenary tool of *France*; the late ill success cooled the elector of *Cologne* and bishop of *Munster* in their friendship; and *Lewis*, forsaken by all his allies, found himself under the necessity of maintaining singly a war against the empire, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces* ^b.

Naval affairs..

Spain declares war against France.

The French evacuate the Dutch provinces.

^a HAINAULT, 1673.

^b PEL'S. t. iii. p. 224, & seq. Siecle, ut sup.

S E C T. XV.

Containing marshal Turenne's glorious campaign and death; the spirited transactions of M. Crequi, the battles of Mount Cassel and St. Denis, the negotiations of peace, and the circumstances which at length gave birth to the treaty of Nimeguen.

A. D. 1674.
The stadtholder-ship rendered perpetual in the family of Orange.

THE Dutch owed the whole of their good fortune to the prudence, the courage, and the indefatigable perseverance, of the prince of *Orange*. Their gratitude was proportioned to his merit. They determined to make the dignities of stadtholder, captain general, and high admiral, hereditary in his family; in a word, they bestowed every thing upon this house that a free people could give; they surrendered all besides their liberty, and conferred every honour but sovereignty. Raised to this pitch of power and glory, *William* exerted his utmost abilities wholly to draw off the elector of *Cologne* and bishop of *Munster* from the alliance of *France*; and he succeeded. His intrigues at *Berlin* prevailed on the elector to violate the treaty he had signed with *France*; and he drew on to a league with the *Dutch*, the electors of *Triers* and *Palatine*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the dukes of *Brunswick*. In a word, all the powers of *Germany* were engaged in treaty with the republic, except the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Hanover*, who remained neutral. *Lewis*, notwithstanding this formidable confederacy, relinquished none of his great designs. He knew his own power, and the capacity of his ministers and generals. Resolving to compensate himself for the loss of the *United Provinces* by the conquest of *Franche Comte*, he sent marshal *Turenne*, with 10,000 men, to defend the frontiers on the side of the *Rhine*; marshal *Schomberg* he detached with an army to the frontiers of *Spain*; *Conde*, at the head of a third army, watched the prince of *Orange* in *Flanders*; and the king's own army, the most numerous, plunged into *Franche Comte*.

Turenne's glorious campaign.

THIS campaign was the most glorious to *Turenne* of his whole life, if we are to estimate reputation by the greatness of the difficulties surmounted, in which every faculty of the most consummate general was displayed. First he made a long and brisk march, passed the *Rhine* at *Philipsburgh*, marched the whole night to *Sintzheim*, forced the town, attacked and defeated *Caprara*, the imperial general, and the old duke of *Lorraine*, *Charles* the fourth, that prince whose life was spent in levying troops and losing battles, who had now come with his little army to join the emperor. In the space of four hours this important affair was concluded, with an army fatigued, harrassed, and scarce half the number of the enemy, who left 2000 dead upon the field. Astonished at his boldness, the enemy assembled all their forces, to the amount of 70,000 men, which *Turenne* opposed with a body of 20,000, afterwards reinforced by a detachment of cavalry sent by *Conde*. But his genius was to supply the want of numbers, and it effectually answered that purpose. With this little army he ravaged the *Palatinate*; pursued the enemy into *Alsace*, over mountains covered with snow; continued his operations in *Alsace*, contrary to the express orders of *Louvois* and the murmurs of the court, who dreaded the loss of *Lorraine*; obliged the enemy to fly every-where before him, by dint of superior skill in encampments, and choice of situations; and finally, without fighting one decisive battle, dispersed and disordered the enemy's army, obliged the imperialists to repass the *Rhine*, and preserved *Alsace* and *Lorraine*. Even *Louvois* was forced to confess his error, the court seemed abashed, and all united in admiring the extraordinary abilities of the marshal *Turenne*. It must be acknowledged, that the barbarities he was forced to commit in the course of his operations diminish the lustre of his great actions. All his expeditions were marked with horror and desolation. After the battle of *Sintzheim*, the *Palatinate*, a fertile country, covered with towns and villages, was laid in ashes; and the unfortunate elector beheld from the citadel of *Manheim* two cities and twenty-five villages in flames. These excesses might have been necessary to retard the progress of the enemy; but they must impress an idea no way favourable to the humanity of *Turenne*, who would seem to deserve the appellation of father of his soldiers, and scourge of the vanquished. Whatever pains the *French* historians in general, and his own biographers in particular, have taken to vindicate this conduct, we are of opinion it proceeded from a coldness of constitution, that damped every emotion of pity, and sacrificed the principles of humanity to the rules of war and the duties of a general. What redounded chiefly to the marshal's honour was the cool determined resolution he displayed in the action at *Sintzheim*, and the engagement at *Mulhausen*, with which last transaction he concluded the operations of the year. As these battles will necessarily be related in another part of our work, it is just sufficient to mention them.

WHILE

a WHILE *Turenne* was gaining the most important advantages in *Germany*, without any signal action, *Conde* was fighting bloody useless battles in *Flanders*. As his genius was in nothing inferior to the marshal's, we must attribute his little success to the unfavourable circumstances of his situation, and the capacity of the general opposed to him. The prince of *Orange* commanded the united armies of the empire, *Spain*, and *Holland*, and meditated nothing less than the conquest of *Picardy* and *Champagne*; but he must first defeat *Conde*, who had assembled a considerable army, by withdrawing the garrisons out of the conquered towns which he ordered to be demolished. On the 11th of *August* he posted himself near *Senef*; the enemy attempted to force him, a bloody conflict ensued, in which the *French* claimed the honour of the field, tho' neither side could pretend to a victory. *Feuquieres*, who delights in finding out blunders, blames the prince of *Orange's* disposition in the first part of the engagement; but he does justice to that admirable prudence and intrepidity with which he repaired the mistake, notwithstanding such a general as *Conde* pushed the advantage. After the allies had retreated to their intrenched camp they were attacked by *Conde*, who seems by this error to have balanced the mistake committed by the prince of *Orange*, and to have compensated it by the same astonishing valour and presence of mind. Both generals indeed, if we are to credit the *French* critic, appeared greater from their errors, and, of all the battles they ever fought, this in the most distinguishing manner tried all their powers and faculties. There were 7000 slain and 5000 prisoners on the side of *France*; that of the enemy was nearly equal; and so much bloodshed answered no other purpose than rendering either army incapable of undertaking any considerable enterprize for the remainder of the campaign. The prince of *Orange*, to make the world imagine he had gained a victory, laid siege to *Oudenarde*; but *Conde*, to convince them he had not lost a battle, obliged him to relinquish the attempt.

TURENNE, after the engagement at *Mulhausen*, gave no breathing to the enemy. Even the rigours of winter could not stop his operations. After several advantages obtained in consequence of the check the enemy lately received, he marched directly to *Colmar* to give their united forces battle. From the town of *Turkeim*, flanking the enemy's right, this action has been called the battle of *Turkeim*. By the reinforcements received from *Flanders*, the marshal's army amounted to 30,000 men, and that of the enemy to 40,000. He drew up in a manner that incurred the censure of all his officers, who could, before the battle was over, discover the propriety and judgment of his disposition. In one respect only the action was decisive; it forced the enemy to repass the *Rhine*, and abandon all thoughts of quartering in the territories of *France*.

It was now that *Turenne* took a little respite, in order to return to the campaign with redoubled vigour. He went to court, and received the honours due to his extraordinary merit. The negotiation of peace set on foot during the winter proving abortive, all sides prepared for renewing the war. The imperial army was quite chagrined and distracted with losses; to raise their drooping courage it was necessary to send *Montecuculi* once more to oppose *Turenne*. He was indeed the only general in the emperor's service worthy of the employment. As well as *Turenne* he had reduced the art of war into a system. Both generals indeed were so well persuaded of each other's merit, that they could not rely upon mistakes or blunders: every advantage must be fought by some stroke of superior genius. Each judged of the operations and designs of his antagonist, by what himself would have done in the same circumstances; and he was never deceived. Subtlety, penetration, patience, and activity, were opposed to the same qualities, and the world is now divided which merited the greatest share of reputation in this famous campaign.

In the preceding year *Lewis* singly maintained war against the *Spaniards*, imperialists, and *Dutch*. He conquered *Franche Comte*, defended his frontiers, and defeated the designs of the enemy to penetrate into his dominions. This year he gained an ally, and prevailed on the king of *Sweden* to declare war against the elector of *Brandenburgh*. This produced a favourable diversion, by employing the elector in his own quarrel, and obliging the princes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh* to retire from the banks of the *Rhine*, and with the troops of *Munster* enter the country of *Bremen*. Six great armies, led by generals of distinguished capacity, appeared then in action on the continent of *Germany*. *Montecuculi* opposed *Turenne* in *Suabia*; and *Conde* returned to fight the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* in *Flanders*, under the prince of *Orange*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* put himself at the head of his troops to watch the motions of the *Swedish* general *Wrangel*.

MONTPECUCULI formed the design of passing the *Rhine* at *Straßburgh*, and reaping in the *Higher Alsace* those advantages, of which the multiplicity of councils, and the bad conduct of the generals, had hitherto deprived the imperial army. He endeavoured to seduce the in-

^c Siecle, p. 160.

^d P. L. I. s. t. iii. p. 240.

Turenne
killed.

habitants of *Strasburgh*; but *Turenne*, though he could not prevent his passing the *Rhine* near *Spires*, kept the *Strasburghers* in their duty, and deprived *Montecuculi* of those advantages he proposed from this movement. Near three months were spent in feints, marches, countermarches, dark designs, and artful stratagems; the whole military science was exhausted, but no advantage was gained by either. At last the marshal determined to attack the enemy near *Acheren*; but in reconnoitring them he was killed by a cannon ball, and his death soon produced a change in the campaign. Instead of attacking the imperialists, count *de Lorges*, who succeeded to the command, retired, and, after a slight defeat, suffered *Montecuculi* to penetrate into *Alsace*, in which attempt he had been so long foiled by *Turenne*. *Lorges* indeed displayed the talents of a great general. When his rear was attacked, he faced about with great intrepidity, drew up his troops with judgment, and fought such a battle as was not unworthy of the pupil of *Turenne*, though the fortune of *Montecuculi* prevailed^a (B).

Campaign in
Flanders and
Catalonia.

MARSHAL *Crequi* was still more unfortunate. He was defeated in attempting to relieve *Treves*. Capable of the most daring enterprizes, he threw himself with a few attendants into the city, which he defended with the most obstinate bravery. When the enemy were going to storm the breach, the townsmen revolted, and capitulated; but *Crequi* could not be brought to sign the capitulation. He retired to a church, defended himself for a while, and was taken prisoner, when he sought death. The prince of *Conde* said, that *Crequi* wanted nothing but this disgrace to deserve a place among the most illustrious generals of *Europe*. This year nothing considerable was undertaken in *Flanders*. *Montecuculi*, governor of the *Neetherlands*, would not suffer the prince of *Orange* to come to a battle, and the prince of *Conde*'s weakness obliged him to keep on the defensive. In *Catalonia* count *Schomberg* gained considerable advantages. He reduced *Liguera*, *Bischara*, and *Bellegarde*, and obtained by his conduct the dignity of marshal^f.

A. D. 1676.

ALL the powers at war being tired of their losses and disappointments, no party succeeding in the schemes they had formed the beginning of the campaign, they mutually agreed to send plenipotentiaries to *Nimeguen*; but the negotiations there being protracted long beyond the time expected, the armies took the field, and the operations of war went on with vigour. Every side hoped for some favourable blow that would turn the scale, and give weight to their claims. Early in the year *De Ruyter* quitted the coast of *Holland* with a large fleet, to assist the *Spaniards*, and to prevent the *French* admiral *Duquesne* from succouring *Messina*. The combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* amounted to forty-three ships of the line. Formerly the *French* and *English* fleets found it difficult to cope with *De Ruyter*; now *Duquesne* alone ventured to give him battle. This admiral, like *De Ruyter*, raised himself by dint of merit, and became the best naval officer in *France*, before he had ever commanded a fleet; but he now served under the duke of *Vivonne*. The fleets came to an engagement on the 8th of *January*, and the *Dutch* admiral found himself so roughly handled, that, rather than hazard a second engagement, he would have permitted *Duquesne* to relieve the city; but he received orders to the contrary. This brought on a second engagement on the 12th of *March*, in which, after an obstinate conflict, *De Ruyter* fell, and with him the hope of victory. *Duquesne* a third time attacked the enemy, sunk, burnt, and destroyed, the greater part of the combined fleet, while all *Europe* was in astonishment at the rapid progress made by *France* in naval affairs.

Naval af-
fairs.

Siege of Va-
lenciennes.

In the very beginning of the campaign, the *French* arms were successful in *Flanders*; *Conde*, *Bouchain*, *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*, being reduced. The king commanded in person, having under him the marshals *d'Humieres*, *Schomberg*, *Feuillade*, *Luxemburgh*, and *de Lorges*, each taking the command in his turn, *Vauban* directing the operations of the sieges. At the siege of *Valenciennes*, great disputes arose between *Vauban* and the other officers. *Vauban* insisted that the place should be stormed at mid-day, to prevent confusion: *Louvois* and the five marshals were for surprizing it by night, and mounting the breach while the enemy were unguarded. Both urged good arguments, but those of *Vauban* carried the most weight; the king preferred them, and the event justified his election. Perhaps the *French* never displayed the fire and intrepidity of genius more than in this attack, which is celebrated as a master-stroke by all their writers on the art of war. Marshal *d'Humieres* took *Aire*, while the prince of *Orange* was besieging *Maestricht*, defended by the brave *Calvo*, a *Catalan*, who

^a HAINAULT, an 1675. Siecle, p. 166.

^f HAINAULT. PELIS. ibid.

(B) After this campaign, *Montecuculi* retired, saying, that the general who had opposed the vizier *Cupriali*, the prince of *Conde*, and *Turenne*, ought not to risk his reputation against any other commander. *Conde* was

sent to succeed *Turenne*. After keeping *Montecuculi* at bay until the end of the campaign, he retired, not imagining any other competitor his equal (1).

(1) PELIS. t. iii. p. 241.

a told his engineers, that he did not understand the defence of places, but he would fight to the last drop of his blood. *Calvo* kept his word; he obliged *William* to raise the siege, after having spent forty days, and lost a great number of men before the walls ^e. To ballance those losses, the young duke of *Lorraine*, a prince that inherited all the virtues without the defects of his father, took *Philipsburgh* in sight of the duke of *Luxembourg*, who tried every stratagem of war to relieve the place. It was defended for seventy days open trenches, by *de Foy*, after having before been blocked up for six months. At last it surrendered, through the blunders of marshal *Rochefort*, who permitting the enemy to take possession of all the passes, rendered it impossible for the duke of *Luxembourg* to penetrate to the town. However, the duke of *Lorraine* was baffled in all his endeavours to pass the *Rhine*, and prosecute the design of recovering his paternal dominions, and entering *Franche Compté* ^b.

The duke of
Lorraine takes
Philipsburgh.

THE negotiations as usual went on during the winter. All the parties were tired of war, except the prince of *Orange*, yet none would grant or receive equitable terms of peace. Accordingly the armies took the field; and the *French*, commanded by Monsieur the king's brother, and the Marshals *Humieres* and *Luxembourg*, invested the strong fortrefs of *St. Omer*. *Spain* put the highest value on this place, and pressed the prince of *Orange* to hazard a battle for its relief. His majesty, knowing that *William* would omit no expedient to oblige monsieur to raise the siege, sent him a strong reinforcement, with orders to meet the combined army. He advanced to *Mount Cassel*, and had scarce arrived, when the enemy were perceived to advance in order of battle. As the armies were separated by a deep rivulet, both halted till next morning, and then joined battle, which continued with great fury for the space of three hours, when victory declared for the *French*. *William* sustained a very considerable loss in the field; but his retreat was so masterly, that the duke of *Orleans* did not venture to pursue: however, the surrender of *St. Omer* was the consequence. It held out but a few days after the battle, though the garrison made a brave defence, and obtained an honourable capitulation. The prince of *Orange*, to shew that his defeat was of little consequence, re-assembled his forces, and invested *Charleroy*, before which he was baffled in 1672, by the same marshal who was now governor: but the excellent disposition made by *Luxembourg*, so distressed his army, that he was forced to relinquish the enterprize, after the siege had been far advanced ⁱ. In the mean time the marshal *Crequi* confirmed the prognostic of the great Conde. Just released from prison, he was opposed with a small army to the duke of *Lorraine*, and soon retrieved his character by a series of the most spirited conduct. He defeated a corps of the enemy in the bushy skirmish at *Kokersberg* in *Alsace*: he harrassed and fatigued the main body of their army by the suddenness of his motions, and impetuosity of his attacks: he took *Friburgh* in sight of the duke's army; and soon after defeated another of his detachments at *Rheinfeldt*. In a word, he not only raised his character to the highest pinnacle of fame, by defeating the schemes of the duke of *Lorraine*, but he obliged that prince to lay aside all thoughts of re-possessing his paternal dominions, which he so eagerly desired, that it was the chief object of all his projects. The consequence ended with the taking of *St. Guilain* by *de Humieres*, and the defeat of *Monterey* by the marshal *de Noailles* ^k.

A. D. 1677.

Battle of
Mount
Cassel.

Crequi's fa-
mous cam-
paign.

e DURING the winter the king of *England* renewed the negotiations as mediator. The people in general were for his declaring war; but he considered the bulk of the nation as an unruly, turbulent, factious people; the *Dutch* as a mean penurious set of merchants, from whom he could not expect large grants of money to supply his extravagancies; and *Lewis* as his affectionate kinsman, his warm friend, and generous benefactor. It could not therefore be expected that his mediation would be impartial. In fact, *Charles* inclined so much to the side of *France*, and *Lewis* gave law in so absolute a manner, that his terms were rejected, and a resolution taken by the allies once more to try their fortune in the field. Their success did not correspond with the spirit exerted to bring *France* to reasonable conditions of peace. *Lewis's* armies on the very same day invested *Mons*, *Namur*, *Charlemont*, *Luxembourg*, and *Ypres*. *Ghent* likewise was besieged by *d'Humieres*, and taken on the 9th of *March*, having sustained a siege only four of days. The citadel capitulated on the 12th. *Ypres*, after a siege of seven days, capitulated on the 25th, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in the way of the besiegers by the inundation of the country, and the brave defence of *M. Conflans*, who held the place for his catholic majesty. *Luxembourg* commanded the siege, and gave two assaults at the same time, with so much intrepidity, that *Conflans* beat a parley, and received honourable conditions. Upon this his majesty returned to *St. Germain*, leaving the army in quarters of refreshment.

1678.

Several towns
surrender to
the French.

^e HAINAULT, an. 1676.
^k PELISON, ibid.

^b PELISON, t. iii. p. 260.

ⁱ Idem ibid. Etiam Le Siecle, p. 172.

Crequi's se-
cond cam-
paign.

THIS campaign was still more glorious to marshal *Crequi* than the last. In every thing he a foiled the duke of *Lorraine*, though that prince had the reputation of an expert general. From the marshal's operations on this occasion, the finest lessons in the military art may be drawn. His marches, countermarches, encampments, and attacks, all tended to harass and destroy the duke's army. They succeeded so happily, that the enemy were reduced to near an equality in strength; upon which he defeated them, having forced the duke, by his artful dispositions, to give battle¹.

The French
evacuate
Sicily.

In *Sicily* matters went less successfully for *Lewis*. Nothing can be more fickle than the temper of the *Sicilians*, always rebelling, and always in a state of servitude; their seditions produced nothing but a change of fetters. *France* had delivered *Messina* out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, and were, in return, treated with ingratitude. The people conspired against b the duke *de Vivonne*, who treated them with kindness; and every day produced new plots and cabals, which all his foresight and vigilance could neither prevent nor punish. As the *Dutch* fleet hovered round the coast, it was difficult to withdraw the *French* troops; yet the rebellious, turbulent humour of the people rendered it necessary. Accordingly *Vivonne* embarked them, and determined to run all hazards, rather than be exposed to the insults and ingratitude of a set of burghers, insensible of friendship. He set sail on the 8th of *April*, and arrived in *France*, without having once seen the enemy^m.

The policy of
the Dutch.

THE prince of *Orange* having espoused the princess *Mary*, daughter to the duke of *York*, obtained great credit with the *English* parliament, who determined to force the king to re- c nounce the alliance of *Lewis*. *William* would have willingly continued the war; but the states deducing no solid advantage from all the efforts of *Spain* and the empire, entertained thoughts of concluding a separate peace. That politic republic found means to become auxiliaries in a war undertaken to save her from perdition, and to render *Spain* and the emperor principals in a quarrel, upon which they entered from motives of compassion. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers were met at *Nimeguen*, and the *Dutch* deputies were negotiating for themselves and the catholic king. *France* insisted upon keeping *Bouchain*, *Conde*, *Ypres*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, *Maubage*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Cassel*, *Charlemont*, and a great part of *Flanders*, but consented to restore *Charleroy*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, *Ath*, *Ghent*, and *Limburg*, d to the *Spaniards*. The ministers of the catholic king demanded of the *French* plenipotentiaries, to appoint a day for the restitution of those places; but they were given to understand, that the king would detain them until the allies should have restored all the places wrested from the crown of *Sweden*. By this declaration the treaty was retardedⁿ.

Congress at
Nimeguen.

CHARLES II. was incensed at the conduct of *Lewis*. He sent Sir *William Temple* to the *Hague*, with ample powers to sign a mutual league with the republic, by which the contract- ing powers would oblige themselves to compel *France* to restore the six towns in *Flanders*. Had *Charles* firmly adhered to this resolution, the treaty would have met with no obstruction; but after Sir *William Temple* had concluded the treaty, to the intire satisfaction of all those states who wished to curb the ambition and power of *Lewis*, he wavered, from his usual principle of timidity and inconstancy. *Du Croix*, the *Swedish* agent at *London*, was dispatched to Sir *William Temple*, ordering him to declare to the *Swedish* plenipotentiaries, in the king's e name, that if they would consent to the immediate evacuation of the six towns in *Flanders*, he would, after the conclusion of the peace, use all his interest in procuring justice to his *Swedish* majesty. The conduct of his *Britannic* majesty indicated his unsteadiness; Sir *William Temple* was ashamed of it; and the states-general plainly discerned the king's meaning: however, they resolutely refused to sign the treaty, unless *France* immediately made the restitution demanded. *Lewis* agreed to restore to the emperor either *Friburgh* or *Philipsburgh*; the choice he left to him. He re-established in the bishopric of *Stras- burg*, and their dominions, the two *Furstembergs*, stripped by the emperor, and one of them imprisoned. As to *Lorraine*, he offered to restore the young duke *Charles V.* f provided his majesty should be put in possession of *Nanci*, and all the great roads. *Lewis* indeed prescribed with the air of a conqueror; the allies differed among themselves; each blamed the other, and complained, that the whole load of the war was left upon his shoulders; but they all, except the spirited duke of *Lorraine*, accepted the terms offered by *France*, with very little variation. The *French* ambassadors seemed inflexible with respect to the restitution of the six towns; nor did they yield before the very last day of the congress, when, all of a sudden, they desisted from their pretensions, as if they had a mind to make a compliment of the concessions. As for the duke of *Lorraine*, he preferred wandering a vagrant thro' the empire, to mean submission, and the possession of dominions without honour or dignity^o.

Conditions
granted to
Lewis.

¹ HAINAULT, an. 1678, p. 790.
Siecle, t. i. p. 178.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ PELISSON, t. iii. p. 2-1.

^o VOLTAIRE

^a DURING the sitting of the congress, the duke of *Luxemburgh* kept *Mons* blocked up, and *Lewis* endeavoured to protract the treaty, until that place should be reduced. While he was at dinner with the intendant, relying upon the faith of treaties, his quarters were suddenly attacked by the prince of *Orange*. A long and obstinate conflict ensued, in which, after much blood-shed, *William* remained master of the field. All writers exclaim against this attack, as a perfidious breach of faith. The treaty, say they, had been signed four days before; the prince was perfectly acquainted with that circumstance, though he had hitherto received no formal intimation of the peace. It was therefore inexcusable to shed the blood of so many brave men, and sacrifice to resentment so many innocent victims, after peace had spread her healing influence, and closed up those wounds, occasioned by a long and cruel war^p. But prejudice seems to dictate these sentiments. *William* had certainly as much right to attempt the relief of *Mons*, as *Luxemburgh* had to keep it blockaded. He was sensible the design of *Lewis* in protracting the treaty was to gain possession of that important fortress. If *Luxemburgh* knew that the treaty was signed, why did he not withdraw his forces, and give the prince of *Orange* notice of what had been done? From his conduct, it is almost certain, that *Lewis* would have taken advantage of the surrender of the town, had that event happened before a regular intimation of the peace had been sent to both commanders. Disappointment made him exclaim against the prince's conduct. *French* writers have imbibed their sovereign's resentment; and the spirit of party, and strong prejudices, have occasioned *English* writers to close with their sentiments. The battle of *St. Denis* did not alter a single article in the treaty, which was signed by all parties, except the emperor, on the 1st of *August*, and peace once more restored to *Europe*. It was remarkable that *Holland*, against which the war was undertaken, that in the very beginning was reduced to the verge of destruction, lost nothing. The *Dutch* even gained a barrier; whereas all the other powers, who stood up in their defence, were losers. As to *Lewis*, he had the honour of supporting a war against the most formidable powers of the continent, of giving his own terms to Christendom, and of having extended his dominions by the conquest of *Franche Compté*, *Dunkirk*, and a great part of *Flanders*; though it must be acknowledged that he impoverished his people, and sacrificed real felicity to empty glory.

Battle of St. Denis.

Reflections on that battle.

Conclusion of the treaty of Nimeguen.

^p Auſt. ſupra citat.

S E C T. XVI.

Lewis erects courts of judicature in the empire; he augments his marine, bombards Algiers and Genoa, and at length involves Europe in a general war about the Spanish ſucceſſion. The confederacy formed againſt France; and the events of the firſt campaign related.

^d **A**S the emperor had not yet acceded to the treaty of *Nimeguen*, the war ſtill continued. *Nuitz* was beſieged and taken, but reſtored to the elector of *Cologne*, as ſoon as the court of *Vienna* conſented to ſign the peace, which happened towards the end of the year. It was now that *Lewis* began to exert that deſpotiſm, and aſſume that ſuperiority over other princes, which marked the insolence of power more than all his conqueſts. Courts of juſtice were eſtabliſhed at *Metz* and *Briſac*, to re-unite to his crown all thoſe territories which had been deemed appenages and dependencies on *Alſace*, notwithſtanding they had, by ſeveral late treaties, been adjudged to other maſters. The king of *Spain*, who claimed ſeveral bailliages in this diſtrict, the elector palatine, and ſeveral princes of the empire, were cited before this tribunal, to do homage to *Lewis*, or be puniſhed with the conſiſcation of their eſtates. The electors palatine and *Treves* were ſtripped of ſeveral lordſhips; they carried their complaints to the diet of *Ratiſbon*, and received the empty ſatiſfaction of vain proteſts. The intrigues of *France*, and the dread of her power, which had opened the gates of ſo many other cities, gained the magiſtrates of *Strasburgh*. The inhabitants, whoſe love of freedom for ſo many ages enabled them to preſerve their liberties, ſaw themſelves, in the miſt of profound peace, the ſubjects of a deſpotic king, and their ramparts lined with 20,000 men^e.

The power which Lewis aſſumes in the empire.

^e HAINAULT, ſub ann.

A. D. 1681.
His applica-
tion to domestic
affairs.

1682.
He obliges the
piratical states
of Africa to
make submis-
sions.

1684.
He bombards
Genoa.

His quarrel
with the apo-
stolic see.

A. D. 1688.

The origin of
the war be-
tween France,
the states ge-
neral, Spain
and Britain.

WHILE *Lewis* was thus extending his dominions by fraud and intrigue, he did not forget the internal security and interest of his kingdom. The harbour of *Toulon* was constructed at an immense expence, made capable of containing 100 ships of war, and adorned with a fine arsenal, and magnificent magazines. *Brest*, *Dunkirk*, and *Havre de-grace*, were filled with men of war; and nature was forced, to convert *Rocheport* into a convenient sea-port. The marine of *France* was among the most formidable in *Europe*. *Lewis* saw himself master of near 100 ships of above forty guns, and many of them first rates. He gave proofs of his maritime power that tended to the general good of Christendom. The *Mediterranean* was covered with corsairs, and commerce interrupted. *Duquesne* was sent with a squadron to *Algiers*; he bombarded the city, and reduced the ferocious inhabitants to the necessity of making proper submission. On this occasion it was that *France* had made the first trial of bomb ketches, the contrivance of one *Bernard Renard*, a man dragged from obscurity by the penetration of the great *Colbert*, who never omitted an opportunity of rendering genius useful to society. *Tunis* and *Tripoli* made the same acknowledgements as *Algiers*. The terror of seeing that city laid twice in ashes, by the new contrivance of bombs, struck with dread all the piratical states, who, in compliment to *Lewis*, released all their Christian slaves, except the *English*, whom *Dumfreville*, the *French* officer sent to receive the prisoners, put again on shore, because they boasted that the Dey set them free out of respect to the king of *England* (A). *Lewis*'s indignation next fell upon the republic of *Genoa*. In the late war that city had assisted *Spain* with a small squadron; she had likewise sold ammunition to the *Algerines*, contrary to the express request of the king. *Lewis* demanded reparation by the mouth of *M. Saint Olon*; and the republic relying on the protection of *Spain*, refused to make concessions. Incensed at her insolence, the *French* monarch determined to chastise *Genoa*. A fleet of fourteen ships of the line, twenty galleys, ten bomb ketches, and a great number of frigates, put to sea, under *Duquesne*, and appeared before the city. *Seignalay*, who succeeded his father *Colbert* as secretary of the marine, was on board, and forwarded the expedition with all that vigour, fire, and activity, for which he was distinguished. Fourteen thousand shells were thrown into the city, and many of its superb edifices set on fire and reduced to ashes. Four thousand soldiers debarked at the gates, and burnt the suburb of *St. Peter d'Arena*. Every thing tended to the ruin of the republic, and to prevent it, the senate was forced to alter their tone, and descend to the most mortifying concessions. It was demanded that the doge, and four principal senators, should implore the king's clemency at *Versailles*; and that the doge should be continued in his place, notwithstanding the perpetual law which divested him of all his authority, the moment he set foot out of the city. Necessity obliged the republic to grant every thing. The doge and senate appeared at the court of *Versailles*, made their apologies to *Lewis*, and were treated by him with great dignity, and haughtiness of carriage, extremely mortifying to those spirited republicans.

In the same stile of despotic arrogance did *Lewis* treat the apostolic see; his ambassador *Lavardin* entering *Rome* in an hostile manner, at the head of some hundreds of armed guards. *Innocent XI.* in vain poured out the thunders of the *Vatican* upon *Lavardin*; his impotent endeavours were despised, and the head of Christ's church mortified with the contempt shewn to his spiritual authority, because he could not support it with temporal power. The extensive privileges which foreign ambassadors enjoyed at *Rome*, extremely disturbed the police of the city. *Innocent* had a mind to retrench these privileges; *Spain*, and several other courts, consented to his resolution; but *Lewis* would hearken to no proposals, however reasonable, that could detract from the glory and dignity of his crown. This was the dispute which the pope was forced to compromise, in a way not very satisfactory to the pride of Christ's vicar.

WITH the same haughtiness of conduct would *Lewis* raise his creature cardinal *Furstemburg* to the see of *Cologne*, void by the death of the incumbent. The power of election was in the chapter; and *Lewis*'s gold, distributed among the canons, had gained them to his interest: but as the immediate nomination was in the power of the pope, and the confirmation in that of the emperor, the most christian king foresaw that he should meet with opposition, and

* Le Siecle, t. i. p. 189.

* Vid. auct. supra citat.

(A) Soon after the bombardment of *Tunis* died *Colbert*, the greatest minister *France* ever produced, and the most faithful servant *Lewis* ever possessed. His vigilance, industry, and genius, had raised *France* to a powerful maritime power, and extended her commerce to every quarter of the globe. To his abilities *Lewis* owed the faculty of sustaining those manifold and ha-

zardous wars, in which *Europe* has since been engaged. *Colbert* it was who furnished him with the capacity of becoming the common disturber of Christendom. *Lewis* abused the great talents of his minister, so well calculated to render him powerful, amiable, a blessing to his subjects, and the admiration of mankind.

therefore

a therefore determined to support the election of the chapter by force of arms. He accordingly seized upon *Avignon*, as soon as pope *Innocent* declared his intention to espouse *Clement* of *Bavaria*, brother of the late elector; and at the same time prepared an army to march into *Germany*, now exhausted by a long and bloody war with the grand signior, in which *Vienna*, the capital, sustained a siege of six weeks. This dispute, the infractions of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, the high hand assumed by *Lewis* with respect to the demesnes belonging to *Alsace*, the death of the queen of *Spain*, the prevalence of *German* councils at the court of *Madrid*, the aspiring ambition of the *French* monarch, the rancorous animosity which the prince of *Orange*, now *William III.* of *England*, bore to that sovereign, the assistance lent by *France* to the unfortunate *James II.* *Lewis's* refusal to acknowledge the prince of *Orange* king of *England*, the jealousy of the surrounding states, their desire to retrench the power of *France*, and the apprehensions of the empire, *England*, and *Holland*, lest the crowns of *France* and *Spain* might be one day united to the house of *Bourbon*, with a variety of other circumstances, produced a war between the kings, the emperor, and the *Dutch*. Before the prince of *Orange* had left the *Texel*, to take possession of the crown of *England*, *Lewis* had armies advancing to the *Rhine* and the frontiers of *Holland*. The dauphin, a prince of a mild and amiable disposition, was sent to command an army of 100,000 men, with the marshals *de Duras*, *Catinat*, and *Vauban*, under him. But before we proceed to the military operations, it will be necessary we should concisely relate the confederacy formed to oppose *Lewis* ¹.

c THE courage, vigilance, and conduct, which the prince of *Orange* had exerted in the last war, raised his reputation and influence to the highest pitch in *Holland*. Policy, prejudice, and disposition, all contributed to confirm him the inveterate enemy of *France*. Before his accession to the throne of *England*, *William* had projected a confederacy to clip the soaring wings of the most Christian king. His influence had prevailed upon the princes of the empire, assembled in the diet, to exhort the emperor to avenge *Lewis's* infractions of the treaty of *Nimeguen*. They therefore besought his imperial majesty to make peace with the *Turks*, and come to an open rupture with the *French* monarch; in which case they promised to consider it as a war of the empire. Accordingly the emperor negotiated an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the states general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate, with their whole power, against *France* and her allies; to engage in no separate treaty upon any pretence whatsoever; and to hearken to no terms of accommodation, until the treaties of *Westphalia*, *Osnaburgh*, *Munster*, the *Pyrenees*, and *Nimeguen*, should be fully vindicated. It was agreed, that *Spain* and *England* should be invited to accede to this treaty; and in a separate article the parties stipulated, that in case his catholic majesty *Charles II.* of a puny and infirm constitution, should die without issue, the alliance should be exerted to the utmost to procure the *Spanish* monarchy for the house of *Austria*, and the dignity of the king of the *Romans* for the emperor's son *Joseph*. *William*, while only prince of *Orange*, was the soul of this alliance; after his accession to the throne of *Great Britain*, he exerted his utmost abilities to bring the parliament to accede to the treaty, and he proved successful. A variety of reasons were easily suggested for coming to a rupture with *France*; and, to cloak the real designs of *William*, several arguments were advanced in the declaration of war relative to *Great Britain*, though in fact the war was undertaken from views merely continental.

FULLY to understand the reasons which drew *Spain* into this confederacy, we must go a little back. The catholic king's marriage with princess *Mary Louisa*, daughter of the duke of *Orleans*, seemed to confirm, in the strongest manner, the treaties between *France* and *Spain*. During the life-time of this princess, and in the year 1685, the emperor demanded of the king of *Spain* the sovereignty of the *Low Countries*, for the archduchess his daughter, lately married to the elector of *Bavaria*. *Lewis*, persuaded that if such a settlement took place, it would be a violation of the truce, gave orders to the marquis *de Feuquieres*, his ambassador at *Madrid*, to declare his sentiments to the catholic king. In consequence the *Spanish* ministers, alarmed with the apprehensions of a rupture, gave *Feuquieres* the strongest assurances of their sincere intention to avoid every thing capable of offending the most Christian king. Baffled in this expectation, the court of *Vienna* tried, in 1687, whether they could not prevail on the king of *Spain* to suffer the archduke, second son to the emperor, to be educated at the court of *Madrid*, as heir presumptive to the *Spanish* monarchy. This negotiation was carried on with great secrecy, but it could not escape the penetration of *Lewis*, who immediately sent orders to his ambassador to demand a private audience of the catholic king, and likewise to present into that prince's own hands a memorial, representing, "That if the king of *Spain*, influenced by evil counsellors, should subvert the order of succession, the king in that case could not avoid executing whatever he thought most effectual for main-

¹ Siecle, t. i. p. 213. HAINAULT, sub ann. 1688-9.

“ taining the dauphin’s rights, and must consider every thing done in favour of the archduke a
 “ as an infraction of the peace between the two crowns.” *Charles* gave an answer in general terms; but he permitted the prince to assure the ambassador, that he would never nominate a successor until he was on his death-bed. In the year 1689 *Mary Louisa* of *Orleans* died, and with her sunk the influence of *France* at the court of *Madrid*. The emperor gained ground in proportion; and his councils had an intire sway over the mind of *Charles II.* upon the marriage of that prince with the duke of *Neuburgh*’s daughter, who was sister to her imperial majesty. These were the circumstances which brought his catholic majesty into the confederacy against *Lewis*, and obliged his most Christian majesty to declare war, first against the emperor and the states-general, next against *Spain*, afterwards against *England*, though in fact hostilities had been committed against this last crown previous to any declaration of b
 war.”

In consequence of *Lewis*’s declaration, the marquis *de Castanaga*, governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, issued a counter declaration, couched in very bitter terms, accusing the *French* king of having erected arbitrary courts in the empire, of having laid waste the dominions of the house of *Austria*, without regard to the obligations of religion or humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most flagrant acts of tyranny and oppression; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. This alluded to the good understanding which *Lewis* constantly maintained with the grand signior.

A. D. 1688. LEWIS had, previous to this declaration, come to blows with the imperialists and *Dutch*. c
 The grand army, commanded by the dauphin in person, invested *Philipsburgh* about the middle of *October*, and *Vauban* directed the operations of the siege. It surrendered nineteen days after the trenches were opened. This event was succeeded by the reduction of a variety of other places. *Manheim* was taken in two days; *Frankendal* in two; *Spires*, *Treves*, *Worms*, *Oppenheim*, *Heidelberg*, and *Mentz*, surrendered before the king’s armies approached the walls. The palatinate, doomed to perdition whenever a war happens in the empire, was now laid
 The ravaging of the palatinate. desert, and its flourishing cities and villages reduced to ashes, to revenge that spirit and activity exerted by the elector palatine, in forming the league of *Augsburg* against *France*. Nothing could equal the inexpressible misery of that country: men, women, and children, driven, in the depth of winter, out of their habitations, to wander naked, and starved with d
 cold and hunger, round the fields, while they saw their houses stripped and set on fire by the fury of the soldiers, who are always sure to exceed in barbarity the most rigid and cruel orders. This terrible persecution began at *Manheim*, the seat of the electors. The tombs of those princes were opened to seek for hidden treasures, and their ashes scattered abroad. Such indeed was the savage rage and avarice shewn in executing *Lewis*’s instructions, that it ever will remain an indelible stain on his memory. Some blamed *Louvois*, but unjustly, as *Lewis* certainly had it in his power to reject the minister’s counsel. Nations, says *Voltaire*, who had hitherto only blamed his ambition while they admired his character, now exclaimed against the barbarity of a monarch, who, drowned in the pleasures of the most luxurious court in *Europe*, could give orders for the total destruction of a whole principa- e
 lity”. Twice in the same reign had those cruelties been committed in this electorate; but the conflagration raised by *Turenne*, however dreadful, was but a mere spark of fire, when compared to those flames which universally reduced the palatinate to a heap of ashes, and the inhabitants to a multitude of the most distressed beggars.

1689. THE emperor had three armies in the field against *France*, besides the army opposed to the *Turks*. One, under the duke of *Bavaria*, acted on the *Upper Rhine*; another, and the main army, led by the duke *Charles* of *Lorraine*, on the *Middle Rhine*; and a third, commanded by the elector of *Brandenburgh*, with his own troops and those of *Westphalia*, on the *Lower Rhine*. Prince *Waldec*, in *Flanders*, was at the head of a body of 33,000 *Dutch*, who were joined by 10,000 *English* auxiliaries under the earl of *Marlborough*, and a body f
 of *Spaniards* detached by the governor of the *Netherlands*. Such were the forces opposed to *France*, to check the rapidity of her conquests, which had already spread terror and desolation through the empire. *Lewis* wisely concluded, that the unanimity of the powers of *Germany* would be of no long duration. Instead therefore of facing the imperial forces with armies capable of giving battle in the open fields, he threw strong garrisons into the principal towns, and sent several different corps, under the conduct of *Sourdis*, *Boufflers*, *Monclaire*, *Choisseuil*, the chief command of the whole being vested in the duke *de Duras*, who had orders to seize every opportunity of harrassing the enemy, by intercepting their convoys,

^u Ibid. Etiam *Memoires de TORCI*, t. i. p. 3.

^w *Le Siecle*, t. i. p. 215. HAINAULT, sub ann. surprizing

- a surprising their parties, burning their towns, and ravaging the countries through which they must pass, to prevent the possibility of their subsisting. The first enterprize formed by the allies, was to drive the *French* out of the electorate of *Cologne*. *Rhinbergh* submitted without the necessity of a siege. *Keyserswaert* was next invested by the elector of *Brandenburgh*: the governor capitulated three days after the trenches were opened. In the month of *July* the duke of *Lorraine* sat down before *Mentz*, and was joined by the duke of *Bavaria*; the siege was obstinate; the marquis *de Uxelles* making the best dispositions of defence within, while the duke *de Duras*, with his little army, was by every means harassing and disturbing the enemy's operations without. *Boufflers* likewise attacked and defeated a detachment of imperialists, most of whom were put to the sword, on their refusal to lay down their arms. *Mentz*, however, was forced to surrender by the 6th of *September*, after having cost the allies above 5,000 men. *Bonne* had for some time been blocked up by the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who was on the point of relinquishing the enterprize, when the news of the surrender of *Mentz* arrived. Soon afterwards he was joined by the duke of *Lorraine*, and the city was besieged in form. Baron *Asfeld*, who commanded the garrison, being mortally wounded, the place surrendered on the 15th of *October*, after having sustained a siege of five weeks open trenches; and been blocked up for the space of three months. In *Flanders* the marshal *d'Humieres* received a check at *Walcourt*, where he engaged prince *Waldec* with a superior army. This affair proved of little advantage to the allies; but it hurt the reputation of the marshal, who was deprived of the command by *Louvois* his intimate friend, and succeeded by *Luxemburgh*, with whom that minister had always been at variance. This promotion does great honour to *Louvois*, as it indisputably shewed his readiness to sacrifice his private resentment and prejudice to the glory of his master and the good of his country. In *Catalonia* the king's army had taken the field so early under the command of the duke *de Noailles*, that several advantages were gained before the *Spaniards* had assembled a force sufficient to oppose him. The campaign ended to the advantage of the allies, *Noailles* being defeated in his attempt to raise the siege of *Campredon* *.

M. de Humieres defeated by prince Waldec.

- LEWIS was now under the necessity of sending an army to *Italy*. The duke of *Savoy*, either from a natural inconstancy of disposition, or the jealousies entertained by the *French* monarch, who demanded security for his conduct, acceded to the confederacy, and signed a treaty of alliance with the emperor and king of *Spain*, by which he was appointed captain-general of the forces in *Italy*. *Catinat*, one of the most enterprising, expert, and judicious officers in the king's service, opposed him. *Catinat* united the fire of a hero to the phlegm of a philosopher. Bred to the law, he quitted it in disgust, and rose to the highest rank in the army by dint of merit. Every where he shewed himself superior to the duke, who had acquired considerable military reputation, at the same time that he was esteemed the most artful and politic prince in *Italy*. *Catinat* gave battle to *Victor Amadeus* at *Staffarda*, and obtained a complete victory. The superiority of his capacity appeared by the fine disposition he made, and the inequality of the losses sustained, for while *Catinat* had no more than 900 men killed, the duke left above 4000 dead upon the field. The consequences of this victory were still more important. All *Savoy*, except the fortress of *Montmelion*, was soon reduced. His highness retired every where before the *French* general, without daring to attempt the relief of the most important towns in his dominions. Indeed, the whole of this campaign was a series of fortunate events, that gained *Catinat* a reputation little inferior to that of *Conde* and *Turenne* †.

A. D. 1690. The duke of Savoy joins the confederates.

- THE face of affairs in *Flanders* was wholly altered by the arrival of the duke of *Luxemburgh*, the pupil and friend of *Conde*, whom he greatly resembled in many of the lineaments of his character. His genius was vast, his judgment correct, and his imagination fertile. Every quality of a hero were united in *Luxemburgh*, and he improved his natural talents by indefatigable application and long experience under the greatest commanders. He admired *Turenne*; but he imitated *Conde*, possessing, like him, that noble ardor, and quick intuitive apprehension, which seemed to form him a general from his birth. *Luxemburgh*, to retrieve the spirit of his troops, and prove himself worthy of the preference given him, determined to make prodigious efforts before the allied army was formed. His various movements produced the famous battle of *Fleuris*, in which he obtained a complete victory over the allied army commanded by prince *Waldec*. That general had shewn his superiority over *de Humieres* in the last campaign; he was now forced to yield the palm to *Luxemburgh*, and confess that his success flowed wholly from his merit. Of the confederate army 6000 were left dead on the field, 8000 were taken prisoners, together with their artillery, baggage, and 200 pair of colours and standards. In this battle the *Dutch* infantry acquired immortal honour, the

Duke of Luxemburgh retrieves affairs in Flanders.

* Vid. ant. supra citat.

† Le Seicle, t. i. p. 218.

duke of *Luxemburgh* acknowledging that their firmness and intrepidity exceeded the bravery ^a of the *Spanish* infantry at *Rocroy*. The allies took so effectual measures to repair the loss sustained at *Fleuris*, that prince *Waldec* was soon greatly superior to *Luxemburgh*, who now was forced to act defensively, until the severity of the winter obliged both armies to retire into winter quarters ².

Death of
Seignalay.

Naval affairs.

On the *Upper Rhine* nothing extraordinary occurred. Here the dauphin opposed the elector of *Bavaria*, and frustrated all the schemes of that prince to open a way into the *French* dominions, by gaining possession of the strong fortrefs of *Hunningen*. The year concluded with the loss of *St. Christophers*, a valuable sugar island, which has ever since remained in the hands of the *English*, and the death of that able and faithful minister *Seignalay*, secretary of the marine, who was succeeded in his office by *M. Pontchartrain*, comptroller-general. At ^b sea the king's squadrons had been twice victorious over the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland*. The preceding year *Lewis* sent *Chateau Renaud* with a strong squadron, to make a diversion, in favour of king *James*, on the coast of *Ireland*. King *William* had notice of the destination of *Renaud*, and ordered admiral *Herbert*, with twelve ships of the line, to intercept the *French* admiral. Stress of weather having prevented *Herbert* from meeting his enemy at sea, he steered directly for *Bantry-bay*, and there found *Renaud*, who immediately stood out to give him battle. The skill and artifice of this officer baffled the attempts of *Herbert* to gain the windward. An obstinate action for two hours was maintained with equal valour; but fortune declared in favour of the *French*. The *English* squadron stood off, keeping up a running fight for some hours, when *Renaud*, satisfied with the honour he had gained, tacked ^c about, dropt the pursuit, and returned to the bay. The naval transactions of the present year redounded still more to the honour of *Lewis*. *Tourville* having joined *Renaud*, and taken the chief command, set sail from *Brest* to insult the coasts of *Great Britain*. His fleet was the most formidable that *France* had ever put to sea; it amounted to seventy-eight ships of war, and twenty-two fireships. So powerful a fleet could not fail to alarm *Mary*, queen-regent of *England*, in the king's absence. She sent orders to lord *Torrington* to put to sea with all possible expedition, and join the *Dutch* squadron. The combined fleet did not exceed fifty-five ships of war; but as *Torrington* had express orders to intercept the enemy, he came to an engagement off *Beachy Head*. The *Dutch* squadron, which composed the van, bore down on *Tourville* about nine o'clock. In half an hour the rear of the *French* was closely engaged with ^d the blue division of the *English* squadron. The action was exceeding warm, and both the *English* and *Dutch* ships engaged behaved with the utmost intrepidity; but not being seconded by *Torrington*, who led the center, they were almost surrounded by *Tourville*. Night happily interfered, and prevented the total destruction of the *Dutch*, who were pursued to *Rye*, where a ship of sixty guns was drove ashore, and narrowly escaped being burnt by the *French* frigates. Six *Dutch* and two *English* ships of the line were destroyed. *Dick* and *Brackel*, the *Dutch* rear admirals, were slain, together with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. In a word, the victory was complete, and the *English* nation so incensed at their disgrace, that *Torrington* was committed a prisoner to the tower. *Tourville* pursued his blow, and insulted the enemies coast by a descent on *Tingmouth*, where, according to the *French* writers, *d'Etrees* ^e burnt four men of war, and several merchantmen ². All *English* writers however assert, that only a few small craft fell into the hands of the enemy. Be this as it may, certain we are, that this victory gained immortal honour to the marine of *France*, and put the whole *English* nation into the greatest panic and consternation (B).

A. D. 1691.
King William
held a congress
at the Hague.

WILLIAM III. having settled the affairs of his kingdom, passed over to *Holland* in the depth of winter, presided at a congress of the confederate princes at the *Hague*, and took the most vigorous measures for retrieving the affairs of the allies in *Flanders* and *Italy*. He agreed to support the alliance with 20,000 men, and so liberally supplied the duke of *Savoy*, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. *Lewis* was no less diligent to oppose a proper force to the mighty armies assembling to blight his glory. The siege of *Mons* was ^f formed by the king in person, before the allies imagined the *French* had quitted their winter-quarters. *Luxemburgh* directed the operation, and the dauphin, with the dukes of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, were present. The garrison consisted of 6000 men; but the besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and the princes of the blood, carried on the works

² HAINAULT, t. ii. sub an. 1690.

^a HAINAULT, p. 799. SMOLLET'S Hist. vol. iv.

(B) Before we conclude the transactions of the year, we cannot help mentioning the aspersions thrown on the character of *Lewis*, who was violently suspected of being accessory to the death of his inveterate enemy the brave and unfortunate duke of *Lorraine*. That prince had threatened to enter *France* at the head of 40,000

men; and this amazing declaration gave colour to the suggestions of *Lewis*'s enemies, that his highness was poisoned, to prevent the execution of his vast designs. It is certain that no proofs ever appeared to fix the accusation, which seems to have its whole foundation in rancorous malice.

a with such rapidity, that the prince of *Bergue*, governor of *Mons*, was forced to surrender, before prince *Waldec* could assemble an army sufficient to attempt raising the siege. *Lewis* made his triumphant entry, and then returned to *Versailles*, leaving *Luxembourg* to finish the campaign. The superiority of the enemy obliged him to act with caution: however, while the prince was encamped at *Leuze*, he seized the opportunity of a thick fog to attack him unprepared. The combat was obstinate; but in the end prince *Waldec* was forced to retreat with loss, notwithstanding his army was double the number of the enemy ^b (A).

In *Italy* the king's troops, after a short intermission of success, resumed their former superiority. The maritime powers paid their proportions of money; but the emperor and king of *Spain*, who had undertaken to furnish troops, were dilatory. *Catinat* seized the opportunity, and pushed his advantage with the utmost vigour. He made himself master of *Villa Franca*, *Nice*, *Villana*, and *Carmagnola*. The marquis *Feuquieres* was sent to invest *Coni*; the passes of the valley *Aoste* were forced by *la Hoquette*, and free admission granted to the *Milanese* and *Vercellois*. *Turin* was threatened with a bombardment; the people became clamorous, and the duke of *Savoy* was reduced to the brink of ruin. Prince *Eugene*, however, changed the scale of fortune: he approached *Coni* with intention to relieve it; and *Bulonde*, who commanded the operations, no sooner was informed of his design, than he precipitately raised the siege. In consequence, *Catinat* was under the necessity of retiring with his army towards *Villa Nova d'Aoste*. The miscarriage before *Coni*, and the retreat of the French army out of *Piedmont*, so deeply affected *Louvois*, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated this event to the king, who told him with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune ^c.

The French retreat out of Piedmont.

Lewis laboured with indefatigable diligence to fill the vacancy in the papal throne; but the retreat of his army out of *Piedmont* had such an influence on the conclave, that all the power and intrigue of the French faction could not prevent the election of the cardinal *Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, supported by the interest of the emperor and king of *Spain*. The new pontiff assumed the name of *Innocent*, in honour of the last pope known by that appellation, and adopted all the prejudices of *Alexander VIII.* against *Lewis* and the French government. *Catinat*, though greatly inferior to the confederates after the arrival of the elector of *Bavaria*, found means, however, to undertake the conquest of *Montmelion*, which he effected after an obstinate resistance. *Louvois* did not live to see this change of affairs in *Italy*. He died in the month of *July*, with the reputation of an intelligent, active, enterprising, and faithful minister. He established the same order in the army that *Colbert* had in the marine. Attentive only to the interest of his country, he subdued his prejudices, and sacrificed his friendships, to promote merit, and perform the duty of a faithful servant. His penetration was exceeded by nothing but his profound secrecy, and that astonishing dispatch which he shewed in the most difficult affairs. Informed of every thing, he connected and compared circumstances so happily, that he struck out the finest and most extensive projects, which he executed with a rapidity peculiar to himself. In a word, with his death we may date the decline of *Lewis's* glory, which owed its rise to the abilities of *Colbert*, and progress to the vast talents of *Louvois*.

Louvois's death and character.

e On the *Rhine* the king's army attempted to surprise *Mentz*: they maintained a correspondence with one of the imperial commissioners, but a timely discovery frustrated their designs. However, all the schemes projected by the emperor were rendered abortive by the death of his general the elector of *Saxony*, while the French army, after crossing the *Rhine*, took possession of *Portzdeim*. As to the affairs in *Catalonia*, though not very important, they were favourable to the king. The duke de *Noailles* besieged and took *Urgel* in *Catalonia*; while the count d'*Etrees*, with a squadron of men of war, bombarded *Barcelona* and *Alicant* ^d.

f THE next year was ushered in by an obstinate engagement between the king's squadron, commanded by M. de *Tourville*, and the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland*, under the conduct of the admirals *Russel*, *Delaval*, *Carter*, *Allemande*, *Callemberg*, and *Vandergoes*. *Tourville's* force did not exceed sixty-three men of war, while that of the enemy consisted of ninety-nine ships of the line. He had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the *English* and *Dutch* had not joined; and, notwithstanding circumstances were altered, he determined to obey the mandate. On the 19th the two fleets met in the channel by three o'clock in the morning. The enemy threw out the signal, and *Tourville* immediately forming his squadron, bore down along side of *Russel's* own ship, which he closely engaged. He fought him for five hours with great fury, until his ship, the *Rising Sun*, a first rate, was so much damaged, that, shifting his flags, he ordered her to be towed out of the line. At three in the

A. D. 1692. Naval affairs.

^b Le Siecle, p. 220.

^c HAINAULT, sub an. 1691.

^d HAINAULT, ibid.

(A) Almost all writers, besides *Voltaire*, say, that *Waldec* was attacked in the rear in his march to *Cambray*, and defeated. Certain it is, that he was surprised, and once more out-general'd, by the vigilant and active *Luxembourg*, who never lost one opportunity.

afternoon the two fleets were parted by a thick fog. *Tourville* took this opportunity of getting clear; but the blue squadron of the *English* came up, and engaged part of his fleet for half an hour, in which time the *French* admiral lost four ships. The *Royal-Sun* and *Admirable*, first rates, and the *Conquerant* a second rate, were drove ashore near *Cherbourg*, and burnt by admiral *Delaval*. Eighteen ships more run into *la Hogue*, where they were destroyed by Sir *George Rooke*. This was the first signal blow the marine of *France* received, and it was too severe to be easily recovered by an infant maritime power ^c.

The battle of
Steenkirk.

Lewis determined to avenge this disgrace by the utmost efforts in *Flanders*. At the head of 100,000 men he invested *Namur*, one of the strongest fortresses in the *Netherlands*, the citadel fortified by a new work, contrived by the famous *Coeborn*, who defended it in person. However, the duke of *Luxemburgh* carried on his works with so much spirit, that the town b capitulated in seven days after the trenches were opened, and the garrison retired to the citadel. The king of *England*, who commanded the allied army in person, and the elector of *Bavaria*, determined, if possible, to raise the siege of the citadel; but *Luxemburgh* took his measures so judiciously, that all their attempts were baffled. It was a noble spectacle to behold the two greatest engineers *Europe* ever bred, exhaust the whole science of attack and defence. *Vauban* made his approaches against *Coeborn* fort, defended by *Coeborn*. Several sallies and assaults were made; the besieged performed wonders; but the fortune of the besiegers prevailed, and the citadel surrendered in sight of king *William's* army. *Lewis* retired in triumph to *Verfailles*; and *Luxemburgh*, having secured a strong garrison in *Namur*, detached M. *Boufflers* c with a body of forces to *la Bouffiere*, and encamped with the rest of his army at *Soignies*. *William*, who was posted at *Genap*, resolved to seize the first opportunity of repairing the shock his reputation sustained by the loss of *Namur*. He passed the *Senne* to prevent the enemies seizing the post between *Steenkirk* and *Engbien*; but he was anticipated by the activity of *Luxemburgh*. Here *William* attacked his enemy with such impetuosity, as it required the utmost courage and intrepidity to resist. The whole camp was a scene of tumult and confusion; without the vast abilities of *Luxemburgh*, all must have been lost. He had been deceived by false intelligence, and it required an excess of heroism to repair the consequences of his error. At this critical moment he forgot a severe indisposition under which he happened to labour; he changed his ground, rallied his broken battalions, drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them three times in person to the charge. In the *French* army were d the duke of *Chartres*, then in the fifteenth year of his age, *Lewis de Bourbon*, grand nephew of the great *Conde*, and *Arnaud*, prince of *Conti*, all princes of the blood, and rivals in reputation. They put themselves at the head of the household troops, and a number of volunteers of quality, and charged the *English* with such irresistible fury, that the king retreated. The event of the battle, however, appeared doubtful, until *Boufflers* rejoined the army with his detachment. The strength of the allies sunk under the additional pressure of this reinforcement; but the good conduct of *William* enabled him to make a regular retreat, and to prevent a pursuit. His disposition was the same as when he attacked, and he appeared formidable even when vanquished. The young princes, to whose bravery this victory was attributed, were received in *France* amidst the acclamations of the people, who every where crowded the roads e as they passed. The ladies of the court contrived new fashions of dress, which they called *Steenkirks*; and the men, ever ready to copy the follies of the fair sex, wore cravats of the same appellation. In this action the allies were computed to lose 7000 men, in which were included the earl of *Angus*, general *Mackay*, Sir *John Lanier*, Sir *Robert Douglas*, with many other officers of rank and merit; and the *French* purchased the advantage dear, as, besides 3000 private men, the prince of *Turenne*, the marquis de *Bellefonds*, *Fermaçon*, *Tilladet*, and many other gallant officers, lost their lives. *Luxemburgh* indeed acknowledged, that the misbehaviour of count *Solmes*, who refused to support the prince of *Wirtemberg*, contributed more to his good fortune than all his own endeavours, and that, if that officer had discharged his duty, it would have been impossible to escape a total defeat ^f.

Affairs on the
Rhine, in Ita-
ly, and Spain.

In *Germany* *Lewis* was equally successful as in *Flanders*. The duke de *Lorges* surprised, defeated, and took prisoner, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, posted with 4000 horse near *Spirebach*, and the dauphin took possession a second time of *Heidelberg*, which the enemy had retaken; afterwards he was forced to act on the defensive ^g.

In *Italy* the king's affairs bore a less favourable aspect. *Lewis* indeed had persuaded the pope to an accommodation; but the terms proposed to the duke of *Savoy* were rejected, and that prince invaded *Dauphiny*, took *Ombrune* after a siege of nine days, overwhelmed the whole country with consternation, and then evacuated the province, without any apparent reason. In *Catalonia* the duke de *Noailles* performed nothing of consideration, and the *Spaniards* were equally inactive.

^c RALPH. t. ii. an. 1692.

^d Le Siècle, t. i. p. 221.

^e HAINAULT, sub an. 1692.

^a THE ensuing campaign in *Flanders* was a series of successes and victories. The designs formed by king *William* on *Brabant* were defeated by the vigilance of *Luxembourg*. The count *de Tilly*, posted near the king with a strong detachment, was dislodged, and three squadrons taken prisoners. *Huy* was invested by marshal *Villeroy*, and *Luxembourg* covered the siege, and secured himself by lines of contravallation. *William* advanced to relieve the place; but the garrison capitulated before his approach. The duke next resolved to attack the allies in their camp at *Neerlanden*, while they were weakened by the different detachments made from the army. A feint he made deceived *William*, and orders were immediately given to begin the attack in three different quarters. The *French* were repulsed three several times; but the duke in person, the prince of *Conti*, and the count *de Marfin*, renewing the charge with the flower of the *French* infantry, penetrated to the heart of the allied camp, where the *English* infantry and cavalry sustained all their efforts with incredible valour, until the arrival of the marshal *de Harcourt* with twenty fresh squadrons from *Huy*. This reinforcement produced a total rout of the allied forces, who were driven in great confusion off the field, with the loss of 8000 men, sixty pieces of cannon, and such a number of standards and ensigns, as made the prince of *Conti* call *Luxembourg* the upholsterer of *Notre Dame*, a church in which those trophies were displayed. Nothing was talked of in *France* but victories; however, the address of king *William* prevented their drawing any important advantage from these successes. *Luxembourg* was forced to remain a fortnight inactive at *Worms*, while the king, recalling all his detachments, was in a condition to hazard another engagement; and to suspend the designs of the *French* general, to lay siege to *Brussels*. At last, being joined by *Boufflers*, towards the end of the campaign, he invested *Charleroy*, and took his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the enemy could not retard his operations, without attacking his lines to great disadvantage. In a month the garrison, despairing of relief, capitulated, after having made a glorious defence. Thus ended the campaign in this quarter, during which *Lewis* reaped nothing but empty glory. He had gained three successive victories, but could not penetrate the frontiers of *Holland*, though he had before, without a battle, conquered half the *United Provinces*, *Flanders*, and *Franche Compté*. Battle of Lan-den.

AGAIN the miserable *Palatinate* was made a scene of desolation by *de Lorges*, which he ravaged, without sparing, what ought to have been sacred, the tombs of the dead, and places of public worship. *Heidelberg* was pillaged and reduced to ashes. *De Lorges* was twice repulsed by the prince of *Baden* in attempting to cross the *Necker*; but being joined by the dauphin, the *French* army, amounting to 70,000 men, crossed the river, found the prince of *Baden* advantageously posted, repassed the river, put a garrison into *Stugard*, and finished the campaign. Palatinate a third time laid w. ste.

LEWIS's armies in *Italy* had better fortune. The allies blocked up *Casal*, and invested *Pignerol*, which last place the duke of *Savoy* bombarded. *Catinat*, receiving a reinforcement from the *Palatinate*, descended into the plains, and struck such terror into the duke by his approach, that he abandoned the siege with precipitation. On the 4th of *October* the two armies came to an engagement, and both sides fought with incredible obstinacy and courage. The *French* were once repulsed; but *Catinat* rallied, and led them with such impetuosity to the charge, that the enemy's cavalry were put in confusion; and they, falling back upon the foot, threw the whole wing into disorder. In vain their second line was brought up to sustain the first; in vain did the duke of *Schomberg*, at the head of the *British* forces, exert every duty of a great general and valiant soldier. Nothing could retrieve the day; all was a scene of tumult. *Schomberg* was wounded in the thigh, and taken prisoner, the allied army defeated, and a fruitless victory gained at an immense expence of blood. *Catinat* displayed all the virtues of a great commander in this battle; but the obstinate resistance of the enemy so weakened his army, that he was forced to repass the mountains, after reinforcing the garrisons of *Casal*, *Susa*, and *Pignerol*. Campaign in Italy.

THE intrigues of *Lewis* had been for some time successful at *Rome* and *Constantinople*. The grand vizier, a pensionary of the king's, was now deposed, to appease the clamours of the people: the *English* and *Dutch* envoys renewed their endeavours to effect an accommodation betwixt the emperor and grand signior; but all their proposals were rejected. *Lewis* was labouring, by means of the pope, to detach the duke of *Savoy* from the confederacy. A variety of means were tried; but as the right method had hitherto escaped both *Lewis* and the pope, his highness was deaf to all their remonstrances.

IN *Catalonia* the duke *de Noailles* invested *Roses*, which capitulated in a few days. The fortrefs of *Ampurias* had the same fate; and the power of *Spain* was reduced so low, that *Noailles* might have proceeded to any length with his conquests, had not his army been greatly diminished by large detachments sent to reinforce *Catinat*. The power of *Lewis* was now at the height of grandeur. He maintained a war against all the powerful states of *Europe*, and

^a HAINAULT. sub ann. 1693.^b Le Siècle, p. 222.

Naval trans-
actions.

four vast armies in as many different parts of *Europe*. His navy was formidable, and generally triumphant over those powers who assumed to themselves the sovereignty of the ocean: and nothing could be more glorious than the naval transactions at this juncture. After the late defeat of *Tourville's* squadron, astonishing efforts were made to repair the heavy blow the *French* marine had sustained. Several large ships were bought up, and converted into men of war. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping in the kingdom, until the king's fleets were manned; and the channel was covered with privateers, to the great detriment of the *English* commerce. Extraordinary promotions were made in the navy, to excite a spirit of emulation among the officers and seamen; and in the month of *May* a fleet of seventy capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fireships, frigates, and tenders, sailed to the *Mediterranean*, under the command of *Tourville*. Here he discovered Sir *George Roke* on the 16th day of *June*, with a squadron of twenty-three men of war, convoying a fleet of 400 *English*, *Dutch*, *Danish*, *Swedish*, and other merchant-men. Immediately he plied up to the enemy, burnt, took, and sunk, three men of war, and about eighty merchant-ships. *Tourville* was blamed for not making the proper use of his superiority, and he cleared himself by fixing the blame on M. *Gabaret*. Before his return he bombarded *Gibraltar*, made an unsuccessful attempt on *Cadiz*, and destroyed a great number of *English* and *Dutch* vessels at *Alicant* and *Malaga*. To avenge this disgrace, the *English* admiral *Bembow* bombarded *St. Maloes* for three days successively; but the town received no considerable damage. *England* was discontented with defeats, and *France* was miserable by victories. The prodigious armies set on foot drained the country of inhabitants, and produced a famine. All the diligence and providence of the ministry, their care in importing corn, regulating the markets, and relieving the indigent, could not prevent multitudes from perishing with hunger. The kingdom pined under the pressure of want, while every church in *Paris* rung with thanksgivings; and *Lewis*, amidst the grandeur of power, and the utmost luxury of a polite court, was ready to sink under misfortune, poverty, and distress. It is actually affirmed, that, hedged round with victory, and adored as a divinity, he would have purchased peace by extraordinary concessions: but all terms were rejected by the king of *England*, who had not yet gratified his revenge¹.

The miserable
state of
France.

Campaign in
Catalonia.

In Flanders.

Upon the
Rhine.

THE transactions of this year began with a descent made by the *English* on the coast of *France*. Lord *Berkeley*, who commanded the enemies fleet, entered *Carmarel* bay, landed a body of forces, but was so warmly received, that he was forced to withdraw with precipitation. Afterwards the *English* fleet bombarded *Dieppe*, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. *Havre* met with the same fate, and the whole coast was overwhelmed with terror and consternation. These attempts were made with a view to draw the king's forces out of *Catalonia*, where *Lewis* had resolved to act vigorously; but they produced no effect. The duke de *Noailles* passed the *Ter* in the face of the *Spanish* army, and attacked the viceroy of *Catalonia* with such impetuosity, that he was totally defeated. *Noailles* then undertook the siege of *Palamos*, while the fleet blocked it up by sea. The garrison made a good defence; but, the town being stormed, the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. *Gironne* and *Astoric* surrendered after a short resistance, and measures were taken for investing *Barcelona*, which were frustrated by the *English* admiral *Ruffel*: however, *Noailles's* success obtained him the viceroyalty of *Catalonia*².

LUXEMBURGH, who commanded in *Flanders* under the dauphin, was obliged, on account of his inferiority of troops, to act defensively; but he took his measures with so much caution and address, as raised his reputation above his victories. His conduct here has been called a perfect copy of that fine campaign of *Turenne's* against *Montecuculi*: every scheme of the enemies was discovered by dint of penetration, and every attempt baffled by force of activity, and that promptitude in action for which *Luxembourg* was celebrated. That fine march, by which he prevented the king of *England's* taking possession of *Courtray*, and establishing winter quarters in that territory, obtained the thanks of *Lewis*, in a letter wrote by his own hand, and is mentioned as a master-piece in war by all the writers on the military art. He could not, however, save *Huy*, which *William* attacked with so much vigour, that in ten days it capitulated. Upon the *Rhine* no memorable action was performed. *De Lorges* gained a slight advantage over the prince of *Baden*; after which, both armies, afraid of each other, retired into winter quarters. A secret negociation, carrying on between the king and the duke of *Savoy*, made the war languish in *Italy*, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the other confederates, and especially of the earl of *Galway*, who succeeded *Schomberg* in the command of the *English* forces. The *Dutch* took *Pondicherry* in the *East Indies*, by which means a heavy blow was sustained by the infant *East India* company, cherished with so much care by *Colbert* and his successors. There seemed indeed a fatality attending the affairs of this company, which eternally crushed them, as they were on the point of rising to a level with those of the other commercial powers in that country³.

¹ VOLT. p. 225.

² HAINAULT, *ibid.*

³ Le Siècle, p. 229.

- a THE decline of *Lewis's* glory became every day more apparent. His most able ministers were gone, and *Luxembourg*, who till now had kept up the credit of his arms in *Flanders*, was no more. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not appease; he saw his propositions of peace rejected with disdain. *Francis de Montmorency* died at *Versailles* in the 67th year of his age, and *Lewis* lamented him as the support of his crown, and the only general, except *Catinat*, in whom he could confide. He was forced to appoint *Villeroy*, an officer of far inferior reputation, to command in *Flanders*, while *Boufflers* led a separate army, but subject to *Villeroy's* directions. The change of generals became soon apparent. *Villeroy* was forced to secure himself behind lines, though *Luxembourg*, with an inferior army, stood in such a manner on the defensive, that he awed and intimidated the enemy. King *William* ventured to invest *Namur*, deemed almost impregnable by late additional works, defended by a marshal of *France*, distinguished by his valour and conduct, with a garrison of 15,000 men, and protected by *Villeroy's* army. On the 11th day of *July* the trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with incredible fury. Several assaults were made; the garrison behaved with great intrepidity, disputed every inch of ground; but the conduct of the assailants, and particularly of the *British* forces, was altogether unprecedented. Actuated by a kind of enthusiasm, they fought with irresistible fury under the eye of their monarch, who, leaning on the shoulder of the elector of *Bavaria*, exclaimed in a rapture, "See my brave *English!*" On the 4th of *August* count *Guiscard* capitulated for the town, and marshal *Boufflers*, with the garrison, retired to the citadel; against which twelve batteries, erected under the direction of *Coehorn*, played by the 13th. The marshal exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity; but, that, in despair, he formed a scheme for forcing a passage through the confederate lines. *Villeroy*, after having taken *Dixmude* and *Deynse*, bombarded *Brussels*; and being reinforced with draughts from all the garrisons, advanced with 90,000 men to relieve the citadel of *Namur*. However, upon viewing the position of the allied army, he retired without noise in the night towards the *Mahaigue*. *Boufflers* still refused to capitulate; he expected *Villeroy* would exert his utmost ability for his relief; he sustained another grand assault, and at length capitulated on the first of *September*, upon honourable conditions. As he was marching out of the citadel, he was arrested in the name of his *Britannic* majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of *Dixmude* and *Deynse*, detained by *Villeroy* contrary to the cartel. While he remained prisoner at *Hanover*, he was treated with the utmost respect and reverence, and, after his return to *Versailles* on his parole, *Lewis* embraced him in public with the warmest expressions of regard, created him a peer of *France*, and presented him with a very large sum of money, in acknowledgement of his signal services (A.) This was the only transaction that merits notice in the *Netherlands*; the affairs upon the *Rhine* deserve still less attention, as both armies employed themselves wholly in ruining and laying waste the country. In *Italy* the conduct of the duke of *Savoy* was so equivocal, that all operations seemed suspended, except the siege of *Casal*, which he undertook, contrary to the advice of the allied generals, and took, it is supposed, with the connivance of *Lewis*; this being the sacrifice made to the inconstancy of that prince^m.
- e VENDOSME succeeded the duke de *Noailles* in *Catalonia*. He made the utmost efforts to maintain the reputation of the king's arms; but was foiled in all his attempts by the vigilance and conduct of *Ruffel*, the *English* admiral. Upon the whole, *Lewis* appeared enfeebled in every quarter. In *Flanders* he lost ground; upon the *Rhine* he gained nothing; *Italy* was a scene of intrigue and negotiations; and *Catalonia* of vain attempts and fruitless efforts. The coast of *France* was insulted by the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland*; and the king's settlements in the *West Indies* lived in perpetual terror from the *English* squadrons hovering round the islands. Such was the state of *France* at the close of the year 1695ⁿ.
- f IN the winter the allies destroyed the vast magazine erected for the use of the *French* army at *Givet*. *Lewis* was forced to act defensively this campaign in the *Netherlands*; but king *William* was disabled by the want of money to prosecute the advantage. All the wealth and patience of the *French* nation being now exhausted, *Lewis* at length perceived he was not invincible; he now for the first time entertained a diffidence of his arms, and perceived the emptiness of that adoration paid by his subjects, while their eyes were dazzled by the glare of victory from seeing the real misery of the kingdom. He had recourse to all the arts of intrigue and negotiation. He treated privately with the States general, with *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*; indeed with this last prince a treaty was on the carpet the whole preceding year.

A. D. 1695.
The decline of
Lewis's glory.

Namur taken
by king *William*.

Affairs of
Catalonia.

A. D. 1696.

Lewis concludes a peace

^m HAINAULT sub an. RALPH's Hist. Eng. sub. an.

ⁿ Vide supra.

(A) Notwithstanding this public approbation of *Boufflers's* conduct, the marquis de *Fraguieres*, that severe critic in the art of war, taxes the marshal with numberless blunders, committed both in the defence of

the town and citadel of *Namur*. He is equally severe upon his defence of *Lisse*, which gained *Boufflers* so much honour. *Mem.* p. 198.

with the duke of Savoy. *Callieres* was dispatched to *Holland* with proposals for settling preliminaries. To give weight to his negotiations with *Spain*, the king pursued active measures in *Catalonia*. *Vendosme* attacked the *Spaniards* in their camp at *Astalic*; he gained an advantage, but it was not decisive. With the duke of *Savoy* the long agitated treaty took effect. His highness closed with the offers of *Lewis*, and signed a peace at *Loretto*, to which he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. *France*, upon the whole, got nothing by this peace. Four millions of livres were given to repair the damages sustained by the duke, a promise to assist him against all his enemies, and a marriage was set on foot between his daughter the princess of *Piedmont*, and the duke of *Burgundy*. The republic of *Venice* and the apostolic see guaranteed this treaty, from a hearty desire of seeing the imperialists driven out of *Italy*. *Amadeus* wrote to all the courts engaged in the confederacy, except that of *London*, apologizing for his conduct; and, after soliciting their concurrence, and meeting with a refusal, publicly owned the treaty. One of the conditions of this peace was, that if the allies did not, at the expiration of a certain time, evacuate the duke's dominions, he should join the king to compel them by force of arms. A neutrality was offered to the confederates; but, they rejecting it with disdain, the contracting parties proposed to attack the *Milanese*. The duke, in quality of the king's generalissimo, entered that duchy, and laid siege to *Villena*. This he prosecuted for thirteen days with uncommon vigour, and would have carried the city, had not *Spain* put a stop to his operations, by accepting the neutrality for *Italy*. A suspension of arms ensued, and the confederate troops returned to their respective countries. We need only mention, that the coast of *France* was likewise this year insulted, and kept in continual alarm by *Berkeley* the *English* admiral. Several places were bombarded; but, as no extraordinary damage was sustained, these exploits only shewed, that *England* had again resumed her ancient naval superiority. We shall conclude the occurrences of this year with observing, that *Europe*, at the close of a long war, was nearly again embroiled by the death of the brave *John Sobieski* king of *Poland*, for whose crown the prince of *Conti* was a competitor. However, as this transaction will more properly fall under the occurrences of the ensuing year, we shall defer it until we have finished the negotiations set on foot for a general peace °.

A. D. 1697. *CALLIERES*, the *French* ambassador, had conducted his negotiations with the States with so much address, that, before king *William's* arrival at the *Hague*, preliminaries were adjusted, and the *Swedish* minister's mediation accepted. After various altercations, it was agreed by all parties, that a congress should sit at *Newbourg* house, a palace belonging to king *William*, near *Ryswick*. *Lewis*, besides the fatigues of a tedious ruinous war, was actuated by other motives for desiring peace. He had an eye to the succession of the *Spanish* monarchy; but his aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subsisted. The emperor had the same designs, and therefore laboured to continue the alliance. The *English* wished to see the end of a burdensome fruitless war, and king *William* only required that *Lewis* should acknowledge his title. As to the States, they wanted to secure to themselves a sufficient barrier; for this only they fought, and would gladly finish the war, could it be obtained. *Lewis* consented that the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen* should be the basis of the present negotiation; that restitution should be made of *Lorraine*, and *William* acknowledged king of *Great Britain*, without reserve; that *Strasburgh* should be delivered to the emperor, and *Luxembourg*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, and all his conquests in *Catalonia* to the king of *Spain*; that the courts erected at *Mentz* and *Brisac* should be abolished; that *Fort Lewis*, *Trierbach*, *Montroyal*, and other places, in fortifying which *Vauban* had exhausted his great talents, should be demolished: in a word, *Lewis* received terms as if he had been vanquished, and all that air of authority and despotism, which he assumed at *Nimeguen*, was vanished at *Ryswick* °.

Lewis makes farther efforts by arms, and is successful. HOWEVER, while the negotiations were on the carpet, he resolved to make his last efforts in *Catalonia* and the *Netherlands*, in hopes of obtaining better conditions. *Catinat*, *Villeroy*, and *Boufflers*, were in the field with a numerous army before the confederates had assembled, and opened the campaign with the siege of *Atb*. The town surrendered in a few days, and *William* was forced to content himself with protecting *Brussels*. The duke of *Vendosme* gained a more considerable and glorious advantage in *Catalonia*. He invested *Barcelona*, and carried on his works with such impetuosity, that though the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, with 10,000 men, made a gallant defence, he was obliged to accept a capitulation. The court of *Madrid* had sent an express order to this purpose, to prevent the ruin of the city, upon receiving advice that the army under the viceroy, intended for the relief of *Barcelona*, was defeated. *Spain* now became eager for peace, and her impatience was more inflamed by the success of *Pointis*, the king's admiral in *America*. This officer had taken *Carthagena*, pillaged the town, razed the fortifications, and arrived safe in *France* with a booty of eight millions of crowns °.

° HAINAULT sub an. 1696.

° Le Siecle, p. 236.

° HAINAULT, an. 1697.

^a THE spirits of the *French* nation were highly elated by these successes, and *Lewis* would probably have again given law to the confederates, had he been as fortunate in *Poland*, as he had been in *Flanders*, *Catalonia*, and *America*. The popular qualities of the prince of *Conti*, ^{The prince of Conti's pretensions to the crown of Poland.} and the insinuating address of the elegant *Poligniac*, afterwards cardinal of that name, obtained him a majority in the *Polish* diet. He was elected king of *Poland*, and proclaimed by the primate of the kingdom; but he was supported only by his own talents and reputation. On the contrary, *Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, was proclaimed two hours after by his party, assisted by large resources of money, and numerous forces. The other competitors united their interests with his; he was espoused by the late king's son, and had gained over many of the prince of *Conti*'s friends by a generous distribution of money. *Lewis* persisted in maintaining the pretensions of *Conti*, and equipped a fleet at *Dunkirk* to convey him to *Dantzic*; but the magistrates of that city refusing to admit his troops, he was forced to return to *France*, highly chagrined and disappointed.

His imperial majesty, who had taken part with the elector of *Saxony*, balanced the advantage gained in *Poland* against the king's late successes. He receded nothing from his first demands, and insisted that *France* should restore all her acquisitions from the empire since the peace of *Munster*. *Spain* followed the example, and demanded the confirmation or renewal of the treaties of the *Pyrenees* and *Nimeguen*, and called upon the mediator and *Dutch* to support her pretensions. While this affair was debating, the duke of *Portland* and marshal *Boufflers* held five successive conferences in sight of both armies, and at last signed a paper, whereby the peace between *England* and *France* was adjusted. This alarmed the confederates, and obliged ^{The peace of Ryswick, Sep. 20th.} all the allies, except the emperor, to sign the proposals presented by the *French* plenipotentiaries. The imperial ambassadors exclaimed against this transaction as perfidious; and protested against it as unjust to their master; but in the end they were forced to accede. Accordingly a treaty was signed between the emperor and *Lewis*; whereby the king agreed to restore *Treves*, the *Palatinate*, and *Lorrain*, to their respective owners; to confirm *Francis Lewis Palatine* in the electorate of *Cologne*; to refer the claim of the duchess of *Orleans* on the *Palatinate* to arbitration; to cede the county of *Spanheim* to the king of *Sweden*; in a word, to give up some of the chief points for which the war was undertaken, though they were different from what the emperor required. This treaty was signed on the 30th day of ^d *October*.

^c THE treaty with *England* imported, that *Lewis* should, on no account, dispute *William*'s pretensions to the crown of *Great Britain*, or in any shape assist the claim of *James II.* his competitor, and father-in-law. By the treaty with *Spain*, the king made restitution of all his conquests in *Catalonia*, of *Luxemburgh*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, and all his acquisitions in the provinces of *Luxemburgh*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Hainault*. With respect to the States General, a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions on each other, and a mutual restitution of all acquisitions took place. The *Dutch* had, besides, concluded a treaty of commerce with *France*, which was immediately put in execution. Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, so little to the credit of *Lewis*, and so destructive to *France*. Her blood, her treasure, were exhausted, her lands left uncultivated, her commerce ruined, domestic industry lost, her glory faded, her arms in disgrace, and that spirit of enterprise, which had spurred her sons to the boldest undertakings, extinguished. The ministers, who had signed the peace, never dared appear at court, or at *Paris*; they were loaded with reproach and ridicule, as if they had not received orders from the sovereign; but few were politicians enough to penetrate the views of the administration, and foresee that, in this apparently ignominious treaty, *Lewis* would lay the foundation of the most elevated grandeur.

^f HAINAULT, an. 1697.

^g Auct. ut supra.

S E C T. XVII.

Containing the various negociations about the succession to the Spanish monarchy; the intrigues at Madrid; the origin of the war that ensued, and the operations thereof; the naval expedition against Rio de Janeiro; and the changes in the English ministry, which paved the way to a general peace.

The treaty of partition signed by the kings of France and England, and the States General.

FRANCE no sooner obtained a short respite from war, than it was probable the disputes ^a about the *Spanish* succession would again involve her in difficulties, and embroil all *Europe*. The pretensions which the two most ambitious and powerful families in Christendom formed to that crown, after the decease of the reigning prince, could not, it was apprehended, be adjusted by negotiation. The sword alone must untie those knots which had puzzled the civilians. *Lewis* and *Leopold* were both grand-children of *Philip III.* of *Spain*; both had married daughters of *Philip IV.* Thus the dauphin, and *Joseph* king of the *Romans*, the fruits of those marriages, were doubly allied in the same degree to the catholic king. The right of inheritance was undoubtedly in the house of *Bourbon*. Queen *Maria Theresa*, the eldest daughter of *Philip IV.* was mother to the dauphin; but this princess was excluded ^b from the succession, as well by her own renunciation at her marriage with *Lewis XIV.* as by the testamentary disposition of her father. In consequence of this exclusion, the immediate right was vested in the second daughter *Margaret*, the fruits of a second marriage, and the wife of the emperor *Leopold*. From this marriage issued an only daughter, who was married to the elector of *Bavaria*; so that this princess, and after her the electoral prince her son, were the legitimate heirs to the whole *Spanish* monarchy, in default of male issue by *Charles II.* the present sovereign, had the testament of *Philip IV.* been valid. But the emperor, who wanted to preserve the *Spanish* monarchy intire in his own family, and procure the crown for his second son the archduke, as great-grandson of *Philip III.* disputed the pretended right of his daughter the electress, founded upon the will of her grand-father *Philip*; and the renunciation of her aunt *Maria Theresa*. ^c

It was generally believed, that the intrigues of *Lewis* at the *Spanish* court had obtained from the sickly king *Charles II.* a will in favour of the dauphin a year before his death; but this opinion is expressly contradicted by the marquis *de Torcy*; and indeed the whole conduct of the marquis *de Harcourt*, the *French* ambassador at *Madrid*, demonstrates, how badly this suggestion was founded. *Lewis* was well apprised of the influence the queen of *Spain*, sister to the empress, had over the mind of the king her husband. He knew that the bulk of the *Spanish* nation favoured the claim of the *Bourbon* family; but he was sensible, that the court in general was in the emperor's interest, and that the king was hedged round with the creatures of the court of *Vienna*. Emasculated in mind and body, equally infirm in his person and understanding, that prince had no will of his own. Every thing was dictated by the queen, ^d her minion the admiral, and count *Harrache* the imperial ambassador. He scarce gave expression to one passion, except that he always shewed an utter aversion to the appointing a successor. This subject always threw him into fits of rage or of melancholy; it was therefore with the greatest delicacy it was mentioned; and count *Harrache* incurred his hatred by once pressing him to invite the archduke into *Spain*. *Lewis* was perfectly aware, that supporting his family in their claims to the succession of the whole *Spanish* monarchy would be opposed by all the powers in *Europe*. Jealous already of the power of *France*, they would certainly take the alarm at this vast acquisition, and join their forces to prevent the union of the two crowns. The confederacy so lately extinguished by the treaty of *Ryswick* would be revived, and *Europe* involved again in flames more dreadful than the former. He was sensible of the ^e difficulty of preserving the several dominions of that monarchy from being dismembered. Exhausted of money, and destitute of fleets and armies, *Spain* alone could not maintain those dominions. She was a lifeless body, which *France* must animate and support at her own expence, while the *French* dominions, already drained and exhausted, would be wholly emaciated by infusing life and cherishing the inert carcase. Necessity probably, and not the desire of maintaining the repose of *Europe*, dictated the scheme of a partition of the *Spanish* monarchy, which indeed was not a new project; for something of this nature had been devised as early as the year 1668, in case king *Charles* died without issue. The public imagined that this subject formed part of the agreement between marshal *Boufflers* and the earl of *Portland* at the congress of *Ryswick*; but the public were mistaken. The privileges of the city of *Orange*, and the security demanded by *William*, with respect to his unfortunate father-in-law, ^f were the points deliberated in all the meetings of these two ministers².

² Negociat. Marq. DE TORCY, pass. Le Siecle, 241, & seq.

- ^a LEWIS, taking all circumstances into consideration, determined, as the most adviseable measure, to propose a partition of the *Spanish* monarchy to king *William*, nearly on the same plan as that concluded with the emperor *Leopold* in the year 1688. It was mentioned to the earl of *Portland*, then the *English* minister at *Versailles*, and in the month of *March*, 1698, count *Tallard* set out for *London* with similar proposals. For the whole summer the treaty was in agitation, and at length concluded at the *Hague*, and signed by the plenipotentiaries of *France*, *Great Britain*, and the *States General*. Agreeable to this partition, *Naples* and *Sicily*, the sea-ports of the *Tuscan* coast, the marquissate of *Final*, and the province of *Guspoo*, were assigned to the dauphin. To the electoral prince of *Bavaria* were adjudged the kingdom of *Spain*, the empire of the *Indies*, and the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, while the dukedom of *Milan* formed the portion of the archduke, second son of the emperor. The treaty guarded against the death of the electoral prince, and, in case of this event, substituted the elector his father. The same was done with respect to the archduke, at whose death the duchy of *Milan* should be sequestered, and governed by the prince of *Vaudemont*. This must be acknowledged one of the most flagrant schemes of encroachment that tyranny ever planned. Three powerful states engaged in a project for dismembering a kingdom, in despite of the sovereign and people, and in direct violation of every law human or divine. We cannot, however, wholly agree with those writers who charge this as a crime upon *Lewis*. Justice required that the whole *Spanish* monarchy should devolve upon his posterity. It was therefore an extraordinary concession in him to accept of a part, dictated possibly by necessity; but then such a necessity as arose from the jealousy of other powers, who, he knew, would dispute his right, merely to prevent the aggrandizement of *France*, and from views of policy set aside equity and justice. The emperor himself resolved to dispute the will of *Philip* the fourth, and all civilians were of opinion, that *Maria Theresa*, queen of *France*, could not, by any act of renunciation, give away the rights of her children (B).
- THE treaty was to have been communicated to the emperor and elector of *Bavaria*, but kept a profound secret from the court of *Madrid*. However, it was impossible to conceal a transaction to which so many nations were privy, and it is probable that the emperor, who was displeased with the partition, gave notice of it to the court of *Madrid*. *Torcy* says, that the first account reached the *Spanish* ministry by the way of *Holland*^b. The whole court took fire at the indignity, an extraordinary council was immediately assembled, and the result was the king's making a will, by which the electoral prince of *Bavaria* was instituted sole heir to the *Spanish* monarchy. *Lewis* and *William* complained, at the court of *Madrid*, of the injustice done to the other competitors; and fresh disputes were rising, when the electoral prince died suddenly at *Brussels* on the 9th of *January* 1699, not without violent suspicions of treachery^c. As this event changed the whole face of affairs, *Lewis* dispatched count *Tallard* a second time to the court of *London*, with propositions for a new convention. The court of *Spain* imagined, that such a measure would ensue. The people were exasperated at the insolence of three foreign powers, who assumed the right of parcelling out their dominions; their pride was alarmed at this second attempt to dismember their monarchy; and the nobility fired at the thoughts of losing the lucrative governments. But the king's life was in imminent danger, the ministry weak and divided, the grandees factious, and the whole nation discontented. They were disgusted with the house of *Austria* by the insolent carriage, the rapacity, of queen *Mariana*, and the contempt she shewed for the *Spanish* nation. How to avoid the impending blow that threatened the dissolution of the monarchy, was a task surrounded with a thousand difficulties. Should a disposition in favour of the archduke take place, *Spain* would be oppressed by *German* favourites, the nobility deprived of all offices of profit and honour, and a bloody war, supported by *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, entailed upon the succession. On the contrary, preferring the claim of the house of *Bourbon* would be losing the revenge they owed to *Lewis* for having projected the partition-treaty, and at the same time making *Spain* a province of *France*, and incurring the resentment of the emperor, the king of *Great Britain*, and the *States General*, who would never tamely submit to the union of the two crowns^d.
- In the mean while the marquis de *Harcourt* conducted himself with so much address, that he gained over to the interest of his master the cardinal *Portocarrero*, the marquis de *Monterey*, with many other persons of influence and distinction. *Lewis*, though he had projected the second treaty of partition, kept aloof, in order to observe the change which the civil commotions at *Madrid* might produce. *Portocarrero* and the *French* faction, perceiving the sen-

^b P. 49.^c *Torcy*, p. 54.^d *Siccle*, p. 244.

(B) Many writers affirm, that *Lewis* entered into this treaty merely to amuse king *William*, and that he knew of a will made by *Charles II.* in favour of the dauphin;

but these are conjectures fully refuted by the intelligent marquis de *Torcy*, and the king's whole conduct in the

timents of the people so averse to the house of *Austria*, employed their emissaries to propagate a notion, that *Lewis* alone was in a condition to preserve the *Spanish* monarchy intire; that the house of *Austria* was feeble and exhausted; and that any prince of that line must owe his support to detestable heretics. The cardinal used spiritual weapons, and tampered, with true ecclesiastical cunning, with the weakness of his sovereign. He advised him to consult the holy see on the important business of appointing a successor, knowing well that the pontif was a creature of *Lewis*. The catholic king obeyed the primate; a college of cardinals was assembled by *Innocent XII.* and the renunciation of *Maria Theresa* declared void, as founded upon compulsion, contrary to the laws of God and man, and in direct violation of the principles of the *Spanish* monarchy. Whatever the motives of the apostolic see might have been, certain it is, that the decree was agreeable to the dictates of equity. His holiness pressed the king to make a new will in favour of a grandson of the *French* monarch: he made it a case of conscience, and said, that the repose of Christendom depended on his resolution. When the king was in extremities, *Portocarrero* touched this string with great address. *Charles* believed the salvation of his soul depended on this transaction; he yielded, framed a will, appointing the duke of *Anjou* sole heir to all his dominions, and soon after expired. *Lewis* pretended ignorance of the means used to bring his catholic majesty to this determination. All this time his ambassador count *Tallard* was negotiating with *William* and the States General about a second convention; but the uncertainty of the emperor's resolution had served as a pretext to retard the execution of the treaty. At last, hearing it was signed, most of the powers in *Europe* were displeased with the new partition-treaty; many of them would side with the emperor to dispute it; and this they only could do, now that *France* was strengthened by the whole power of the *Spanish* monarchy, and *Lewis's* cause rendered popular, by an absolute testament of the late king of *Spain* in favour of his grandson.

A second partition treaty signed.

Duke of Anjou left sole heir to the Spanish dominions by the will of Charles II.

He sets out for Spain.

Lewis apologizes for his breach of the partition-treaty.

WHEN the king's death and last will were notified to the court of *Versailles*, *Lewis* seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to his allies. The ministry were divided. The dauphin, madam *de Maintenon* (C), and certain persons of the ministry, persuaded the king to accept the will; a greater number declared for the treaty of partition. *Lewis* affected a kind of neutrality; but the dauphin spoke with such an air of resolution, and advanced such arguments, as gained the whole ministry, and convinced *Lewis*. As soon as the will was accepted, *Lewis* clapped the duke of *Anjou* on the shoulder, and told him, in the presence of the marquis *de Rios*; "Sir, the king of *Spain* has made you a king; the *grandees* demand you; the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Remember you are a prince of *France*. Love your people, gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend." The young monarch was congratulated on his elevation, and he set out on the 4th day of *December* for his new dominions.

It was now *Lewis's* chief care to apologize for this measure to his allies, and excuse his breach of an engagement so lately contracted. This business was left to the marquis *de Torcy*, who plied the earl of *Manchester*, the *English* minister at *Versailles*, with all the arguments that eloquence, artifice, and refinement in politics, could suggest. He concluded with affirming, that the partition-treaty would have been more agreeable to his master than the will, which the king accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of *Europe*. The States General, who had presented a memorial to *Lewis*, expressing their astonishment at his breach of the treaty, were answered with the same apologies used to the earl of *Manchester*. He replied to their memorial, and dispersed his replication through all the courts in *Europe*; declaring, that what he chiefly considered was the ultimate intention of the treaty, the preservation of the repose of *Europe*; and that, true to this principle, he departed only from the words, the better to adhere to the spirit of the treaty. These arguments, indeed, appeared to most people too refined and casuistical; they exclaimed against *Lewis* as perfidious, false, and treacherous; but they did not consider, that the end he furthered was just, though the path he pursued had deviated from that rectitude which ought to govern the conduct of private persons, though it cannot always be admitted into the cabinets of princes.

It was now king *William's* turn to dissemble. He artfully concealed his resentment, and behaved with such apparent indifference, that it was universally imagined he had been privy to

* TORCY; p. 60. HAINAULT sub an. 1700.

(C) *De Torcy* denies, that madam *Maintenon* assisted at this council, which, he says, was opened by the secretary of state. The duke *de Beauvilliers*, the chancellor, and the dauphin, spoke next, and all of them in favour of accepting the will. *Lewis* gave his assent, but desired it might be kept secret for some days. No division appeared, according to our author, amongst the

ministers: but these are facts, that not only madam *Maintenon* assisted at the council, but that several warm debates arose; and that the king, after balancing between two opposite opinions, was at last swayed by the resolution of the dauphin, and the influence of madam *Maintenon*, attested by such a croud of authorities as admit of no hesitation.

the

a the transaction. His aim was to sound how the other powers of *Europe* stood affected before he unboomed himself. Some time after his envoy was impowered to treat with the *French* and *Spanish* ambassadors about maintaining the tranquillity of *Europe*, for which he demanded security, insisting that the *French* troops should evacuate the *Spanish Netherlands*; that the cities of *Ostend* and *Neuport* should be put into the hands of his *Britannic* majesty; that the subjects of *Great Britain* should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, they ever enjoyed in their commerce with *Spain*; and the same as *France* or any other state possesses; that all treaties between *England* and *Spain* be renewed; that no part of the *Spanish* dominions should ever, upon any account, be transferred to *France*; and that a treaty, formed on these demands, should be guaranteed by the powers in friendship with the contracting parties. The States General demanded the same conditions, and all the strong fortresses of the *Netherlands* as cautionary towns. Lewis's ambassador was so astonished at the proposals, that he said they could not have been more exorbitant, had his master lost four successive battles. The king was filled with indignation at the insolent strain of these demands; he foresaw the war would be renewed, and made the suitable preparations. He formed a treaty with the king of *Portugal*, the dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, the latter of whom received a *French* garrison into his capital. In *Germany* he contracted an alliance with the dukes of *Wolfenbuttle* and *Saxe Gotha*, and the bishop of *Munster*. The elector of *Saxony* likewise was on the point of acceding to the same alliance, when the situation of affairs obliged him to keep aloof. The elector of *Bavaria*, at that time governor of the *Netherlands*, declared his resolution to support the duke of *Anjou*. Reasonable concessions were made to secure so powerful an ally, and the elector was put into so good humour, that he prevailed with his brother the elector of *Cologne* to embrace the same engagements. They were both the uncles of *Philip V.* they resolved to maintain the rights of their nephew, and they steadily adhered to his cause after the loss of their estates and dignities^f.

Lewis refuses the exorbitant demands of the confederates.

In the mean time the emperor was exerting every expedient to hasten the measures of the king of *Great Britain* and the States General. He was determined to support the archduke; but, force having gained several princes of the empire, he was too weak alone to maintain a war against the powerful united monarchies. King *William* had the same intentions as the emperor; but he was thwarted by the *Tory* party, and indeed the general aversion of the *English* nation to accumulate their debts, and enter upon a fresh quarrel. He received a letter from the new king of *Spain*, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing his desire of cultivating the friendship of the king and crown of *England*. *William* was at this time in treaty with the emperor and States General; but the new ministry importuned him so strongly not only to return a civil answer, but to acknowledge *Philip*, that he was obliged to comply. This was an alarming incident to the emperor, who had ordered his army to march into *Italy*, to take possession of the duchy of *Milan*. He renewed his instances to the States General, and they so powerfully solicited the king and parliament of *Great Britain*, that the grand alliance took place, and a treaty was signed at the *Hague*, on the 7th of *September*, between the ministers of the emperor, the king of *England*, and the States General. The objects proposed by the confederates were to procure the emperor satisfaction in the *Spanish* succession, and sufficient security for the dominions, navigation, and commerce, of the allies; indeed to restrain the power of *Lewis*, effect a partition of the *Spanish* monarchy, or wrest the whole out of the hands of the *Bourbon* family^g.

A. D. 1701.

Lewis, apprized of the march of the imperial forces, ordered a powerful army to move towards *Italy*. The prince *Vaudemont*, governor of *Milan*, obeyed the last will of *Charles II.* and his example was copied by all the other governors of the several dominions that compose the *Spanish* monarchy. The duke of *Savoy* was appointed generalissimo of the *French* forces, and, had his sincerity been equal to his valour, *France* and *Spain* would have had reason to promise themselves success in *Italy*. However, before the arrival of this army, prince *Eugene*, the imperial general, had entered *Italy* by the *Venetian* territories, forced the strong post of *Carpi*, defended by M. *Saint Fremont*, reduced the whole country between the *Adige* and the *Adda*, and obliged *Catinat* to retire behind the *Oglio*, the better to cover the *Milanese*. *Catinat* acknowledged the ability of prince *Eugene*; but, suspecting some secret cause of the misfortunes of the campaign, he requested to be recalled: the king granted what he solicited; M. *Villeroy* was sent to relieve him; but, before his departure from the army, the unfortunate battle of *Chiari* was fought on the 1st of *September*. Nothing could be more extraordinary than the conduct of the duke of *Savoy* in this action. He fought with the utmost bravery, exposed his person to the most imminent danger, and seemed to be actuated by a spirit of resentment against that very enemy with whom he had a secret correspondence, to which all the *French* writers attribute the loss of the

The imperial forces march to Italy.

Battle of Chiari.

^f SMOLLET, t. iv. b. 8.

^g HAINAULT, an. 1701. 2.

battle (D). It was by his persuasion, that the enemy were attacked in their intrenched camp, and to his obstinacy was owing the general loss sustained, which exceeded 5000 men. In a word, to the coldness and backwardness of the duke of *Savoy* do the writers of this country attribute all the future success of the imperial general during the campaign, the loss of all the *Mantuan* territories, the towns on the *Oglio*, and the enterprize on *Cremona*, in which M. *Villeroy* was made prisoner. Still, however, *Lewis* entertained no suspicion of his ally. He attributed the whole to the activity and fine military genius of prince *Eugene*, and therefore sent the duke of *Vendome*, a general of the highest reputation, to oppose him. He pressed the duke of *Savoy* effectually to perform his engagement, and soon discovered the reality of *Catinat's* suspicions ^a.

The triple
alliance form-
ed.

WILLIAM was the avowed enemy of *Lewis*. He passed over to *Holland* to adjust the operations of the campaign, and the proportion of troops which each of the allies was to support. Had each of the confederates performed their engagements, the alliance would even proved too powerful for *France*, exhausted by the late war, and now rather incumbered than reinforced by the clumsy inanimate weight of the *Spanish* monarchy, but *England* alone acted up to the spirit of the confederacy, and, instead of an auxiliary, became the principal in the quarrel. Before the time for action arrived, *William* was no more; but queen *Anne*, who succeeded to the crown, resolved, by the advice of her people, to pursue the measures he had planned. The transports, which the court of *France* could hardly restrain when the news of king *William's* death arrived, proved what a dangerous enemy he was esteemed. The *Parisians* made public rejoicings at the event; and such indecent raptures did it produce in *France*, that cardinal *Grimani* complained of them to the pope, as an insult on his master the emperor, connected to *William* by the ties of friendship and alliance. *Lewis* set all engines to work to detach the *Dutch* from the confederacy; but the earl of *Marlborough*, ambassador extraordinary from the new queen, kept their councils steady, animated them to a full exertion of their power, concerted the plan of operations, and agreed with the imperial and *Dutch* ministers, that war should be declared against *France*, on the same day, at *Vienna*, *London*, and the *Hague* ¹.

State of
France.

Lewis was now upon the eve of a war, the most important of his life, without councils to direct, or generals to execute. *Chamillard*, the creature of M. *Maintenon*, was at the head of the administration, with no other talent than honesty, perhaps not the most essential to a minister. Unfortunately he thought himself able to sustain the whole weight of that vast government, which had often proved too heavy for the united shoulders of the great *Colbert* and *Louvois*. *Lewis* was now old; but he imagined that his experience would enable him to direct his ministers and generals. The latter were tied down like ambassadors to certain instructions, from which they were not to deviate. The operations of the field were planned by *Lewis* and his minister, in the cabinet of madame *Maintenon*. The spirit of enterprize was extinguished, and that promptitude in seizing opportunities, that forms the military art, lost, while couriers were detached to obtain a latitude in the orders. Besides *Chamillard* had the disposal of all military preferments. Regiments were given to boys, which used to be the reward of long distinguished services. Discipline, so strictly maintained by *Louvois*, relaxed under *Chamillard*. All the corps were incomplete, and *Lewis* had frequently no more than the name and expence of large armies. Such was the situation of *France* when war was declared against her monarch by the formidable confederacy we have mentioned, when the duke of *Savoy* dropt off from his alliance, and the whole kingdom of *Portugal*, in treaty with *Lewis*, joined with his enemies, and declared for the archduke; when even many parts of the *Spanish* dominions began to express a dislike to the government of the house of *Bourbon*, and an open revolt had appeared in the kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis* received the first checks in *Italy* from the great abilities of prince *Eugene*, the powerful combination raised out of jealousy against *Catinat*, and the desertion of the duke of *Savoy*. His armies in *Germany* had received little repulses, he had lost some towns, and several of his lesser allies were crushed before they could have performed any service; but it was not before *England* and *Holland* exerted their vigour, that he perceived the sad reverse of fortune which he had to experience. Then only it was that he saw his armies every day defeated, his allies ruined, his cities reduced, *France* every-where insulted, threatened with an invasion from without, exhausted, spiritless, and desponding within ^k.

^a Siecle, t. i. p. 255.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

^k Siecle, ibid. & seq.

(D) M. *Voltaire* is extremely favourable to the reputation of M. *Catinat*. That officer was superseded by *Villeroy*, but he did not quit the army immediately. *Catinat* expressed his astonishment at the resolution formed to attack prince *Eugene* in his intrenchments. The post was of no consequence could it be gained, and a

repulse would not only sink the spirits of the soldiers, discredit the arms of the king, but open a path to the enemy to extend their conquests. Finding, however, that his orders to charge were express, he turned round to his officers, crying out, "March on, we must obey." P. ii. c. 3.

a IN the month of *July*, the earl of *Marlborough* took the command of the confederate army in *Flanders*. He had learned the art of war from *Turenne*, after he had distinguished himself under the eye of that great general, whose discernment soon discovered in him all the qualities of a hero; that he was cool, patient, penetrating, and persevering; that his genius was vast, and his application indefatigable. *Lewis*, to oppose this general, sent the duke of *Burgundy*, his grandson, and marshal *Boufflers*, in whose valour and experience he reposed great confidence. The judicious marches and encampments of the *British* general obliged the *French* every-where to retire. In the space of a month all *Spanish Guelderland* was evacuated, several towns taken, and the duke of *Burgundy*, to save his reputation, forced to return to *Versailles*. After *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, and other places, had surrendered, *Boufflers*, confounded with the rapidity of *Marlborough's* conquests, determined to cover *Liege*; but, on the approach of the allied army, he retired to *Brabant*, leaving the earl to pursue his success. In a word, *Liege* was taken, the *French* were driven back to their own dominions, *Lewis's* reputation was faded, *Marlborough's* character established, and *Boufflers* sunk in the esteem of his master, who judged of merit by success, and of actions by the event¹.

A. D. 1702.
Campaign in
the Nether-
lands.

b IN *Germany*, the allies took *Keyserswaert* in the month of *June*; but this loss was balanced by the elector of *Bavaria's* seizing upon *Ulm*. *Lewis* had two armies on the *Rhine*, commanded by the marquis *de Villars* and count *de Guiscard*. After reducing *Newbergh*, they were frustrated in a design of surrounding prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, by his retreat. *Villars*, however, pursued, crossed the *Rhine*, and attacked the prince at *Friedlingen*. The conflict was obstinate; victory had already declared for the king; but an unaccountable panic seized the *French* troops, which had almost produced a defeat. The intrepidity of *Villars* alone retrieved the day, inspired the forces with fresh courage, and secured that victory which he had already gained by his conduct. This event obtained him the dignity of marshal, and so won the confidence of his master, that he resolved to oppose him in *Flanders* to the earl of *Marlborough*. To the victory of *Friedlingen* it was owing, that the allied army was obliged to finish the campaign after the reduction of a few inconsiderable places, and that the *French* were in a capacity to balance their losses by the conquest of *Triers* and *Traerbach*.

In Germany.

c THE intrigues of the *French* court at *Vienna*, weaned the attention of the imperial court entirely from the affairs of *Italy*. Prince *Eugene* was neglected, and forced to act defensively. Indeed his forces were so much reduced, and himself so badly supplied with money, that it required the whole strength of his genius to keep any footing in the country he over-run the preceding year. It was supposed, on good authority, that count *Mansfield*, president of the council of war at *Vienna*, was bribed to withhold supplies from prince *Eugene*; and it is certain that the grand vizier fell a sacrifice to the inclination he expressed of obliging the *French* king, by renewing the war in *Germany*. *Eugene* had nearly triumphed over all difficulties; but a fine scheme he had formed to surprise the *French* at *Luzzara* was disconcerted by mere accident. Even the vigilant, cautious *Vendome* had almost been caught napping, and the new king of *Spain* defeated on his arrival in *Italy*. After all, the battle was fought with such equal fortune, that both sides claimed the victory, tho' indeed the consequences seemed to determine it in favour of the *French* general. *Luzzara* and *Guastalla* surrendered to the catholic king, and *Philip*, proud of this conquest, returned triumphant to *Spain*^m.

In Italy.

d THE transactions at sea were no way favourable to the most Christian king. After the attempt on *Cadiz* had miscarried, Sir *George Rooke*, the *English* admiral, entered the harbour of *Vigo*, forced the strong booms and chains laid across the entrance, defeated *Chateau Renaud*, drove eight men of war on shore, took ten ships of the line and eleven rich galleons, and set sail for *England* with a booty of four millions of pieces of eight, having destroyed near double that sum in six galleons that perished. In the *West Indies* a fifty-gun ship was drove ashore by the brave *English* admiral *Bembow*, and destroyed. M. *Du Casse* likewise narrowly escaped being defeated. With ten sail of the line he engaged the *English* admiral with an equal number of ships. The fight was maintained for the whole day by *Bembow*, and renewed the next morning, tho' deserted by almost all his captains; but his force was too small; he returned to *Jamaica* with the loss of a leg, granted a commission for trying several of his officers, had two shot for cowardice, and received this honourable testimony of his valour from *Du Casse*ⁿ; "Sir, I had little hope on *Monday* last, but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains, who deserted you, hang them up; for by God they deserve it."

Naval trans-
actions.

f THE confederates had made considerable progress in a treaty with the king of *Portugal*, and the emperor was trying many expedients to detach the elector of *Bavaria* from the king's alliance. *Lewis* regarded that prince as the most faithful and able of his allies, and took

A. D. 1703.

¹ HAINAULT sub an. TORCY, p. 169.
iv. §. 25.

^m VOLT. t. i. p. 265.

ⁿ SMOLLET Hist. Eng. vol.

Campaign on
the Rhine.

vigorous measures to support him. The dilatory measures of the imperial court enabled him to defeat all their projects for shaking the elector's fidelity. It was resolved to continue *Villars* upon the *Rhine*, and powerfully to reinforce the elector; by which the emperor would be under the necessity of detaining the troops destined to join the confederates in *Flanders*. *Villars* took the fortrefs of *Kehl*; and the elector, dividing the imperialists by a feint, defeated general *Schilk* near *Passau*, attacked the *Saxon* troops that guarded the artillery with such impetuosity, as intirely routed and dispersed them, reduced *Newburgh on the Inn*, and obtained a complete victory over another body of imperialists near *Burgenfeldt*; in which action the young prince of *Brandenburgh Anspach* was killed. Pursuing his good fortune, he advanced to *Ratisbon*, where the diet was sitting, took possession of the city, joined M. *Villars*, who had penetrated the black forest at *Offingen*. *Villars* was unsuccessful in his attempt to force the imperial lines at *Stolhoffen*; but after his junction with the troops of *Bavaria*, he obtained a victory over count *Stirum*, who commanded a body of 20,000 imperialists at *Donawert*, in despite of the remonstrances of the elector, who was for declining an engagement^o. In the mean time the duke of *Burgundy*, assisted by count *Tallard*, laid siege to *Old Brisac*, which, after a brave defence, surrendered in fourteen days. The army was now left to the sole command of *Tallard*, who had express orders to invest *Landau*. His lines were not quite finished, when he received advice that the prince of *Hesse* resolved to attack him and raise the siege. *Tallard* suddenly quitting his lines, fell unexpectedly on the prince near *Spirebach*, and obliged him, after incredible efforts, and the noblest proofs of courage, to yield the victory, and relinquish his design, with the loss of 3000 men left upon the field of battle. In this action *Lewis* lost the brave *Pracontal*, one of his best officers; but the siege was resumed, and *Landau* surrendered by capitulation. Some retribution was made by the enemy; but the elector of *Bavaria* concluded the campaign with the reduction of *Augsburgh*^p.

Battle of
Spirebach.

Campaign on
the Lower
Rhine.

ALL these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the repeated losses and disgraces on the *Lower Rhine*. *Villeroy* and *Boufflers* took possession of *Tongeron* with design to relieve *Bonne*, besieged by the duke of *Marlborough*. This strong city surrendered within sight of the *French* generals, who retreated with precipitation at *Marlborough's* approach, blew up the works of *Tongeron*, took shelter behind their lines, and were forced by generals *Coehorn* and *Spaar* in two different places. *Boufflers*, however, gained some advantage over *Opdam* in the neighbourhood of *Antwerp*. *Te Deum* was sung at *Paris*, but the victory remained so doubtful, that *Boufflers* was soon after disgraced by *Lewis*, and *Opdam* deprived of his command by the States General. Both lost the fruits of long services, during which they manifested their zeal, courage, and capacity, in divers instances. *Villeroy* gave some intimations that he would wait for the confederate army in his camp at *St. Job*; but on the approach of the duke of *Marlborough*, he set fire to his camp, and retired within his lines with precipitation. In consequence *Huy*, *Limburgh*, and *Gueldres*, were successively besieged and taken by the confederates.

Lewis is suc-
cessful in
Italy.

ITALY afforded a happier prospect. There the ill managment of the court of *Vienna* obliged the imperialists to act defensively. The king's troops, after reducing the fortrefs of *Barfillo*, took possession of the duke of *Modena's* territories; and *Vendome* having discovered a secret treaty between the emperor and the duke of *Savoy*, disarmed all the forces of the latter. Exasperated at this insult, the duke put the *French* ambassador under arrest; upon which *Lewis* sent him a menacing letter, giving him to understand, that as neither religion, honour, interest, or the most solemn obligations, had been able to influence his conduct, the duke of *Vendosme* would acquaint him with certain propositions, to which he must, in the space of twenty-four hours, put in his definitive answer. This peremptory letter widened the breach, and the duke concluded a treaty with the court of *Vienna*, acknowledged the archduke *Charles* king of *Spain*, and sent envoys to *England* and *Holland*, intimating his inclinations of acceding to the confederacy. Soon after the duke was joined by a body of imperial horse under *Visconti*, and afterwards by count *Staremburg* with 15,000 men, who effected this junction in despite of all the difficulties consequent on a march through an enemy's country, secured by an officer of *Vendosme's* ability.

The king of
Portugal de-
clares for the
confederates.

THE year concluded with the open declaration of a new enemy to *Lewis*. The *Portuguese* ministry, reflecting on the danger that would result to the kingdom from the union of the crowns of *Spain* and *France*, over-awed by the power of the combined fleets which hovered upon their coasts, flattered by the splendor of a match between the infanta and the archduke *Charles*, the competitor for the *Spanish* monarchy, embraced the confederacy, signed a treaty with the emperor, the queen of *Great-Britain*, and the States General. Here it was stipulated, that king *Charles* should be conveyed by the combined fleet into *Portugal*; that he should be attended by 12,000 land forces, with a strong supply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he should, immediately on his landing, be joined by any army of 48,000

^o Le Siecle, p. 276. HAINAULT, an. 1703.

^p TINDAL'S Continuat. p. 622. t. i.

Portuguese.

a *Portuguese*. Accordingly the emperor declared his son, the archduke, king of *Spain*; and that prince, after a conference with the duke of *Marlborough* at *Dusseldorf*, set out for *England*, from whence he was to be conveyed to *Portugal*. On his arrival at *Lisbon*, he found that court overwhelmed with sorrow for the death of the infanta, the intended spouse of king *Charles (A)*.

Lewis ballanced the loss of his *Portuguese* majesty's alliance with the lucky incident of the revolt in *Hungary*, artfully fomented by the court of *Versailles*, and now grown to such a pitch, as to endanger the safety of the house of *Austria*. Had the *Hungarian* malcontents acted in concert with the elector of *Bavaria*, *Vienna* must have been infallibly lost, and the emperor driven out of his hereditary dominions. The elector was master of all the places on the *Danube* as far as *Passau*. Thirty thousand *French*, under count *Marfin*, who succeeded *Villars*, sent to quell the rebellious *Cevennois*, menaced the imperial capital on the other side the *Danube*, *Ragotzki*, at the head of the *Hungarians*, supported by *Lewis* and the grand signior, was fighting for liberty, and threatening the invasion of *Austria*. In a word, the emperor's affairs were on the brink of destruction, when the duke of *Marlborough* formed that bold military stroke, which will be the admiration of all ages, of marching to the relief of the empire with an army of no more than 10,000 *British* infantry and twenty-three squadrons^a. While *Villeroy* was preparing to frustrate the design of the confederates to penetrate by the *Moselle* into *France*, *Marlborough* was hastening, by forced marches, to the heart of the empire, and had actually fought the battle of *Schellenberg*, before the *French* general was apprised of his intentions. The expedition with which he arrived before the elector of *Bavaria*'s lines, at *Donawert*, the impetuosity with which he forced those lines, and the advantage he drew from his victory, are scarce credible. He quitted *Maestricht* on the 8th of *May*, and had restored the security of the empire by the 2d day of *June*, after overthrowing the combined armies of *France* and *Bavaria*, taking the town of *Donawert*, and driving the elector of *Bavaria* to seek shelter under the cannon of *Augsburg*. Pity it is that such heroic actions should be stained with brutal inhumanity, and the fine electorate of *Bavaria* reduced to a desert, out of resentment to the noble spirit that prince had shewn in refusing terms of accommodation, and remaining fast to his engagements^b.

A. D. 1704.

The duke of Marlborough marches to the relief of the empire.

MARSHAL *Tallard* crossing the black forest with the utmost expedition, joined the elector at *Biberach*, and crossed the *Danube* at *Lawingen*, with intention to attack prince *Eugene*, who commanded a separate army at *Hochstedt*. The duke of *Marlborough* joined prince *Eugene*; but the elector and *Tallard*, having still a superiority, maintained their first resolution of fighting the confederate army. Their forces amounted to 82 battalions and 160 squadrons; those of the enemy did not exceed 64 battalions and 152 squadrons. *Tallard* commanded the right wing, the elector and count *Marfin* were on the left. *Tallard* was esteemed an active penetrating officer, fertile in expeditions and resources; *Marfin* a general of experience and application, rather than of genius. In the village of *Blenheim* were posted 20 battalions and 12 squadrons, from a presumption that there the confederates would push their chief attack. At noon the village was furiously attacked by a body of *English*, supported by a corps of *Hessians*; the *French* performed wonders, and repulsed the enemy in three successive attempts. Part of the enemies center and right wing crossing the rivulet, were charged so impetuously by the *French* horse, and so miserably galled in the flank by the troops posted in the village of *Blenheim*, that they fell in disorder, and retreated with precipitation. In the mean time the left wing of the confederates charged the cavalry in the right, and were vigorously opposed by *Tallard* in person, who rallied his troops three several times as he retreated. *Feuquieres* indeed affirms, that he was made prisoner before the left wing of the enemy engaged; but *Voltaire* with good reason asserts, that he is mistaken, as the marshal was wounded, and his son killed, in this retreat. The infantry were disordered by the falling back of the cavalry, and being unsupported, gave way to the vigorous efforts of the enemy. *Marlborough* pushed between the battalions placed in *Blenheim* and the wing of the army commanded by *Tallard*. Thus the army was separated and almost surrounded; for prince *Eugene*, in the fourth attempt, had succeeded, and drove the electoral and *French* troops before him. All was in

Battle of Blenheim.

^a HAINAULT, ann. 1704.^b VOLTAIRE, p. 279.

(A) The better to influence the court of *Portugal*, the archduke consented to dismember a kingdom, in which he had not a single village, in favour of *Peter II.* his *Portuguese* majesty, to whom he ceded *Vigo*, *Bayonne*, *Alcantara*, *Badajoz*, part of *Espremadura*, all that country situated to the west of the *Rio de la Plata*, in the southern part of *America*, and some other territories, by

one of those treaties which never was put in execution. *Voltaire* asserts, that the king of *Portugal* and the prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt* invited the emperor of *Morocco* into *Spain*, but that the politic *Muley Ismael* refused their proposals, and designedly insisted upon terms that could not be accepted (1).

(1) *Tom. ii. p. 269.*

The French
defeated,

Reflections on
the defeat.

The king suc-
cessful in Italy
and Portugal.

confusion; and *Tallard*, who had mistaken a squadron of the enemy for his own, taken prisoner, as he was endeavouring to draw off the troops from the village of *Blenheim*, who were now forced to capitulate, lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war. The remaining part of the army fled in consternation. Officers and soldiers threw themselves in the *Danube*, and lost their lives to escape the disgrace of captivity. The greater part of 30 squadrons perished in the river, 10,000 men were left dead in the field, 13,000 were made prisoners, 100 pieces of cannon, 22 mortars, above 100 pair of colours, near 200 standards, 17 pair of kettle drums, upwards of 3000 tents, 34 coaches, 300 laden mules, two bridges of boats, 15 pontoons, all the *French* baggage and the military chest, fell into the hands of the enemy. This indeed was the most disgraceful and decisive blow *Lewis* ever sustained, and *Feuquieres* attributes it to a variety of errors committed by the king's generals. *Tallard* is blamed for weakening the center by detaching such a number of troops to *Blenheim*, in consequence of which *Marlbrough* pierced the center, and divided the two wings of the army. It is likewise objected to him, that he suffered the enemy quietly to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested on the opposite side; but we are of opinion that this oversight, if it was one, contributed nothing to the defeat that ensued, as the confederates were thrice repulsed, and forced to repass the rivulet. The truth is, the superior genius of the confederate generals, and valour of their troops, rather than any material blunders, occasioned the defeat of the *French* army. In this manner ended the celebrated battle of *Blenheim* or *Hockstet*, by which the *German* empire was relieved, and all *France* thrown into the utmost consternation. Accustomed to a rapid course of victories, the whole court sunk into the deepest abyss of despondency on the news of this signal defeat. Every one dreaded acquainting the king with the melancholy truth; but at last *M. de Maintenon* undertook the disagreeable task, and told him that *Lewis* was not invincible. He bore the tidings with a fortitude that reflects more honour on his magnanimity, than a victory gained by his own personal bravery. He determined to retrieve the face of affairs by the most vigorous efforts; sent orders to marshal *Villeroy* to march to the relief of *Landau*, invested by the confederates, and recalled *Villars* from the *Cevennes* to command his forces on the *Rhine*. *Villeroy* obeyed his orders, but found *Marlbrough* and *Eugene* posted so advantageously, that he was obliged to retire without coming to an action. *Landau* capitulated, and *Trierbach* was soon after reduced; but *Lewis* owed his safety more to the jealousy of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, than to all his own endeavours. It was even supposed that the prince was the king's pensioner, since nothing could be more inconsistent with his acknowledged abilities, than the obstinacy with which he opposed the most salutary, and pursued the most pernicious measures. It was justly condemned as a most impolitic step to lose time in besieging towns, when the enemy were seized with universal consternation; yet were *Eugene* and *Marlbrough* forced to comply with the insurmountable obstinacy of the prince of *Baden*.

Lewis's disgraces in *Germany* were, in some measure, retrieved by the active and prudent conduct of *Vendome*, who reduced the duke of *Savoy* to extreme difficulties. He drove him out of the field, forced his highness to take shelter in *Cbiyas*, there to remain an inactive spectator of the reduction of his cities, and ruin of his country. *Vercelli*, *Forea*, *Verac*, and other strong fortresses, were taken. In a word, the whole territories of the duke, except a few cities, were over-run before the end of the campaign. Nor was *Philip V.* less successful in *Spain* and *Portugal*. His general, the duke of *Berwick*, entering *Portugal*, surprized the town of *Segura*, reduced *Cerebras* without much opposition, had *Zebredo* surrendered to him on the first summons, and took the town of *Ilhana la Viella* by assault. Two *Dutch* battalions were surrounded and made prisoners at *Soldreira Formosa*. *Portalegro* was invested by king *Philip* in person, and an *English* regiment, commanded by colonel *Stanbope*, taken prisoners of war; and *Castle David* met with the same fortune. These advantages were not gained without some retribution on the side of the enemy. The marquis *Las Minas* entering *Castile*, at the head of 15,000 men, took *Fuente Grimaldo* by assault, defeated a body of *French* and *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *Don Ronquillo*, and made himself master of *Manseinto*. King *Charles* and his *Portuguese* majesty repaired to the earl of *Galloway*'s camp at *Almeida*, with intention to penetrate *Castile* with the main army; but finding the *Agueda* well guarded by the duke of *Berwick*, and winter approaching, he returned, and put the army in quarters. In the *Mediterranean* the combined crowns were so unfortunate as to lose *Gibraltar*, a fortress deemed impregnable; but the count *de Thoulouse*, high admiral of *France*, had the glory of engaging for several hours a superior fleet of the enemy, commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, without sustaining a defeat. It redounds indeed but little to the honour of the *French* king that he publicly claimed the victory, and published such an account of the action, as proves that he was reduced to the mean necessity of deceiving his subjects by false and partial representations.

* *QUINCY'S Military Memoires*, p. 194. *VOLT. ibid.* *SMOLLET, TINDAL, ibid.* *HAINAULT*, an. 1704.
† Vide auct. supra citat.

a BEFORE we close the transactions of the year, it will be necessary we touch upon the rebellion in the *Cevennes*, a mountainous country in the south of *France*. The inhabitants of the *Cevennes* met with protection during the administration of *Colbert*. He cherished them as bold, industrious, and useful subjects, whose enthusiasm gave no disturbance to the states, while it was suffered to discharge freely, and was not repressed by harsh and severe edicts, that laid restraint on conscience and opinion. He was sensible that the strength of kingdoms consisted in the number of people, and observed with what harmony a variety of sects in *England* and *Holland* co-operated for the good of the public, merely because every man was allowed to think after his own manner. At the death of *Colbert*, the clergy, the court of *Rome*, the chancellor *Tellier*, and his son *Louvois*, both enemies to the memory of that great and faithful minister, were continually animating the king against the protestants. In consequence, gradual encroachments were made on their liberties, and *Lewis* was brought to consider them as a mob of rebels, who would seize the first opportunity of throwing off the yoke of government, and were now only restrained by the dread of power. *Basville*, intendant of *Languedoc*, and *Broglie*, commander of the troops in that province, excited by *Louvois*, harassed them by the most cruel extortions and military executions. They were prohibited the public exercise of their religion: they fled to the woods to perform their devotions: their persecutors posted troops in certain places, with orders to fire upon every little assembly they found employed in divine worship, and to burn, pillage, and destroy, the houses of all they could not seize. The *Cevennes* was in a short time laid waste; the *Cevennois* rendered desperate, and their zeal inflamed in proportion to the cruelty with which they were persecuted. The abbot *Cheilat*, subdelegate of the intendant, had under his care a number of protestant prisoners, upon whom he committed the most inhuman barbarities. *M. Esprit*, a calvinist preacher, determined on revenge. Marching at the head of sixty men to the abbot's house, he demanded the prisoners; was refused, and fired at by the guard, by which two of his people were killed; upon this he forced the house, released the prisoners, seized the subdelegate, gave him an hour to prepare for death, and then executed military justice on the tyrant. The intendant endeavoured to punish the rioters; but they stood in their defence, run through the towns and villages brandishing their swords, crying *Liberty*, and multiplied daily. At last they became so formidable, as to draw the attention of the court. They were often defeated, but not suppressed. The best generals in *France* were employed against them without success: marshal *Villars* was under the necessity of coming to a treaty with *Cavaliere*, a journeyman baker, and *Lewis* of sending hostages to him, granting him a colonel's commission, and receiving a visit at *Versailles* from the military tradesmen. This *Cavaliere* afterwards passed over to *England*, was formally received by the administration, and appointed governor of *Guernsey*. The revolt of the *Camisars* continued for some years; they were countenanced by the court of *England*, and took refuge in mountains and inaccessible places, out of which they could not be forced by the whole power of *Lewis*. We chose, however, to give this general sketch of that event, to avoid interrupting our narrative.

THE defeat at *Blenheim*, and its consequences, required the presence of marshal *Villars* on the *Moselle*. His arrival soon produced a happy change. Joining the army at *Treves*, he resolved to try his fortune in battle against *Marlborough*. The *English* general did not decline the offer; but the conduct of the prince of *Baden* obliged him to retreat. He soon found himself under the necessity of apologizing to *Villars* for this conduct, the blame of which he threw on the imperial general^w. Such at least is the account of the *French* writers, in which they differ widely from the *English*. All agree, indeed, that *Villars* distinguished himself in this campaign, and shewed he was worthy of being opposed to *Marlborough*, whom he obliged to decamp on the 16th of *June*, relinquish all his magazines, and retire to *Flanders*.

A. D. 1705.
The fine campaign of Villars.

BEFORE the arrival of the confederate forces in the *Netherlands*, *Villeroy* had besieged and taken *Huy*, and was preparing to besiege *Liege*, when the approach of the duke of *Marlborough* obliged him to abandon the enterprize, and retire behind his lines at *Tongeren*. By this means *Huy* again fell into the hands of the enemy, and *Villeroy's* lines were soon after forced. The body of forces commanded by *M. d'Alegre* was totally routed, and the elector of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* compelled to repass the *Geete* and the *Dyle* with precipitation. It was certainly, however, a masterly stroke in the king's generals, and an oversight in the allies, that the *French* should gain possession of the camp at *Park*, by which the operations of the enemy were greatly obstructed. A few inconsiderable places fell into their hands; but *Villeroy* amply compensated the losses sustained at *Tongeren* by the reduction of *Diest*, and some other advantages gained over the allies.

The campaign in the Netherlands.

^u VOLTAIRE, t. ii. p. 191.

^w VOLT. t. i. p. 287. HAINAULT, AN. 1709, t. ii. p. 845.

Villars's further operations. MARLBOROUGH's return to the *Netherlands* left an open field to *Villars*. The prince of *Baden* lay inactive with a fine army, while the marshal took possession of *Triers*, after the enemy had destroyed their magazines, boats, and fortifications. He next joined *Marfin*, and drove the imperialists from the lines of *Croon Wissenberg*. General *Thungen* even found it difficult for him to maintain himself in the lines of *Lauterburgh*. *Villars* having taken the garrison of *Croon Wissenberg* prisoners, demolished the fortifications, consumed the forage between *Lauterberg* and *Laudon*; and, by a detachment, besieged and took *Honerburg*. On the 6th of *August* he crossed the *Rhine*, and obliged general *Thungen* to repair that river; but having now greatly weakened his army by detachments, he was forced to retire before the prince of *Baden*, who had orders to advance with a superior army. In consequence of this retreat, *Drussenheim* and *Haguenau* fell into the hands of the confederates: but *Villars* obtained great honour by preventing the numerous armies of the empire from gaining any considerable advantage, or undertaking any important enterprize during the whole campaign. His exploits are magnified by *French* writers, and diminished or flurred over by the *English*, in a manner equally unjust to his real merit. The campaign certainly deserved praise; but it did not set *Villars* upon a footing with *Turenne*, *Conde*, *Luxemburgh*, *Eugene*, or *Marlborough*.

The French successful in Italy

THE transactions in *Italy* furnished an astonishing proof of the fortitude of the duke of *Savoy*, and the constancy with which he adhered to the confederacy, in despite of the natural fickleness of his disposition, and the distressed state of his country. *Vendome* pushed prince *Eugene* so vigorously, as to produce the undecisive battle of *Cassano*, for which both sides chanted *Te Deum*, though in fact it answered no other purpose than the destruction of the human species. The duke de *Feuillade*, however, reduced *Chivas* and *Nice*, after they had made an obstinate defence. *Conti* and *Turin* were the only places of consideration that remained to the duke; his army was reduced to 12,000 men, whom he could hardly maintain; his capital was threatened with a siege; his duchess, his clergy, and his subjects in general, urged the necessity of his making the best terms in his power; he withstood their importunities, excluded the clergy from his councils, and adhered to his engagements, unshaken by adversity, and firm under the pressure of the heaviest misfortunes.

Barcelona taken by the allies.

WITH respect to the campaign on the frontiers of *Spain*, it began to the advantage of the two kings, but ended greatly in favour of the confederates. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity, the address, and the astonishing rapidity of the earl of *Peterborough*, who laid siege to *Barcelona*, hardly superior in number to the garrison, and reduced it by mere dint of activity and courage. In consequence, all *Catalonia* submitted to king *Charles*, and the finest province in *Spain* was, by a military stroke, torn from king *Philip*. Previous to this transaction, which produced an intire change in favour of the confederates, marshal *Tesse* was obliged to raise the siege of *Gibraltar*, after having wasted much valuable time before that fortress, and the *Portuguese* general *La Minas* reduced *Salvaterra*, *Valencia d'Alcantara*, and *Albuquerque*. In the bloody action at *St. Estevan de Litera*, count de *Asfeldt* justly claimed the victory; and *Lewis* was so successful at sea, as to have the whole *English Baltic* fleet brought into the harbour of *Dunkirk*, with their convoy of three men of war. The count de *St. Paul*, the best naval officer in *France*, lost his life on this service, and was so highly regretted by the king, that he replied with a sigh, when he was informed of the news, "I wish the ships were safe in an *English* port, provided the count de *St. Paul* could be restored to life."

A. D. 1706.

Battle of Ramillies.

THE successes of the confederates in *Spain* determined the king to make the most vigorous efforts on the *Rhine*, and in the *Netherlands*. He laboured to enable his generals to act offensively, to put *Villars* in a capacity of pushing the advantages he gained the preceding year over the prince of *Baden*, and *Villeroy* in a condition to stop the rapidity of *Marlborough's* conquests. Some writers allege, that while the marshal was encamped at *Ramillies*, he received orders from court to attack the confederate forces, before they should be joined by the *Danes* and *Russians*. *Voltaire* attributes all the consequent misfortunes to the ardour of *Villeroy*. He might have declined an engagement, but he sought it, under all disadvantages of ground and disposition. The fire and impatience of his genius, his eager pursuit of glory, would seem to have blinded his judgment. An impervious morass secured the left wing, extending along the *Mebaigne* to *Little Gette*; but *Villeroy* did not avail himself of this circumstance. While *Marlborough* was filing off troops to supply the left, *Villeroy* permitted his right to be attacked by the whole strength of the enemy. His new raised troops were in the center, and the baggage of the whole army placed between the lines. *Marlborough*, like an experienced general, took advantage of every blunder committed by *Villeroy*, who was repeatedly admonished by M. *Gassion* to support his right. The attack was made on the village of *Ramillies* with so much fury, that the *French* were soon defeated in the

a center ; but the bravery of the household troops on the right, defeated the *Dutch* and *Danish* horse on the enemies left, and would have totally routed them, had not *Marlbrough* come seasonably to their support, with a body of reserve of twenty squadrons. The household troops now gave way to the additional weight of this reinforcement ; they were broke and disordered ; the troops in *Ramillies* were all taken or killed ; the rout became general, and the elector of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* saved themselves with difficulty. The baggage obstructed the retreat of the fugitives, the enemies horse pressed upon them, multitudes were crushed to death, 8,000 slain in the field, 6000 taken prisoners, the glory of *France* was ruined, and the finest army that *Lewis* had sent into the field for several campaigns ; an army raised as the last effort of despair. All the *Spanish Netherlands* fell into the hands of the enemy, b *France* was overwhelmed with shame and consternation, no military transactions were ever mentioned but in whispers, the court was wrapt up in sullen silence and profound melancholy, while *Lewis* alone supported adversity like a hero, received *Villeroy* with tokens of respect, set every engine at work to repair his losses, and seemed even resolved to stem the torrent of misfortune by perseverance, activity, and courage.

Vendome was recalled from *Italy*, and placed at the head of the army in the *Netherlands*, while the duke of *Orleans* and count *Marsin* were left to pursue the conquests of the duke in *Piedmont*, and to give the finishing blow to the destruction of the duke of *Savoy*, by the reduction of his capital. Had fortune been propitious to his spirited efforts, the glory of *France* might have been retrieved ; but a kind of fatality obstructed all his attempts, and frustrated every endeavour. c

As soon as the duke of *Savoy* had rejected every proposition for a separate peace, vast preparations were made for laying siege to *Turin*. The operations of the siege were committed to the duke de *Feuillade*, son to the marshal of that name, and son-in-law to the marshal Chamillard. He inherited the courage of his father, possessed the affections of the public, was stimulated to the undertaking by the promise of the dignity of marshal, and supported in it by the utmost efforts of Chamillard to procure success. Four hundred pieces of cannon, many of them of prodigious magnitude, vast quantities of ammunition, in a word, the greatest abundance of every thing, requisite for carrying on a siege, was provided ; the nation, says *Voltaire*, was put to an expence that would have established and raised the most flourishing colonies. Feuillade, full d of activity and valour, pressed the siege, contrary to all the rules of the military art. *Vauban* offered to serve as a volunteer to assist with his advice, but the pride of *Feuillade* rejected the proposal ; he declared he would have the whole merit of taking *Turin* from *Coehorn*, the best engineer in *Europe*, except *Vauban*. When the lines of circumvallation and contravallation were finished, *Feuillade* sent a trumpet, offering passports and a guard for the removal of the duchess of *Savoy* and her children ; but the duke replied, that he did not intend to remove his family. Immediately the batteries began to play with uncommon fury, and red-hot balls were poured into the city so thick, that his highness was forced to send his family to *Quirasco*, from whence they were conducted, through a variety of dangers, to the territories of the republic of *Genoa*. Soon after the duke sallied out, to put himself at the head of a body e of cavalry, in order to annoy the besiegers ; but he was pursued by a superior detachment from place to place, and obliged to place his security in his knowledge of the country. The siege went on with vigour, but little progress was made in the reduction of *Turin*. Immense quantities of ammunition were expended in vain ; and the officers of the army began to attribute *Feuillade's* want of success, not to the unskilfulness of his measures, but to his passion for the duchess of *Burgundy*, to whom he had made declarations that he would respect the capital of her father ; a popular mistake, that gained credit for many years, and was first refuted by *Voltaire*. Fourteen thousand *French* perished before the walls of *Turin* ; but as the garrison was likewise diminished, as their ammunition was expended, and all hopes of relief cut off, except the faint hopes derived from the ability of f prince *Eugene*, it was concluded it must fall into the hands of *Feuillade*. *Vendome*, before his departure, had secured all the passes, by which the prince could have access to the capital, and had formed such lines and intrenchments, as he imagined would baffle all the endeavours of *Eugene*, but that prince surmounted all opposition, removed every obstruction by dint of genius and perseverance, passed four great rivers in the face of the enemies batteries, and reached the neighbourhood of *Turin* on the 13th day of *August*. There never was a finer march than this, or a transaction that more fully displayed the happy union of the finest talents, the most ardent courage, and indefatigable patience. He joined the duke of *Savoy* at *Asti*, and put the enemy into as much consternation as if they had been defeated. The duke of *Orleans* joined *Feuillade* at his camp ; a council of war was held, and it was debated whether they should march out of their lines to attack the enemy, or to defend them-

^r Le Siecle, t. i. p. 265. HAINAULT, sub. an. 1706.

Prince Eugene defeats the French before Turin.

selves within their intrenchments. The duke of *Orleans*, and the lieutenant-generals *Feuillade*, *Albergotti*, and *St. Fremont*, were of the former opinion; but count *Marsin* was for remaining within the lines, and he pulled out the king's order, whereby, in case of any difference of opinion, they were to be directed by his sentiments. On the right was the *Stura*, on the left the *Doria*, and the convent of *Notre Dame de la Maria* was in the centre of the *French* army. Prince *Eugene* marched up to the intrenchments, and, by his disposition in eight columns, greatly perplexed the king's generals, who imagined he would make his attack in several quarters. The duke of *Orleans* was of one opinion, *Marsin* and *Feuillade* of another; they disputed, but concluded upon nothing. *Albergotti* refused to part with the reinforcement required to support the first furious onset of the enemy: he had a body of 20,000 men, was opposed only by militia, but gave specious reasons for his refusal. Amidst a terrible fire from forty pieces of cannon, prince *Eugene* formed within a short space from the intrenchments. His attack was impetuous, but he was repulsed; upon which he put himself at the head of the battalions on the left, and forced the lines at the first charge. The duke of *Savoy* was equally successful on the right and in the center. The *French* were broke, and the whole army defeated in less than two hours. The duke of *Orleans*, after exhibiting the most shining proofs of courage and conduct, was wounded; *Marsin*, having his thigh-bone shattered, was taken prisoner, 5000 men perished in the field, and 7000 fell into the hands of the conquerors; the lines and trenches were abandoned, the whole army dispersed, and the enemy permitted to enter triumphant into that city, which but a few days before was reduced to extreme necessity. The booty was immense; the vast military stores, all the cannon, 10,000 horses, and the mules of the commissary-general, so richly laden, that they were estimated at three millions of livres, were taken. *Marsin* died a few hours after he lost his liberty: *Metbuen*, the *English* envoy, visited him; and *Voltaire* asserts, that the count told that gentleman it was contrary to his opinion the *French* waited in their lines to be attacked; a declaration quite opposite to what has been asserted by all former writers². The difficulty is, however reconciled, by supposing the count had orders to that purpose from court, with which he was forced to comply, though contrary to his own opinion.

The French driven out of Italy.

Lewis had hitherto supported all his misfortunes with astonishing fortitude: but it was feared this last shock would overthrow his magnanimity. It happened at the most critical juncture, and was too decisive not to prove fatal to his affairs. *M. de Maintenon* only ventured to tell him, that the duke of *Orleans* had raised the siege of *Turin* on the approach of prince *Eugene*; and even this disappointment she qualified, by making the king at the same time acquainted with the victory obtained by *Medavy Grancy* over the prince of *Hesse* in *Mantua*; a victory which, though complete, produced no advantage. It was wholly absorbed in the more important battle of *Turin*, in consequence of which the *French* and *Spaniards* were driven out of the duchies of *Mantua* and *Milan*, the *Piedmontese*, and the kingdom of *Naples*. The pride of the towering and ambitious *Lewis* was now so humbled, as might excite the compassion of his most implacable enemies. His vast armies were swept away by the sword, his conquests on both sides the *Danube* wrested from him, his forces driven out of *Flanders* and *Italy*, and his grandson king *Philip* forced to yield his capital to a competitor, who might easily have subdued all *Spain*, had he known how to pursue his good fortune. He employed the elector of *Bavaria* to write letters, in his name, to the duke of *Marlborough* and the States General, soliciting a congress; he besought the pope to interpose with the emperor in his behalf; he absolutely evacuated *Italy*, to have liberty to withdraw the broken remains of the duke of *Orleans*'s army, and the little victorious corps under *Medavy Grancy*. One stroke of his pen ceded all the conquests obtained at the expence of rivers of blood. It is even asserted, that, to procure peace, *Lewis* proposed to resign *Spain* and the *West Indies* to the archduke *Charles*; to grant a barrier to the *Dutch* in the *Netherlands*; to indemnify the duke of *Savoy*; with such other conditions as prudence ought to have accepted; but they were rejected by *England* and *Holland*, intoxicated by success, and under the influence of the duke of *Marlborough* and the pensionary *Henfius*, whose particular interest it was to continue the war, by which their vanity and ambition were equally gratified. *Lewis* was aware that he should gain some advantage from these moderate proposals, and that by signing terms with the emperor for *Italy*, he should foment jealousy and division among the allies. Indeed the schemes of opposition formed by the *Tories* in *England* against the duke of *Marlborough*, afforded glimmerings of hope, that *Great Britain* would tire of a war that had cost her immense treasures, without gaining her a single advantage, either in revenue, commerce, or dominion³.

Schemes for raising money in France. A. D. 1707.

In the mean time, though the allies seemed to have acquired new strength by their successes, though *Lewis* was pressed on every side by sea and land, though his subjects were almost spent with taxes, his frontier towards *Germany* exposed, and *Alsace* open to the incursions of the enemy, yet *France* retained innate strength; it was only her conquests she had lost; the here-

² Le Siecle, t. i. p. 301.

³ HAINAULT, ann. 1706.

a ditary dominions of the crown remained untouched. His Christian majesty therefore, relying upon the justice of the conditions he offered, and equity of his cause, determined upon further efforts to bring the confederates to reason. To supply the deficiency of coin, and support the credit of the government, mint bills were issued, in imitation of the paper credit of *England*; but all the precautions taken, and all the security he was able to give, could not gain them currency, but at a discount of above 50 per cent. However he had the pleasure to see marshal *Villars* victorious in *Germany*, forcing the lines of *Stolboffen*, dispersing the several corps of the enemy, and raising contributions all round that country, extending from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*; to see *Toulon*, invested by prince *Eugene* by land, and blocked up by an *English* squadron, relieved by the terror of his arms; and the affairs of the confederates *Military transactions.*

b in *Spain* fall into confusion, by the fatal defeat at *Almanza*. Inspired by these successes, he formed the great design of invading *England*, and replacing *James* on the throne of his ancestors. This invasion would at least make a powerful diversion, and, if it succeeded, intirely change the face of affairs. Emissaries were employed in *England* and *Scotland* to form a party; a squadron of eight men of war and seventy transports were equipp'd at *Dunkirk*, and 6,000 land forces embarked under the conduct of the count *de Gace* and the marshal *Mantignon*. *Fourbin Janson*, one of the best sea officers in *France*, was appointed to the command of the fleet; and the greatest expectations of success were entertained, as there were not above 3000 regulars at that time in *Scotland*. This armament set sail from the port of *Dunkirk* on the 17th day of *March*, steered for the frith of *Edinburgh*, and overwhelmed *Great Britain* with consternation: but adverse winds, and the vigilance of Sir *George Byng*, the *English* admiral, frustrated the intention of the expedition, and obliged *Fourbin* to return to port, after he had made several unsuccessful attempts to effect a debarkation^b.

Not discouraged with the miscarriage of the projected invasion, *Lewis* resolved to improve the advantages gained the preceding year on the continent. It was supposed that the presence of the duke of *Burgundy*, the presumptive heir of his crown, would animate his troops, excite emulation, give life to his drooping affairs in *Flanders*. Incredible efforts were made to raise an army worthy of the prince, assisted by the duke of *Vendome*; the elector of *Bavaria*, seconded by the duke of *Berwick*, was destined to command the forces on the *Rhine*; and marshal *Villeroy* appointed to conduct the forces in *Dauphine*. Early in the campaign a prodigious army was assembled in the *Netherlands*. It exceeded 100,000 men, while that of the confederates hardly amounted to 80,000. Notwithstanding this superiority, it was determined to take advantage of circumstances, and act less by force than stratagem, for the recovery of *Spanish Flanders*. It was well known that the inhabitants of the great cities in the *Netherlands*, naturally turbulent, mutinous, and inconstant, were greatly dissatisfied with the *Dutch* government. The count *de Bergeyk*, who had great influence in the *Netherlands*, was devoted to the house of *Bourbon*; and the elector of *Bavaria* had rendered himself extremely popular in the great cities. Upon this foundation the scheme was formed of recovering the losses sustained in the preceding campaigns; and in consequence the brigadiers *la Faille* and *Pastence* surprized the city of *Ghent*, while the count *de la Motte* made himself master of *Bruges* without opposition. But all the schemes of the cabinet were soon overturned by the operations in the field, and the vigilance, genius, and activity of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene*, as well as the divisions in the *French* councils. The confederate generals had taken the resolution of attacking the duke of *Burgundy* near *Oudenarde*, and were for that purpose preparing to cross the *Scheld*. *Vendome* proposed falling upon them while one half of the army only had crossed the river; but he was thwarted by the duke of *Burgundy*, who seemed confounded and perplexed at this critical juncture, on which his reputation, and the security of *France*, depended. When it was too late, the duke of *Burgundy* acceded to *Vendome's* opinion, and declared for an engagement, after almost the whole allied forces had crossed the river, and were formed on the banks. *Vendome* then remonstrated that the opportunity was lost; however, he at last submitted with great reluctance. *Grimaldi* was ordered to begin the charge with the king's household troops; but finding the rivulet marshy, he refused to advance, and retired to the right. The enemy immediately fell on with incredible impetuosity, and took the village of *Heynem*, in which eleven battalions were posted. The main body of the army sustained the whole shock of the confederate infantry with great bravery, and the battle continued for an hour with dubious success, until the prince of *Orange* with the *Dutch* infantry made a motion, by which he came on the flank of the *French* army. Count *Tilly* and general *Overkirk* had likewise made an impression on the right wing; then they began to fall into disorder, nor could all the endeavours of the duke of *Vendome* longer retard the fortune of *Marlborough*. Alighting from his horse, he flew among the ranks, called the officers by name, implored them to maintain the honour of their country, and

A. D. 1708.

The duke of Burgundy takes the command of the army.

Battle of Oudenarde.

animated the men with his voice and example. His great military talents had never appeared a to greater advantage than upon this occasion; but they proved useless. His men were driven back on each other with such fury, that the whole army became a scene of confusion. Several regiments were cut in pieces among the inclosures, others threw down their arms. Night interposing saved the greater part of the army, and furnished *Vendome* with an opportunity of drawing off his broken forces towards *Ghent*. Seeing the troops give way, he prognosticated a defeat, and had provided a rear-guard of twenty battalions to secure the retreat. To this precaution the *French* owed their safety; for the enemy sent detachments of horse at day-break in pursuit; but they found the hedges and ditches that skirted the roads so well lined with grenadiers, that they found it impossible to form. In this action the king lost 3000 men, had 7000 taken prisoners, and owed to the conduct of *Vendome* the safety of the whole: but as it b proved unsuccessful, the public, judging by the event, threw reflections upon his character, which before was unsullied by suspicion; but *Lewis* did justice to his merit, well knowing that the occasion of the defeat was not in *Vendome*, who did all that courage, tutored by conduct, could effect c.

The allies reduce Lille.

THE allies, pressing their advantage, invested *Lille*, the strongest town in the *Netherlands*, supplied with all kinds of necessaries, and reinforced with twenty-one battalions of the best troops in *France*, under the command of marshal *Boufflers*, whom the king found it necessary again to employ. This enterprize was thought by all *Europe* to favour of rashness and inconsiderate conceit; but the event justified the confederate generals. *Vendome* cut off their communication with the magazines at *Antwerp*; but they drew their convoys from *Ostend*; they c surmounted every difficulty, and pursued their plan with such admirable steadiness and perseverance, that *Boufflers* was under the necessity of capitulating, after sustaining a siege of near four months. A great number of gallant actions were performed by the allies during the siege; but the most extraordinary, was the defeat of a detachment of 15,000 *French* sent to attack a convoy coming from *Ostend*. General *Webb*, with 6000 *English* foot, guarded the convoy, who made so admirable a disposition, and fought with such spirit, that the *French* retired in confusion, leaving near 5000 men killed on the field of battle. The reduction of *Lille* astonished all *Europe*; for it was universally believed that the duke of *Burgundy* had so d cooped up the allied army, that he would reduce them to extreme necessity, before they could make themselves masters of the city. He had even publicly boasted of this; and, now that he was disappointed, he threw the odium on *Vendome*. One of the duke's courtiers told that great general, "Now, sir, you see the consequence of not going to mass." "What then e" (says *Vendome*), do you believe that *Marlborough* goes to mass any more than I?" In consequence of the reduction of *Lille*, the enemy seized upon *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Plassendal*, *Leffingen*, and other places. The emperor persuaded himself that he had opened a way to the heart of *France*, and a party from the *Dutch* garrison of *Courtray* had the boldness to penetrate quite to *Versailles*, where they seized one of the household officers, mistaking him for the dauphin, father to the duke of *Burgundy* d.

The French unsuccessful in Savoy.

ON the side of *Dauphine* the king was not more successful. All the vigilance and activity of *Villars* could not hinder the duke of *Savoy* from possessing the important towns of *la Perouse*, *Fenestrelles*, and the valley of *St. Martin*. The *French* general had forced the two e towns of *Sanzana* in sight of the duke's army; but his highness had, notwithstanding, formed to himself a strong barrier before the end of the campaign, opened a direct path to the *French* provinces, and made a powerful diversion in favour of the archduke, by obliging the king to reinforce *Villars* by weakening his efforts in *Catalonia*.

Sardinia and Minorca seized by the English.

IN *Spain*, after the victory of *Almanza*, fortune seemed to declare wholly in favour of the king. *Moboui* had possessed himself of *Alcoi* as early in the season as the month of *January*; the duke of *Orleans* reduced *Tortosa* in *July*, and the sieur d'*Asfeldt* took *Denia*, in the kingdom of *Valencia*, in *November*, and *Alicant* in *December*. Those successes were, however, f more than balanced by the losses in the *Mediterranean*, where the *English* fleet, under Sir *John Leake*, seized upon the islands of *Sardinia* and *Minorca*, the latter of which continued in their hands until the present war, when it was reduced by the duke de *Richelieu*. Though, in consequence of the fatal battle of *Oudenarde*, the king's affairs suffered extremely, though he lay exposed on the side of *Dauphine* to the insults of his enemies, though he lost *Sardinia* and *Minorca*, and could balance his misfortunes only by a few inconsiderable advantages in *Spain*, yet he supported all these vicissitudes, so different from the successes which had formerly attended his arms, with firmness and magnanimity. Yet, though his courage seemed to be proof against the schemes of fortune, he felt a real and just concern for the intolerable misery of his subjects, and tried by every method to set on foot a negotiation. Though *Holland* led the only path to a general pacification, and no expedient was left untried to bring the pensionary *Henfius* to admit of proposals, or at least of the residence of a *French* envoy in *Holland*, this

c Le Siecle, c. xx.

d VOLT. c. xx. SMOLLET, l. vii. c. 9.

- a point had been unsuccessfully laboured since the year 1706; the most advantageous terms were offered to the States; they were left to fix their own barrier, to prescribe a treaty of commerce, to set what limitations to the encroachment of *France* they thought necessary, and had even the offer of keeping a great part of the *Spanish Netherlands* sequestered in their hands, as a security of the king's sincere intentions to perform his engagements. The haughty republic, intoxicated with prosperity, and the consideration allowed them of becoming the arbiters of *Europe*, rejected every proposal, and raised her terms to a pitch of insupportable insolence. *Lewis*, however, was not discouraged in his designs. He saw the necessity of procuring peace at all hazards, and was sensible that a republic, whose very existence depended on her trade and navigation, would not long continue deaf to the advantageous proposals offered with respect to her commerce. *Lewis's* conjecture was well founded. The States first admitted inferior agents, and this year they expressed no dislike to the king's pressing solicitations, that *Rouille* might confer in person with *Hensius* and *Vanderdussen*, the two great oracles of the *United Provinces*, the favourites of the late king *William*, and placed by him in those offices which they held with the concurrence of the public. *Rouille* conducted himself with great address; but the operations of war broke through all the schemes of pacific intentions. The negotiations met with so many difficulties, that the campaign opened, the uncertain issue of which rendered all that had been hitherto concerted very precarious. It is probable, indeed, that the conferences, which *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* held with *Hensius* and *Vanderdussen* at the *Hague*, greatly retarded all the king's schemes for a treaty of peace. They were not satisfied with the demolition of *Dunkirk*, the king's abandoning the pretender, and acknowledging queen *Anne's* title, his ceding the *Spanish* monarchy, granting the *Dutch* a sufficient barrier, and *England* and *Holland* the greatest commercial advantages; they demanded restitution of the *Upper* and *Lower Alsace* to the empire; they insisted the king should restore *Strasbourg*, and the town and castellany of *Lisle*, demolish *Dunkirk*, *New Brisac*, *Fort Lewis*, and *Hunningen*: in a word, that he should make such concessions, as they ought to have been ashamed to mention, and such as he would not have suffered to be repeated in his presence, had he not been reduced to the lowest distress. The marquis *de Torcy* posted in disguise to the *Hague*, on the faith of a common passport. He soothed, solicited, he supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his sovereign; he attacked the duke of *Marlborough* on the side of his avarice; his offers were rejected. In a word, one can hardly reflect on the unhappy circumstances of *Lewis*, who had lately given law to *Europe*, without feeling sentiments of compassion for a monarch so long accustomed to conquests. *Lewis*, however, had the courage to reject the insolent preliminaries, and his subjects approved the noble resolution. He published his own proposals, and the demands of the enemy. All *France* took fire at the indignity. Every one exclaimed against the injustice, the arrogance of the allies, and determined to perish for the glory of their monarch. The kingdom was severely afflicted by famine; but this procured soldiers. Those, who had not the honour of their sovereign at heart, were forced, however, to insist from necessity. Many were actuated by more generous motives: impoverished and half-starved, they resolved to expend the last drop of their blood in support of their sovereign. Animated by these sentiments, *France* made such efforts as astonished those who believed her at the last gasp. A prodigious army was assembled in *Flanders* under *Villars*; and though the confederates exceeded 100,000 men, it was expected he would have acted offensively. But *Villars* well knew the superiority of veterans, flushed with victory, over raw undisciplined troops, whose eagerness of revenge would only increase their tumult and disorder.

As soon as *Lewis* had rejected the proposals, *Rouille* was ordered to quit *Holland* in twenty-four hours, and *Villars* to open the campaign with all vigour and expedition. He was, however, so incapable of acting offensively, that he found it necessary to intrench himself in the plain of *Lens*. The fate of *France* and *Spain* depended on the issue of the campaign. A defeat would be attended with the most dreadful consequences, the apprehension of which had prevented his making attempts to relieve *Tournay*, until his new-raised forces had been accustomed to the sight of an enemy. The confederates were no sooner in possession of *Tournay*, than they cast their eyes on *Mons*, and passed the *Scheld* with intention to invest that strong fortress. *Villars* marched to cover *Mons*, and posted himself advantageously behind the woods of *La Merte* and *Tanieres*, in the neighbourhood of *Malplaquet*; where he fortified his camp, naturally strong, with triple intrenchments. *Voltaire* affirms, that his army did not exceed fourscore thousand combatants; *English* writers augment his numbers to one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, and perhaps they were nearer the truth, if we consider that he was joined by *Boufflers*, who stifled all rivalry out of regard to his country, and consented to act in an inferior capacity, though he was the senior commander. *Villars* took every possible precaution, yet his disposition is blamed. He so covered his camp with lines, intrenchments,

^c Marq. DE TORCY, t. ii. pass.

Battle of Mal-
plaquet.

Mons taken by
the allies.

hedges, batteries, and trees laid across, that it seemed quite inaccessible; but he ought, in the opinion of some military critics, to have marched beyond a hollow way that lay in the front of his camp; a circumstance of which this experienced officer must have judged better in the field, than they could in their closets. In this situation he was attacked with great fury by the enemy, and so eager were the *French* soldiers to engage, that they flung away the broad just given them, of which they had not tasted for a whole day. The *Dutch*, on the left, were three times repulsed with prodigious slaughter, and as often led on by the prince of *Orange*, who persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity. On the right, the *English* forces were more successful; after an obstinate engagement the *French* were driven from their intrenchments into the woods of *Saart* and *Tanieres*. The marshal, in leading back the troops, was dangerously wounded; and thus the honour of a victory, attended with scarce any advantage, belonged to the enemy. The *French* had fought with an obstinacy of courage bordering on despair, and they now made a fine retreat towards *Valenciennes*, under marshal *Boufflers*, that prevented a pursuit. Twenty thousand of the confederates fell in the field of battle, whereas the loss on the side of *France* scarce amounted to eight thousand. In a word, the enemy gained a victory so bloody and dear bought, as would have made a repetition of it fatal to the confederacy. When *Villars* retired to *Valenciennes*, the allied army laid siege to *Mons*, which capitulating about the end of *October*, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters^f.

On the *Rhine*, *Lewis's* affairs were successful. General *Merci*, having meditated an invasion of *Franche Comté*, was happily prevented by marshal *Dubourg*, who attacked, defeated, and obliged him to repass the *Rhine*, with the loss of 2000 men. In *Italy*, the duke of *Berwick* frustrated all the projects of the imperial general; the *Camisars* were entirely defeated in the *Cevennes*, and the affairs in *Spain* in general bore a favourable aspect. The *English* and *Portuguese* were defeated at *Caya*, by the marshal *de Bay*; and the strong fortress of *Alicant* had, after a tedious siege, surrendered to count *d'Asfeld*.

Negotiations of
peace renewed;
ed;

and again
broke off.

NOTWITHSTANDING the campaign was, on the whole, more favourable than the most Christian king had reason to expect, peace became every day more necessary. The finances were so totally exhausted, and the kingdom impoverished, that *Lewis* resolved to sacrifice every consideration, and even the interest of his grandson, to procure the blessings of repose to his miserable subjects. He demanded passports, by virtue of which his ministers might repair in safety to *Holland*. When these were obtained, the marshal *d'Uxelles*, and the abbe *Polignac*, the finest genius in *France*, were pitched on to carry the king's supplications to *Gertrudenberg*, where conferences were appointed. The marquis *de Torcy* renewed his attempts on the integrity of *Marlborough*, and proceeded so far as to offer four millions of livres for that nobleman's interest in procuring terms, which the king would, but four years before, have rejected with disdain. *Lewis* now offered to renounce his grandson; he even agreed to pay the allies a subsidy to support their armies in driving *Philip* out of *Spain*, in case he should refuse to deliver the *Spanish* monarchy to the archduke *Charles* in the space of two months. At *Gertrudenberg* the *French* ministers were exposed to every kind of insult. Injurious libels were every day published; their accommodation was mean, and the language of the *Dutch* deputies such as might be expected from brutal burghers, exalted to treat upon an equality with the ambassadors of a great monarch. They insisted upon the king's declaring war upon his own grandson; and *Lewis*, after trying many other expedients, broke up the conference, recalled his ambassadors, and resolved to try the fortune of another campaign. He entertained hopes, that some fortunate incident in the event of war, and the approaching revolution in the *English* ministry, would be productive of more reasonable conditions, or such at least as would have stained his character with less infamy, than the unnatural act of taking up arms against his own grand-child. Measures were taken for opening the campaign, and the whole kingdom of *France* espoused, with warmth, the generous sentiments of the monarch. Without ever repining at the ambition that had reduced the nation to the most deplorable circumstances, the people imputed all their calamities to the insolence and pride of the confederates. Not a murmur of complaint broke forth against the sovereign, while they were under the pressure of extreme misery; on the contrary, all his subjects flocked to his banners, and fought under them with great spirit, attachment, and perseverance. They yielded the tenth penny of their whole substance for the services of the war; but all their loyalty and affection could not have preserved the kingdom from destruction, had not a body of merchants, with permission from the catholic king, made repeated voyages to *South America*, from whence they returned with immense treasures^g.

A. D. 1710.

A NUMEROUS and well-appointed army was assembled by marshal *Villars*. His intention was first to cover *Doway*; and afterwards, finding the enemy had invested it, to relieve the garrison at the hazard of a battle. Their strong situation, however, prevented his designs:

^f QUINCY, p. 205. SMOLLET, VOL. *ibid*.

^g TORCY, *ibid*.

- a *Doway* surrendered, and the armies went into quarters, without undertaking any other considerable enterprize. Both sides remained inactive on the *Rhine* and in *Italy*, the duke of *Berwick* having thrown up intrenchments that baffled count *Tbaune*'s intention of penetrating into *Dauphine*. *Spain* alone was fruitful in military incidents. The beginning of the year had been extremely unfortunate to king *Philip*. He had lost the battle of *Saragossa*, and was forced to retreat, with the shattered remains of his army, to *Madrid*, and from thence to *Valladolid*. But the arrival of *Vendome* soon retrieved matters, and changed the fortune of the war. All *Spain* demanded this general, and *Philip*, who entertained the highest opinion of his ability, believed him alone capable of stemming the rapidity of *Staremborg*'s successes. *Vendome* acquired great glory in *Italy*; nor had the unfortunate campaign before *Lisse* in the
- b least obscured the lustre of his reputation in the eyes of the *Spaniards*. His affability, openness, generosity even to profusion, and confessed intrepidity, had gained him the hearts of the soldiers. The moment he set foot in *Spain*, volunteers flocked to him from every quarter, and *Vendome*'s popularity was as valuable to *Philip* as an army. A spirit of enthusiasm actuated the whole nation. Cities and corporations, villages and monasteries, offered all they had to their darling general, who soon approved himself worthy of their confidence and affections. In less than three months after the battle of *Saragossa*, *Philip* was in a condition to march in quest of his rival, who might have been confirmed on the throne, had he made the proper use of his victory; or rather, had he been duly supported by the allies. *Vendome* would not suffer the ardor of his troops to cool by delay. He led them straight to *Madrid*, pursued the enemy to
- c *Portugal*, crossed the *Tagus*, and obliged general *Stanhope*, with 5000 *English* forces, to surrender prisoners of war at *Brihuega* (A). Next day he attacked count *Staremborg* at *Villa Viciosa*; king *Philip* led the right wing, and *Vendome* commanded on the left. The conflict was long and obstinate, and the victory disputed; though, if we may judge from consequences, it declared fairly on the side of *Philip*. Certain it is, that *Staremborg*'s left wing was intirely defeated, and all the infantry cut in pieces. *English* writers allege, that the enemy's left wing fought with desperate fury, until night separated the combatants; but the *French* and *Spanish* writers more fully agree, that *Staremborg* was routed, with the loss of all his artillery, baggage, and upwards of 5000 men. Beyond dispute he was pursued by *Vendome*, who took *Balaguar* in his way, and forced the imperial general to take shelter under
- d the cannon of *Barcelona*. *Gironne* surrendered to the duke de *Noailles*; and thus *Philip*, from a fugitive, became absolute master of all *Spain*, except *Catalonia*, in less than one campaign, the beginning of which had been extremely unfortunate^b.
- But these exploits, however fortunate to *Philip*, and glorious to *Vendome*, were less advantageous to *France* than the intrigues at the court of *London*. While the signal revolution in *Spain* astonished all *Europe*, and dazzled with its lustre, another more silent and decisive in *Great Britain* laid the foundation of such a peace as *Lewis* could not expect. In vain would the industry of man, the vain policy of kings, endeavour to produce such effects; in the circumstances of affairs they were so truly extraordinary, that whoever would have pretended, a few months before, to have predicted them, would justly be treated as a visionary. *Philip*'s unhoped for success weighed powerfully with the allies; it convinced them, that, to dethrone that prince, would be a work of more time and difficulty than was imagined. The war, which had lasted so many years, became so burdensome, that nothing but the rapid course of conquest supported the spirits of the people; the least check made the *English* in particular turn their eyes to their own situation. This nation, the most violent and potent enemy of *Lewis*, was now divided into factions, more serviceable to *France* than all her armies and generals. The *Whig* and *Tory* parties, for some years past, seemed to unite in efforts to advance the glory of the kingdom; of a sudden they determined to rob the nation of the fruits of all her gallant victories. During the reign of queen *Anne*, the *Whigs* had got the whole management of affairs into their hands. *Marlborough* governed the state, and his haughty, artful duchess possessed the queen's most intimate confidence. By this means they had the disposal of the revenue, and of all places and preferments. The earl of *Godolphin*, closely connected to *Marlborough* by the ties of interest and of marriage, was lord treasurer of *England*, and his reputation was as high in a civil as the duke's in a military capacity. *Marlborough*'s credit at the *Hague* was superior to the pensioner's; his influence was very great in the empire, of which he was created a prince. Equally successful in the cabinet and the field, no subject ever enjoyed more power or glory. Hedged round with victory, popularity, and potent friends, it was impossible for the *Tory* party, now discovering symptoms of ambition, to shake his fortune, or establish their own, but by depriving him of the queen's confidence. The duke's avidity, and the insolence of his duchess, were the instruments destined to produce

^b VOLT. t. i. p. 331. HAINAULT, t. ii. p. 864. SMOLLET, t. viii. p. 372.

(A) The *English* writers affirm, that *Stanhope*'s army did not exceed 2000 men; among whom were three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, and several colonels. *Smollet*, 371.

this effect ; which could never be accomplished, could that consummate hero have moderated a his passion for money, and his ambitious consort been contented with holding the queen in gentle bondage. She had long been regarded with tenderness by *Anne*, which in time degenerated into submission, and a servile complaisance for the will of *Sarah Jennings*. The queen and duchess had long corresponded by letter under feigned names ; the intercourse was the most familiar possible between women, and, used with discretion, would have perpetually held the queen in those fetters forged by the duchess. A pair of gloves, says the lively *Voltaire*, of a new fashion, which the duchess refused the queen, and a cup of water insolently spilt on the cloaths of Mrs. *Masbam*, a rising favourite, changed the politics of *Europe*. The queen was piqued at these insults ; an altercation ensued, letters passed, *Anne* made submissions ; but the haughty duchess replied imperiously, “ I demand justice, not answers.” b

THE influence of the duchess of *Marlborough* over the queen’s mind had been the means of the duke’s elevation, and the principal support of the *Whig* faction. No sooner had she lost this ascendancy, than the lord *Godolphin* was deprived of his office of treasurer, and earl *Pawlet*, Mr. *Harley*, *Mansel*, *Paget*, and *Benson*, were made commissioners of the treasury. Lord *Sunderland*, to avoid the disgrace of being superseded, resigned the place of secretary of state. Mrs. *Masbam*, related to the duchess of *Marlborough*, and first introduced by her to court, rose in the queen’s favour, in proportion as the interest of her benefactress declined. She had the address to please the queen ; and, finding herself beloved, she converted to her own purposes the affections of her mistress, and the imprudence of the duchess, whose insolence, pride, disrespect, and ingratitude to the queen, became now as detestable as before c they were dreadful. The duchess did not appear at court, and the new favourite seized this opportunity to heighten the queen’s just indignation, and to paint the character of the discarded favourite in the strongest colours. Besides her own immediate promotion, which depended on the intire disgrace of the duchess, Mrs. *Masbam* had another reason to enter strenuously into the opposition against the duke of *Marlborough*. She had a brother, for whom she solicited a regiment ; the queen urged the duke, and he represented to her majesty the prejudice that would redound to the service by preferring a young man to several old officers, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. He expostulated with the sovereign upon this partial instance of regard, which he considered as a declaration against his own family ; but, his remonstrances producing no effect, he retired in disgust to *Windso*r. *Harley* d secretly directed these intrigues, and made a proper use of the earl of *Sunderland*’s motion, that the parliament would address the queen to remove Mrs. *Masbam* from her presence. He laboured from these circumstances to exasperate the queen, and by means of her favourite to destroy the credit of his enemies. He artfully bewailed the ingratitude and power of the *Churchill* family, which seemed to engross the whole conduct of affairs, and every place of trust, profit, and honour. His insinuations had already introduced him as a partner in power, and he now applied the whole force of his genius to improve the advantage. He demonstrated the little emolument derived by the nation from the unsubstantial victories of *Marlborough* ; the commerce of *England* was daily declining, her finances were exhausted, the people loaded with taxes, and the public debts augmented ; but every prospect of peace was remote, and would ever remain so while it was the interest of those in power to continue a ruinous and expensive war. These were the conferences which *Harley* held with Mrs. *Masbam* ; they were by her reported to the queen, and the sentiments were so congenial to her own, that she desired *Harley* might be privately introduced. He soon convinced the queen of his ability, gave her cause to rely on his loyalty, and thus gained her confidence b.

A SERMON preached about this time by Dr. *Sacheverel* before the queen, was a severe blow to the power of the *Whigs*. He was violently persecuted, though in fact his discourse contained nothing more than the bold absurd propositions of an enthusiastic party-tool. *Harley* is said to have told the queen, that *Sacheverel* was set to work by the *Tories*, from the double motive of inducing the *Whigs* to make public declaration of their sentiments, and oblige the lord treasurer to give an account of his administration. The queen had been present at the debates upon this subject in parliament. She had heard the violent declamations of the *Whigs* against the royal prerogative, and it was sufficient for this artful minister to remind her of what had equally excited resentment and horror. He alleged, that no other reason than the apprehension of a scrutiny into the conduct of affairs could have raised so violent a persecution against a silly, vain, and ignorant parson, and discourses which would have been forgot as soon as delivered, if they had not immediately pointed at *Godolphin*, and the administration of the revenue. The solemnity of *Sacheverel*’s trial, and the uncommon virulence of his persecutors, gave strength and probability to *Harley*’s suggestions. The queen thought it high time to change the ministry, and to use *Harley*’s counsels in the alterations, which her power and dignity, she imagined, rendered necessary. These were the reasons why the staff of high treasurer was f

^a SMOLLET, t. iv. b. 8. VOLT. t. i. c. 21.

^b HAINAULT Hist. t. ii. sub ann.

a taken from *Godolphin*; why *Harley* had the appointing commissioners to execute that office, by which he got the management of the revenue into his own hands; why the disgrace of *Sommers*, president of the council, succeeded that of the treasurer; why Mr. *St. John* was raised to the department of secretary of state; in a word, why *Marlborough* alone, of all the party, remained in office. It was dangerous to attempt any thing against a nobleman possessed so strongly of the confidence of the allies; yet to continue him at the head of the army was a point of dangerous consequence to the stability of the *Tories*. The *Dutch* immediately took the alarm, not doubting but a change in the administration would produce a change of measures, and work the disgrace of *Marlborough*. The new ministry, to remove their apprehensions, published a report of their resolution to adhere more steadily than the former to the interests of the allies of *Great Britain*; and the queen ordered her ambassador at the *Hague* to assure the States, that, in chusing new ministers, she inviolably preserved the same sentiments for the common cause, and confidence in the abilities of *Marlborough*. The ministry, however, ventured to circumscribe the authority of this great commander; but in such a manner as shewed they were afraid: he was provoked at the usage; but he stifled his sentiments in hopes of revenge.

No sooner were the new ministers established than they shewed their inclination for peace, chiefly in order to ruin the duke of *Marlborough* and the *Whig* faction. It was now that a kind of secret negotiation was set on foot between the courts of *Versailles* and *London*, by means of the abbe *Gaultier*, a *Frenchman*, who had insinuated himself into the family of the earl of *Jersey*, ambassador in *France* after the treaty of *Ryswick*, and was left by marshal *Tallard* in *England* upon the last rupture between the two kingdoms. The marshal, imagining this ecclesiastic might be able occasionally to furnish useful intelligence, directed him to reside in *London*, carefully to observe every occurrence, and transmit, with the utmost discretion, whatever could contribute to the service of his country. *Gaultier* punctually executed his commission, and performed his duty without suspicion. He was now proposed by lord *Jersey* to the new ministry as a proper messenger to the court of *France*, with the first intimation of their pacific inclinations. *Gaultier* arrived at *Versailles*, reported his commission, which, however, was only verbal. He gave an exact account of the *English* government, and the state of affairs in that country. He desired a letter to lord *Jersey*, expressing nothing more than a general compliment to that nobleman; upon which he undertook to open the way to a negotiation. He obtained the letter, set out for *London*, and wrote back, that the *English* ministry, finding her majesty was averse to renew the negotiations by means of *Holland*, desired he would please to communicate the proposals for a general pacification, which they would transmit to *Holland*, their intention being to conclude a treaty in concert with their allies. A memorial accordingly was drawn up, approved of by the *English*, and sent over to *Holland*. The queen wanted cautionary towns in the *West Indies* for the security of that trade, the fortresses of *Gibraltar* and *Corunna*, and the island of *Minorca*, for the protection of the *Mediterranean* commerce. These were the immediate advantages demanded for *Great Britain*; but it was necessary the court of *Spain* should be consulted. *Philip* made no scruple about the cession of places, inconsiderable in respect to the security of his crown, and which would cost the *English* nation more to maintain garrisons than the commercial advantages they produced would reimburse.

As the article relating to the cautionary towns was of a delicate nature, in which the court of *Madrid* was deeply interested, *Lewis* chose to be silent on that head, until he was perfectly informed of the sentiments of his grandson; but *Gaultier* was permitted to assure the queen's ministers, that his most Christian majesty would use his utmost influence with *Philip*, that nothing might obstruct the peace so necessary to *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and indeed to all *Europe*.

In the mean time the *Dutch*, knowing it was not the interest of *Holland*, that *England* should either make a separate peace, or that any other power should hold in her hands the means of a general pacification, gave intimations to the *French* court, that if the king would resume the negotiations in *Holland*, he should not find the States backward. Thus the two powers, the most opposite to reasonable terms of accommodation, the most vigorous persecutors of the war, and strenuous enemies of *France*, became competitors for the great work of establishing peace, envying each other the honour of contributing to its happy issue. It was the request of the *English* ministry, that *Lewis* should listen to no propositions from the States, which should tend to bring the conferences back to *Holland*; and the king faithfully complied, which obliged the *Dutch* to make application to *Great Britain*, that they should be consulted in the general scheme of pacification.

In the midst of these preliminaries to a negotiation, the season for action approached. *Marlborough* still continued at the head of the confederate army. The *Tory* ministry did not

^c HAINAULT Hist. t. ii. sub ann. TORCY, Mem. v. ii.
MOD. HIST. VOL. IX.

^d TORCY's Negociat. let. ii part 3.

Death of the
emperor.

yet think themselves firmly enough established, or sufficiently advanced in their negotiations, a to venture superseding a general who possessed the whole confidence of the empire and *Holland*. Such a measure would in particular give umbrage to the latter. He was therefore permitted to set out for the *Hague* in the month of *February*, to make preparations for the ensuing campaign. Before either army was ready to take the field, the emperor *Joseph* died, leaving his *Austrian* dominions, the empire of *Germany*, and his pretensions to the *Spanish* monarchy, to his brother the archduke *Charles*, once crowned king of *Spain*, and now obliged to quit the capital by the late success of his rival *Philip*. This event, it was imagined, would greatly facilitate a peace. The objects of *England* and *Holland* were to preserve the balance of power, and to prevent the aggrandizement of the house of *Bourbon* by the accession of the *Spanish* monarchy; the same reasons now prevailed with respect to the house of *Austria*, whose pride, b ambition, and lust of empire, would be equally dangerous, were the *Austrian* dominions, the imperial dignity, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Lombardy*, *Spain*, and *America*, to be united in one family, and composing one intire monarchy. To prevent this was the design of *Lewis*; it ought to have been that of all the allies: that he had no desire to unite the *French* and *Spanish* monarchies appears by the reciprocal renunciation made by the catholic king to the crown of *France*, and the princes of the blood to that of *Spain*, immediately after the treaty of *Utrecht* c.

Campaign in
Flanders.

THE death of the emperor made no alteration in the mutual preparations for trying the fortune of another campaign. The efforts made by *Lewis* were extraordinary, considering how long he had supported the war, contended with the greatest powers in Christendom, and that he was, for the two preceding campaigns, supposed on the verge of destruction. His d eager desire to restore the blessings of peace to his subjects had indeed occasioned the confederates to conclude, that all his attempts to bring on a negociation proceeded from despair. His army in *Flanders* this year, commanded by *M. Villars*, was not inferior to any he had yet set sent into the field, and his subjects still espoused the cause of their monarch, and supported his glory with astonishing spirit and attachment. The spirit and activity of *Villars* had rendered him so very popular, that he found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river *Sanfet*. His situation was so strong, that he could not be attacked with any prospect of success. He had drawn lines from *Bouchain* on the *Scheld*, along the *Sanfet* and the *Scarpe*, to *Arras*, and from thence to *Canche*. They were defended by redoubts, and would indeed have been impenetrable, had not the marshal been d weakened by the strong detachments necessarily made from his army to the *Rhine*, to reinforce the elector of *Bavaria*. It was *Marlbrough's* design to force this line, and upon his success his reputation depended. From the 15th of *June* to the 12th of *July* the two armies remained incamped, separated only by the *Scarpe*. The *French* army formed a kind of circle on the other side of *Arras*, the right at *Mouchin-Preu*, and the left at *Duisan*; while the confederate camp extended along the *Lens*, the right at *Lieven*, and the left at *Henin-Lister*. *Villars's* situation greatly incommoded the confederates, who twice attempted to carry a small fort and redoubt, which covered a mole raised at *Arlicu*, by which the mills of *Doway* were rendered useless, and the navigation of the *Scarpe* interrupted. A third time they returned to the charge with a body of 8000 chosen troops; when, after an obstinate conflict, they at e length succeeded. Intending to fortify these posts, *Marlbrough* left twelve battalions to cover the workmen, and marshal *Villars* formed the resolution of surprising their camp. The count *de Gasson* was pitched upon to execute this project, and he took his measures so well, that he arrived at day-break, within a small distance of the enemy, without being discovered. He had ranged his horse in four lines; the first of which attacked the camp with such fury, that the confederate detachment was defeated, dispersed, and pursued to *Doway*. In this action the loss was inconsiderable, the victory complete, but fruitless. *Marlbrough* made a feint, which deceived even the vigilance of *Villars*, and was, perhaps, the most masterly stroke of that consummate general. Advancing within two leagues of the *French* lines, he ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack the enemy. *Villars* drew his chief f force on that side, in full expectation of an engagement, and was astonished when he heard that generals *Cadogan* and *Hompesch* had passed the *Sanfet* at *Vitri*, and that the duke of *Marlbrough* was in the neighbourhood of *Arlicu*. Now, certified of the design formed, *Villars* decamped with his whole army by break of day; and, putting himself at the head of the household troops, marched with such expedition, that, by noon, he was in sight of the duke of *Marlbrough*, who had by this time joined count *Hompesch*. This junction obliged him to retreat to *Courtray*, by which manœuvre he got within the lines, encamping upon the *Schelde*, between *Oisy* and *Esstrun*. *French* writers endeavour to qualify this disgrace of *Villars*; but the marshal shewed that he deserved better fortune, by the ingenuousness with which he acknowledged himself baffled by the superior talents of the *English* general f.

c VOLT. t. i. c. 21.

f HAINAULT, sub ann. DONIELB. sub ann.

- a It was after this enterprize that *Marlborough* formed the hazardous design of investing *Bouchain*, a town small indeed in extent, but strong by situation, surrounded by morasses, well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. *Villars* took every precaution for the security of *Bouchain*, and used his utmost address to defeat the designs of the confederates, and retrieve the shock his reputation had lately sustained. His detachments gained several advantages over the foraging parties of the confederates. A body of *French Hussars* attacked and defeated, not far from *Cambray*, a body of the enemy's cavalry. The count *de Landrecy* was no less successful in an attack upon seven squadrons detached by *Marlborough* to cover a forage in the neighbourhood of *Poix*. The greater part of the foragers, with the counts *d'Herback* and *Wafenar*, were made prisoners. On the last day of *August* another advantage was gained by the marquis *de Chateau-morand*. *Villars* had laid two bridges over the *Schelde*, between *Iwey* and *Estrun*. At night he detached the marquis, with 3000 foot, to fall upon four battalions of the enemy posted at *Hordain*. *Chateau-morand* executed his orders; he attacked with great impetuosity, put the confederates into confusion, and took several prisoners, among whom was major-general *Bock*. These efforts were seconded by several brisk sallies of the besieged; they served to retard, but could not ward off, the fate of *Bouchain*. The duke *Bouchain* raised batteries, completed a causeway through a deep morass, and carried on his approaches *taken by the allies* with such rapidity, that, in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison, consisting of 4000 men, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. *French* historians, indeed, allege, that the means by which the reduction of *Bouchain* was completed tended little to the glory of that hero. According to them, the garrison demanded a capitulation, but were refused, unless they submitted at discretion. This they declined, and renewed their defence, when about midnight the besiegers, perceiving the obstinacy of the governor might yet cost them some trouble, consented they should have the honours of war, provided they were immediately put in possession of one side of a gate. The proposal was accepted, they forced the barriers, and thus gained possession of the place. Without attempting to reconcile accounts so very different, in which national prejudice seems to have a great share, we shall only observe, that the conquest of *Bouchain* was the last military enterprize of the great duke of *Marlborough*, whose resignation removed that cloud, which for some time had obscured the lustre of *Villars's* reputation. The opposite armies began now to separate; but, before *Villars* put his troops into quarters, he cut off the communication by water between *Lisle*, *Doway*, and *Tournay*. This enterprize was executed by marshal *Montesquieu*. Sept. 13.

In *Germany* nothing memorable was transacted since the death of the emperor. All the care of the generals seemed directed to watch each others motions; and provide convenient encampments. *Europe* was now intent on the election of a new emperor; and, on the 12th day of *October*, the archduke *Charles* was chosen, but was not recognized by the courts of *Ver-sailles* or *Madrid*, the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* likewise protesting against the election. *Campaign in Germany, Italy, and Spain.* In *Italy*, the duke of *Savoy*, having passed mount *Cenis*, attacked the *French* army commanded by the duke of *Berwick*, near *Montmelian*, and was repulsed after a bloody conflict. During the rest of the campaign, the superior talents of *Berwick* prevailed. He baffled all the projects of *Amadeus*, who, with a superior army, could do nothing more than recover the insignificant castle of *Miolons*, garrisoned only by fifty men. As to the transactions in *Spain*, they were equally unimportant. *Vendosme's* army was in a wretched condition, notwithstanding the astonishing rapidity of his successes the preceding campaign. At length, however, he ventured to attack general *Staremburg*, who had advanced to the pass of *Prato de Rey*. This post was disputed with obstinacy, but at last relinquished by the enemy. He afterwards, by a strong detachment from the main army, invested the castle of *Ardena*, which was vigorously defended, and at last relieved by the imperial general; who, after a bloody engagement, defeated the besiegers, with the loss of 2000 men, all their baggage, ammunition, and cannon.

WITH respect to naval affairs, the *French* king was more fortunate, though his marine was in a ruinous condition. The *Sieur Saus*, with a squadron of three men of war and three privateers, set sail from *Calais* in the month of *January*, and in the channel fell in with a fleet of *English* merchantmen homeward bound from *Virginia*, under convoy of two men of war. *Saus* gave chase to the men of war, ran two of the merchantmen aground, and brought fourteen rich prizes into *Dunkirk*. The attempt on the *English* convoy at *Vado* was not less glorious, though not equally successful. M. *L'Aigle*, with four frigates, fell upon three *English* men of war sent to protect a fleet of transports destined for *Barcelona*. The engagement was warm, and so obstinate, that the *English* were ready to strike, when six more sail appeared, and obliged the *French* commodore to relinquish his prize and victory. One of M. *L'Aigle's* ships, commanded by M. *Marquisan*, was pursued by an *English* man of war of 60 guns as far as the gulph of *La Specie*, where an obstinate fight ensued, that so disabled both sides as to make

* *Auct. sup. citat.*

them draw off by mutual consent. On the coast of *Corfica*, two of the king's frigates took a Dutch man of war of 36 guns ^b.

Expedition to
Rio de Ja-
neiro.

THE affairs in *South* and *North America* bore in general a favourable aspect; the *English* squadron under admiral *Walker*, being disappointed in the attempt on *Quebec*, and the *Sieur du Guay-Trouin* more fortunate than could be expected in the expedition to *Rio de Janeiro* in the *Brazils*. *Trouin* commanded a squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line, six frigates of 40 and 30 guns, and a bomb-ketch, with near 3000 land forces on board. He arrived in the bay of *Rio de Janeiro* on the 12th of *September*, and made the proper dispositions for a descent. The town, built along the bay, surrounded by three high mountains, was well fortified, and supplied with cannon and the necessary outworks. Every part of the road, accessible to boats, was defended by intrenchments and batteries, erected by the *Portuguese* governor, who was some time before apprized of the destination of the *French* admiral. The *French* writers allege, that he had assembled an army of 13000 regular troops, a number that would seem to be greatly exaggerated, and that he had taken every precaution for his defence. Amidst the continual fire from forts and batteries, the *French* squadron passed the straits; the *Magnanime*, conducted by the chevalier *Courserac*, led the van; the entrance of the harbour was forced, though it was surrounded with batteries, and defended by three ships of the line under *da Costa*, general of the *Portuguese* fleet. The *Portuguese* ships were run aground and lost, and the enemy driven from the isle of *Chevres* by the *sieur Guyen*, with a detachment of 500 men. Next day the troops were debarked, and a camp formed on the eminences before the town. While batteries were erecting, frequent skirmishes passed, in which the *Portuguese* were generally worsted. As soon as the works were finished, the batteries began to play so furiously, that about midnight the enemy deserted the town, and retired to the mountains with their most valuable effects. *Trouin* sent notice to the *Portuguese* general, that unless he immediately ransomed the place, he would lay it in ashes, as it was not the intention of the king his master to maintain the colony. Six hundred and ten thousand crusadoes were offered, accepted, and paid, in fifteen days: upon which the *French* troops embarked. Upon the whole, this expedition did not bring much treasure into *France*; but it cost the *Portuguese* above fifteen millions of livres ^c.

Death of the
dauphin.

BUT no military advantage could repair the loss which *France* this year sustained by the death of the dauphin, the only son of *Lewis*, who was swept off by the small-pox, in the 50th year of his age, and lamented by the people, as the best son, the best father, and the most amiable and promising prince of his country. By his death the title of dauphin descended to the duke of *Burgundy*, who died soon after, greatly regretted. Next the title came to the duke of *Britany*, who dying when but five years old, his brother the duke of *Anjou*, an infant, became dauphin of *France*, and presumptive heir to *Lewis's* crown and dominions. To these afflictions was superadded the loss of marshal *Boufflers*, one of the most experienced officers in *France*, who expired at *Fontainbleau*, after having faithfully served his king and country for forty years. His son, the young duke of *Boufflers*, was continued in the government of *Flanders* and *Hainault* by signing the treaty of *Utrecht*. ^d

Negotiations
resumed.

DURING the operations in the field, the preliminaries to a negotiation were adjusting between the courts of *Versailles* and *London*, by means of *Gaultier*, who was now returned to *France*, accompanied by Mr. *Prior*, who had formerly been secretary to the earls of *Portland* and *Jersey*, ambassadors at the court of *Lewis*. *Prior* had distinguished himself by his poetical talents: his wit, address, insinuating manner, and ardent desire to promote peace, rendered him exceedingly acceptable to the *French* ministry; but his instructions were extremely limited, and his inclination and abilities thereby rendered fruitless. He was only impowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the *English* nation, to receive the *French* king's answer, and to know whether king *Philip* had delegated a power of acting to his grandfather. *Prior* arriving incognito at *Fontainbleau*, punctually executed his commission, communicated the pretensions of *England*, and demanded a clear and determinate answer, previous to his entering upon any negotiation. The queen's memorial required a barrier for the *Dutch* in the *Netherlands*, and another for the empire on the *Rhine*; restitution for the duke of *Savoy*, and cession to that prince of such places as had been stipulated in his treaties with the allies; an acknowledgement of the succession of the crown of *England*, as established in the protestant line; the demolition of the fortifications and filling up the harbour of *Dunkirk*; cession of *Gibraltar*, *Minorca*, of the negro trade, and certain cautionary towns in *America* to the crown of *England*; security for the *English* subjects trading in *Spain*; restitution or cession of *Newfoundland* and *Hudson's-bay*; security that the *French* and *Spanish* monarchies should never be united in the same person; and, lastly, full and ample security for the commerce of the *United Provinces*. The death of the emperor made an intire change in the politics of *England*; and the expulsion of king *Philip* was no longer desired, notwithstanding that measure had cost rivers of blood. ^e ^f

^b HAINAULT, t. ii. sub ann.

^c Ibid. DANIEL, ANAR, t. ii. p. 294.

a These demands were to be kept secret, and revealed only by the mutual consent of the contracting parties. They were such, however, as it was impossible for the king to grant, without promoting the commerce of *England* at the expence of *France*, and indeed of all *Europe*; yet absolutely to reject them, would be at once to break off the negotiation. In these circumstances the *French* monarch was forced to temporize; and indeed he had lately been well accustomed to that practice from the necessity of his affairs^k.

SENSIBLE that a negotiation, where the parties are desirous of coming to an agreement, dispels a cloud of difficulties, and that the powers granted were too limited for this purpose, *Lewis* resolved to remove the seat of negotiation to *London*. He chose for this important business *Menager*, deputy from the city of *Roüen* to the board of trade, a person of equal
b knowlege, ability, and prudence. *Menager* was accordingly dispatched to *England*, with full power to adjust the preliminaries of the treaty, and he was attended thither by the *English* envoy. As the cession of *Newfoundland* and *Hudson's-bay* was an article of the utmost consequence to the marine and commerce of *France*, *Menager* had particular directions to use the king's power with discretion, and to give up *Placentia* and *Newfoundland* upon certain conditions, when he found it absolutely necessary to the great design of restoring the public tranquillity. As soon as the *French* minister set foot in *London*, he began his conferences with the duke of *Sbrowsbury*, the earls of *Jersey*, *Dartmouth*, *Oxford*, and Mr. *St. John*. After long disputes and various altercations, in which *Menager* acquitted himself with great address, certain preliminary articles were signed; upon which the *French* minister was privately introduced to
c the queen at *Windsor*. This was done in consequence of an order he received, in case decency should require that he paid his respects before he quitted *England*. The only difficulty was, that *Lewis* had not yet acknowledged that princess as queen of *Great Britain*; but such punctilios were not at this time to stand in the way of a treaty so essential to *France*. He was received graciously, charged with the queen's compliments to the king, and an assurance that she would neglect nothing in her power to accelerate the negotiations. Her majesty concluded with saying, "I do not like war; I shall do all I can to conclude a peace with all possible expedition. I should be glad to live upon good terms with the king, to whom I am so nearly
" allied in blood; and I hope there will be a closer union after the peace between us and our
" subjects, by means of a perfect correspondence and friendship." It was about this time
d that marshal *Tallard* was released from his confinement, and permitted to return to *France* on his parole: a circumstance which has made some writers imagine, that the marshal made the first overtures of peace. However probable this suggestion may appear, it is false, and positively contradicted by *Torcy*, the most intelligent writer upon the subject^l.

THE earl of *Strafford*, lately recalled from *Holland*, where he resided in quality of ambassador, was, on the departure of *Menager*, sent back to the *Hague*, to communicate to the pensionary the preliminaries signed by *France* and *England*, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and determine a place where the plenipotentiaries of the several powers should assemble. He was instructed to assure the pensionary, that the queen had granted nothing prejudicial to
e *Holland*, and that she was determined to conclude peace in conjunction with her allies. The same was done to count *Gallas*, the imperial minister in *London*, who resented the preliminaries with such indecent warmth, that, to inflame the minds of the people, he had them translated into *English*, and inserted in the public papers; upon which he was forbid appearing at court. Nor was *Holland* less alarmed at a transaction carried on with so much privacy. *Buys* was immediately sent to *London*, in quality of envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the queen to alter her resolutions. He set out on his embassy with the most sanguine hopes of success, flattering himself that he should either break off the negotiation, or at least employ such artifices as might prolong the war by ruining the new ministry. The States could not think with temper of the preliminaries being settled by *England*; and *Buys* was fixed upon as the best qualified person to bring the negotiations back to *Holland*. No decency was observed in the declamations poured
f forth by *Dutchmen* against the *English* ministers, who were represented as traitors to their country and to their allies. Upon the queen's declaration that she would regard any delay on the part of the States as a refusal to comply with her propositions, *Buys* entered into the sentiments of his country, and spoke with vehemency and indiscretion against the *English* administration. He entered into all the factions of the *Whigs*, to retard the treaty and ruin the ministry; connected himself intimately with *Bothmar*, the *Hanoverian* ambassador, and engaged in all the intrigues said to have been set on foot for immediately calling over the duke of *H-r*, and inviting prince *Eugene* into *England*. The queen's firmness, and the miscarriage of all the projects set on foot, intimidated the *Dutch*, and obliged them to consent that the general conferences should be opened at *Utrecht* on the first day of *January*^m.

^k *TORCY* Negot. t. ii.^l *Idem* *ibid*.^m *HAINAULT* sub an. *TORCY*, *ibid*.

S E C T. XVIII.

Containing the negotiations at Utrecht; the conclusion of the peace; the operations of war against the emperor, until he acceded to the conditions accepted by the other allies, and gave peace to Europe by signing the treaty of Rastadt.

Conferences at Utrecht.

AT the time when the conferences for a general peace were opened at *Utrecht*, *Lewis* had a no reason to be uneasy about the chimerical pretensions of the *Hollanders*, or the extravagant demands of the emperor. A free intercourse was carried on with *Great Britain*; he was upon good terms with the queen, and was assured that the allies must in time necessarily acquiesce with the conditions which the *British* ministry would judge equitable. *Britain* had supported the chief burden of the war: neither *Holland*, *Portugal*, the princes of the empire, or the emperor, had paid their contingencies; all were in arrears: it would therefore be impossible for them long to continue the war without the queen's money, troops, and general. Matters, however, went on slowly; and it was not before 29th that the conferences were opened at *Utrecht*, though the 1st day of the month was the time appointed. The marshal *de Uxelles*, the abbot *Polignac*, and *M. Menager*, appeared in quality of plenipotentiaries from the king; the queen of *England* granted the same powers to the bishop of *Bristol* and the earl of *Strafford*; and the *Dutch* deputies named for the congress were *Buys* and *Vanderdussen*; ministers from the emperor, the duke of *Savoy*, and the other allies, appeared reluctantly at the congress, and all seemed to be actuated with sentiments very opposite to those of the *French* monarch and her *Britannic* majesty. The *Dutch* behaved as a people forced to consent to a conference for which they had no inclination. A spirit of war seemed to prevail in the *United Provinces*; nor was there any hopes that the deputies would alter their behaviour, until *Britain* spoke with more resolution, and her plenipotentiaries expressed themselves in a language more nervous and peremptory. *Prior* was impatiently expected by the *French* ministers, as the angel of peace, intrusted with the queen of *England's* secret sentiments, which she had not communicated to her plenipotentiaries. But in his room came *Mr. Harley*, cousin to the lord treasurer, with such instructions as obliged the plenipotentiaries to the queen to declare, that *Mr. Harley* had demands so important to all the powers in *Europe*, that unless they were granted the negotiation must necessarily be at an end. It was signified that this demand was already couched in a memorial presented by the abbe *Gaultier*. It respected the security which the courts of *France* and *Spain* should give, that the crowns of the two kingdoms should never be united in the same person. But of this the king's plenipotentiaries had no power to treat; a circumstance that greatly astonished the *English* plenipotentiaries. *Lewis* indeed had wrote to *Mr. secretary St. John*, that the renunciation demanded was contrary to the fundamental laws of *France*; but that he had desired his grandson's sentiments upon this important difficulty. *Gaultier* therefore acquainted the congress with the occasion of the delay, *Philip* having not yet returned his answer. c

LEWIS, foreseeing the difficulties that arose from the death of the dauphin, and of so many princes of the blood, imparted his thoughts as early as the month of *March* to his catholic majesty, referring the election of prosecuting the war, or renouncing the crown of *France*, to his own breast. In this letter he advised him to consider the situation of affairs in *France* and *Spain*, their ability to continue the war, to consult his own inclinations, and then to take his resolution. In expectation of *Philip's* answer the negotiations were suspended, this being deemed a fundamental article, to prevent the exorbitant growth of the house of *Bourbon*. The king urged his grandson to hasten his determination; but, the plenipotentiaries growing impatient, he proposed, that the regulation of the *Spanish* succession, accepted and promulged at the assembly of the *Cortes*, or States of *Castile* and *Arragon*, should be received by the allies as sufficient security against the union of the two monarchies; but this proposal was refused, as an insufficient barrier against so great and imminent a danger. To prevent the congress from breaking up, his majesty proposed, by a letter to the *English* ministry, another alternative; it was, that in case of *Philip's* refusal to renounce his birthright and pretensions to the crown of *France*, the most christian king would, in conjunction with the queen of *England*, enter into such measures, as should be necessary to determine him, and to secure the conclusion of a peace, in which they had already made so considerable progress. We may judge of the difficulties to which *Lewis* found himself reduced, before he could be brought to this alternative. The answer was penned by *Mr. St. John*. It contained assurances, that her majesty would be glad of such a peace as the king ought to think reasonable. It was with a view of rendering every thing more agreeable to the king of *Spain*, that she now left it to that prince's choice, either to renounce his birthright, and preserve the *Spanish* monarchy with the *Indies*, or to renounce

a renounce these, in order to secure his succession to the crown of *France*, and to receive, in exchange for *Spain* and the *Indies*, the kingdom of *Sicily*, of which he was now in possession, the kingdom of *Naples*, the dukedoms of *Savoy*, *Montferrat*, and *Mantua*; on condition that when he, or any of his descendants, should succeed to the crown of *France*, all those dominions should be united to the same crown, except *Sicily* only, which should be ceded to the house of *Austria*. By this project the duke of *Savoy* was to make the advantageous exchange of his dominions for *Spain* and the *Indies*. But the whole evaporated by the determination of king *Philip*, which was to renounce all pretensions to the crown of *France*, rather than quit those of *Spain*, in which it had pleased God to place him, after struggling with innumerable difficulties.

b THE most christian king, from the established harmony between him and the queen of *England*, was now in a condition to talk to the *Dutch* in a different stile than he had done at *Gertrudenberg*. Finding the States still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, he wrote to the plenipotentiaries, acquainting them with the king of *Spain's* answer, and that the *English* would now be no longer puzzled to propose a cessation of arms; adding, that it would be needless to look for expedients which might prove pleasing to the other allies. "It would be a very bad one (said he) to offer any cautionary towns to the *Dutch*; the time for flattering their pride is past; and henceforward, while I treat with them *bona fide*, I must do it with the dignity that becomes me." A stile very different from that of the conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertrudenberg*.

c BEFORE the conferences made any further progress, the season came on for taking the field. *Villars* still commanded in *Flanders*, and the king had put his army in the best posture which the circumstances of his kingdom would permit; but the chief reliance was upon the change of measures and a general in *England*. *Marlborough* was superseded by the duke of *Ormond*, who was sent over with instructions which must have proved extremely disagreeable to a nobleman of spirit. Previous, however, to his taking the command, the earl of *Albermarle*, general of the *Dutch* forces, bombarded *Arras*, laid the suburbs in ashes, set fire to some houses in the city, and then retired. *Ormond* joined prince *Eugene* at *Tournay*, but with express orders not to hazard a battle, or engage considerably in any offensive measures; a circumstance well known to *Villars*, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance, and permitted prince d *Eugene* to invest *Quesnoi*. The trenches were opened, under cover of the army commanded by the duke of *Ormond*; but an amnesty being now signed between the king and the queen of *England*, the duke was preparing to withdraw the *English* forces, and the foreigners in the pay of *Great Britain*. Prince *Eugene*, however, prosecuted the siege with such vigour and ability, that the garrison surrendered on the 4th of *July*, after sustaining a siege of three weeks. Soon after this, to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprize, prince *Eugene* detached general *Grovesstein*, with 1500 horse, to penetrate into the very bowels of *France*. *Grovesstein* advanced into *Champagne*, passed the *Noire*, the *Maese*, the *Moselle*, the *Saar*, and retired to *Traerbach* with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having levied contributions to the gates of *Metz*, and spread terror and consternation to *Paris* and *Versailles*. Marshal *Villars* was no sooner acquainted with the march of this partisan, than he retaliated, sending *Pasteur* e with a detachment, who penetrating beyond *Bergenopzoom*, ravaged the island of *Tertola* belonging to *Zealand*, and overwhelmed the seven provinces with dismay.

The cessation of arms between *France* and *England* having been proclaimed, the fortifications of the town, the citadel, and the forts of *Dunkirk*, were consigned to the *English* troops, who landed there, under the conduct of general *Hill*. The king's fleet, vessels, and galleys remained in the port; the intendant and the magistrates continued to exercise their several offices in the town, but the garrison retired to *Winexberg*.

In the mean time prince *Eugene* laid siege to *Landrecy*, and had prevailed on the foreign troops in the *British* pay not to obey the orders of the duke of *Ormond*; but his inferiority f in point of strength, and the activity of *Villars*, obliged him to relinquish the enterprize. The earl of *Albermarle* was incamped with seventeen battalions and fourteen squadrons at *Denain*, to cover the lines. He was separated by the *Scheld* from prince *Eugene's* right wing. *Eugene* had drawn these lines from the *Scheld* to the *Scarpe*, to cover his convoys against the garrisons of *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, and his grand magazines near *Marchiennes*. *Villars*, having formed the design of seizing upon these magazines, and forcing the camp at *Denain*, advanced to *Chastillon*, as if he intended to attack the confederates before *Landrecy*. To confirm the enemy in this opinion, he had thrown bridges over the river; and prince *Eugene*, no longer doubting that an attack was meditated, raised an intrenchment before his left wing, posted general *Fagel* behind with forty battalions, and advanced his right towards *Landrecy*, by which means he was three leagues distant from *Denain*. *Villars*, having thus attained his aim, lost no time in the further execution of his project. He ordered the count

^a TORCY. HAINAULT, et Script. super citat. ibid.

^c HAINAULT, sub. an. DANIEL, sub. an.

Villars obtains a victory at Denain.

de Broglie in the evening to advance with forty squadrons along the *Selle*, and guard all the posts of this small river so carefully, that the enemies out-parties should not be able to discover the march of the main army. He threw a bridge over the *Schelde* at *Neuville*, and was ready the next morning to march his army over, before prince *Eugene* was apprized of his motions. A measure so prudently concerted, could not fail of success in the hands of the spirited and active *Villars*. Before the imperial general could bring up any part of his army, the marshal had stormed and forced the lines between *Neuville* and *Denain*. After seizing a convoy of 500 bread waggons that lay behind the lines, and taken prisoners the guard, composed of 500 horse and an equal number of foot, he led his infantry against the intrenchment at *Denain*, lined by seventeen battalions. The resistance of the enemy was great; but the marshal attacked them so impetuously, that, after a bloody conflict, the *French* entered the camp, put all to the sword, and made a terrible slaughter. Part of the enemy had retired to the village and abbey, they were again assaulted, and pressed so vigorously, that several battalions, endeavouring to save themselves by flight, were drowned in the *Scheld*. In a word, of seventeen battalions only 400 men escaped, all the rest having been killed, taken, or swallowed up by the waters. At the close of the battle prince *Eugene* arrived with fresh troops, and presenting himself before the bridge of *Prouvi*, defended by *Albergotti*, attacked it with great impetuosity, and was so warmly received, that he dropt the attempt, after losing four battalions. *French* writers allege, that if he had persisted longer in the attack it would have cost him his whole army: *Germans*, on the other hand, are positive he would have carried it; but both agree that the remonstrances of the *Dutch* deputies prevented the prince from making further efforts. In number the loss of the *French* was inconsiderable; but the marquis *de Tourville* was slain, and several officers of distinction dangerously wounded. By this action the spirits of the *French* nation were elated; they had not been accustomed to victory in the *Netherlands*, and every advantage gained over so renowned a general as prince *Eugene*, was an uncontested addition to the lustre of *Villars's* character, at the same time that it shewed the confederates how inadequate was their strength, now they were deprived of the assistance of *England*.

Doway and Bouchain taken.

IN consequence of the victory of *Denain*, the strong post at *Marchiennes* was forced, after an obstinate resistance, by which *Villars* gained possession of 100 pieces of cannon, 300 waggons, and an immense magazine of stores and provisions. The projects of the allies were now wholly disconcerted, and the *Dutch* began to think more seriously of peace. To accelerate their resolutions, marshal *Villars* encompassed *Doway* and the fort of *Scarpe*. After twelve days open trenches the fort was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. The sluices were then opened, the waters drawn off, and the approaches to the town pushed with vigour. Though the garrison consisted of 3000 men, the besieged surrendered in thirteen days prisoners of war, and just upon the same conditions granted to the *French* at *Quesnoy*. At this siege the duke *de Bourbon* was present; his liberality, magnificence, and courage, contributing greatly to animate the soldiers.

Sept. 8th.

ON the very day that *Doway* surrendered, *Quesnoy* was invested by a large detachment, commanded by the marquis *St. Fremont*. *Villars* arrived next day, and covered the siege with his army, which he posted so advantageously, as to frustrate all prince *Eugene's* attempts to succour the besieged. The defence was obstinate, but fruitless. On the 4th of *October* the garrison, consisting of 2000 men, surrendered prisoners of war, and *Villars* completed one of the most important, if not the most brilliant, conquests of the war. Prince *Eugene* had here laid up his artillery, after raising the siege of *Landrecy*; it fell into the hands of marshal *Villars*, and amounted to 116 pieces of heavy cannon, an infinity of a smaller calibre, 40 mortars, 400,000 weight of powder, and a prodigious quantity of balls, bombs, grenades, and other military stores. Though the season was now rigorous, *Villars* thought the reduction of *Bouchain* necessary, to fill the measure of glory acquired in this successful campaign. The garrison consisted of four battalions, and the fortifications had been considerably enlarged and improved by the confederates; but nothing could withstand the activity of *Villars*, and the impetuosity of a *French* army flushed with success. All the retribution made by the enemy, consisted in the reduction of *Fort Knocque*, garrisoned with 150 *French* soldiers, and surprized by a *German* partizan.

Affairs in Germany, Spain and Italy.

IN *Germany* nothing occurred besides an attack made by the duke of *Wirtemberg* on the *French* lines at *Weissenburg*, in which he was repulsed. In *Italy* the *Germans* were more successful; they reduced the garrison of *Fort Philippe* to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. *Porto Ercole* met with the same fate, after withstanding for two months the utmost efforts of the enemy. Nor did the campaign in *Spain* furnish any very material transactions. The archduke's party now acted intirely on the defensive; yet did *Philip* neglect pushing the advantages in his power from his superiority. Several sieges were formed, but relinquished; the most considerable was that of *Campo Major* in *Portugal*, invested on the 27th of *October* by the marquis *de Bay*. After the marquis had pressed the garrison vigorously for three weeks

a weeks open trenches, he effected a breach, but was prevented by deluges of rain from rendering it practicable and giving the assault. An attempt, however, was made to storm the breach; but the valour of the besieged rendered it fruitless, and obliged the marquis to raise the siege with precipitation. Soon after a suspension of arms between *Spain* and *Portugal* was proclaimed at *Madrid* and *Lisbon*, by which an intire stop was put to the progress of the campaign.

LEWIS's chief attention was employed in removing every obstruction to the treaty with *England*, and, by vigorous efforts in the *Netherlands*, to reduce the emperor and States of *Holland* to accede to the propositions for re-establishing the tranquility of *Europe*: but he did not neglect his marine, now more capable of acting with vigour, since the armistice with *England*. An expedition was projected against the island of *St. Jago*, one of the principal of the *Cape de Verdes*, and a squadron for this purpose was equipped at *Toulon*, under the conduct of sieur *Cassart*. *Cassart* anchoring at the *Fort de la Braye*, debarked 1000 men, summoned the garrison, and received their submission without exchanging a shot. Next day he came before the town of *St. Jago*, landed his men, and assumed so determined a countenance, that the governor surrendered at discretion, though the place was difficult of access, and the island in a condition to raise 10,000 men. The governor agreed to surrender the town and fort at 60,000 piasters; but, without regarding the capitulation, he escaped with the chief inhabitants into the mountains. *Cassart* gave six days for recollection; but receiving no answer, he blew up the forts, burst 40 pieces of iron cannon, carried off 17 brass ones, with 200 barrels of powder, a great quantity of merchandize, and 400 negroes, giving the town to be pillaged by the soldiers, after which he laid it in ashes. Afterwards *Cassart* set sail for *Surinam*, a *Dutch* colony in *South America*, laid siege to the place, and obliged the governor to purchase his security at the price of 900,000 florins. The *Medusa* frigate, detached from his squadron, levied a contribution of 315,000 florins on *Brabin*, another *Dutch* colony ^p.

NOTWITHSTANDING these trivial successes, it was high time for *Lewis* to put an end to a war which had ruined his people, impaired his own health, sacrificed his felicity, and worn out the lives of his best officers, grown old in prosecuting his ambitious projects. This year the active and experienced marshal *Catinat*, whose name will ever be memorable in *Italy*, yielded up his last breath at his castle of *St. Gratian*. He was soon followed to the grave by the renowned, the amiable, and the philosophical hero, *Lewis Joseph* duke of *Vendosme*, after he had, by his glorious victories, firmly established king *Philip* in possession of the *Spanish* monarchy, and, in the course of one campaign, raised him from a fugitive to the throne of a powerful kingdom. The king's main object was to terminate all differences with *Great Britain*; this, however, was retarded by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce, and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in *America*. A long dispute ensued, and the *French* plenipotentiaries held frequent conferences with the duke of *Shrewsbury* and Mr. *Prior*. At length matters were compromised greatly to the advantage of *France*, and satisfaction of the king and people. Both sides were ready to sign their respective treaties on the 11th day of *April*. Notice was given by the *English* to the other plenipotentiaries of the allies; but count *Zinzendorf* now exerted himself to raise fresh obstructions. *Lewis* granted to the intercession of the *British* ministers, that his imperial majesty should have time to consider whether he would accept the proposals made by *France*; but this was extended no further than the 1st day of *June*; nor could *Lewis* in the mean time check the ardour of his troops by consenting to an armistice.

WITH respect to *Holland*, the States were highly incensed at the conduct of the queen of *England*. As soon as the duke of *Ormond* had withdrawn his army from *Quesnoy*, they concluded, that all the troops in the *British* pay would be lost to the confederates, and whatever the prince's success might prove, the *United Provinces* would be exposed to danger. In this critical juncture they reproached the *English* plenipotentiaries with the treacherous conduct of the ministry. They already imagined themselves exposed to all the ravages of a justly incensed enemy, and reflected with horror on the disrespectful behaviour shewn at the conferences of *Gertrudenberg* to the most christian king. They took heart, however, on advice that the foreign auxiliaries had refused to obey the duke of *Ormond*: but this glimmering of hope was soon extinguished. The miscarriage before *Landrecy*, the defeat at *Denain*, and the reduction of *Doway* and *Bouchain*, evinced the king's superiority, and the inability of the allies to continue the war without *Great Britain*. All these expectations, with which prince *Eugene* had fed their obstinate aversion to peace, were now blasted, their eyes opened, and their ministers bent to measures, very different from that insolence and pride with which their success had formerly inspired the republic. *Holland* was now forced to have recourse to the *British* ple-

^p HAINAULT, sub. ann. DANIEL, t. v. sub. ann. VOLT. t. i. c. xxii. p. 340.

nipotentiaries to intercede with *France*, that the long interrupted conferences might be renewed. This interruption was occasioned by the obstinacy of the *Dutch* deputies, who refused admitting any answers from the king's plenipotentiaries that were not put in writing. They now dropt this pretension, and *Lewis*, at the request of the *British* ministers, consented to resume the conferences. *Zinzendorf*, at that time at the *Hague*, posted away to *Utrecht*, upon hearing that the deputies had recourse to the mediation of the *English* for renewing the conferences. He repeated his exhortations and promises, to raise the drooping spirits of the republicans. He endeavoured to demonstrate, that it was the interest of *Holland* to temporize, and assured them, that prince *Eugene* was in full march to give battle to *Villars*. His remonstrances had some weight with the deputies; but what chiefly contributed to prolong the delay in the renewal of the conferences, was the following incident, in itself immaterial, but important, as it retarded the negotiations for giving peace to *Europe*. *Richteren*, deputy of the province of *Overyssel*, alleged, that in passing M. *Menager*'s house, his servants were insulted by the footmen of that minister, by ridiculous grimaces, and indecent gestures. He complained to M. *Menager*, and demanded satisfaction. *Menager* answered in writing, that he should be far from permitting his domestics to insult the servants of the count *de Richteren*; that he was ready to give up any of them that were seen committing these indecencies, or his people could prove guilty. Before this answer was brought back, *Richteren* was gone to the *Hague*; it was therefore left with one of his colleagues. On the count's return, he sent his secretary to demand satisfaction of *Menager*, and received the same answer as before. He now acknowledged that he was not an eye witness of the offence, but insisted for the liberty of sending to the *French* minister's house, in order to fix upon the offenders. Before any thing further happened, *Menager*, taking a walk with the other plenipotentiaries, met *Richteren*, who, after mutual compliments, said he still demanded satisfaction, and insisted upon searching the *French* minister's house. This was refused; upon which *Richteren* with vehemence exclaimed, that the master and the servants would do themselves justice. "I represent (said he) a sovereign as well as you, and am not a man that will bear with such insults". After this he spoke something in *Dutch* to his servants behind, who immediately fell upon *Menager*'s footmen, struck them on the face, and threatened to stab them with their long knives. Complaint was made to *Richteren*; and he immediately replied, "Every time they behave thus I will reward them, and if they had not done so, I should turn them away." His colleagues endeavoured to excuse this extravagant behaviour; but finding their apologies insufficient, they took the same method of denying that he had spoken words, which all of them had heard, and which they laboured to excuse. They intreated, that the whole should be looked upon as a quarrel among their menials, and begged of the *French* plenipotentiaries, that they would leave the affair to the arbitration of the *English* ambassadors, without either acquainting the king or the States General with the dispute. The mediation of the *English* was not refused; but *Menager* persisted in demanding satisfaction, and rejected the excuses made by the deputies. They pretended that *Richteren* was drunk when he expressed himself so unguardedly; but the *French* minister insisted he should now make reparation when he was sober. Difficulties multiplied, and *Menager* acquainted the king with the whole transaction. It must be acknowledged, that this was an artful shift of both parties to procrastinate the conferences, to which *Menager* and *Richteren* were equally averse. The former knew his master's inclination to humble the *Dutch*, and the necessity of delaying the conferences with the deputies, until every thing was fully adjusted with the queen of *Great Britain*. *Richteren*, on the other hand, from motives of gratitude to the emperor, who had created him a count, and of interest, his brothers enjoying lucrative employments in the army, by no means desired peace. On the contrary, he was continually dissuading the province of *Overyssel* from consenting to any treaty, but in concert with the emperor. Of all this *Menager* took care to acquaint the king.

In consequence of the minister's representations, *Lewis* insisted that the States General should declare, whether *Richteren* had followed their orders in approving of the violent behaviour of his domestics, in expressing himself with such vehemence and indecency, or whether he had only been directed by his own passions, heated and inflamed by the ministers of the house of *Austria*. If he had acted in obedience to his instructions, it was obvious the *French* plenipotentiaries could remain no longer in safety at *Utrecht*. If he was actuated by passion and private interest, it was reasonable the States General should disavow the behaviour of a minister, who so grossly abused their confidence. In the end *Lewis* presented the terms, which consisted in recalling *Richteren*, and nominating another deputy.

HOLLAND being now sufficiently mortified, the conferences were resumed. The king commanded the restitution of *Lisle*, as an equivalent for the demolition of *Dunkirk*. He excepted *Tournay*, *Conde*, and *Maubage*, out of the barrier demanded by the States. He demanded that all the fortresses taken since the year 1709 from the *French* should be restored. Nor did he forget the interests of his faithful ally the elector of *Bavaria*; they were implied

- a in those restrictions. *Lisle* accordingly was ceded by the deputies; but the restitution of *Tournay* created difficulties, as the *English* plenipotentiaries, as well as the *Dutch*, seemed to oppose this measure. At last, in compliance with the queen of *England's* remonstrances, the king yielded up his pretensions to that town, tho' he might have maintained them with some hopes of success. He was eager to secure peace, which the circumstances of his kingdom, his declining health, his old age, and the apprehensions of a minority, rendered every way necessary. Accordingly, on the 29th day of *January*, the plenipotentiaries proceeded to give the finishing stroke to the barrier treaty demanded by the *Dutch*, and settling the succession of the crown of *Great Britain* in the protestant line. Not long after, contracts for the neutrality of *Italy*, for the evacuation of *Catalonia*, and the islands of *Majorca* and *Ivica*, were signed. As the emperor and several princes of the empire still refused to accede to the scheme of peace proposed, and the treaties between *Spain* and the other powers required debate and deliberation, it was determined to conclude matters with *Great Britain*, *Holland*, *Savoy*, and the other allies^a.

ON the 11th of *April*, the treaties with the plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain*, *Savoy*, *Portugal*, and the States General, were signed. Two days before, the treaties of commerce between *France* and *England* had been ratified by the queen and parliament. In the treaty with the king of *Portugal*, it was agreed, that whatever places were taken, or forts built, in the colonies out of *Europe*, the places should be restored, and the forts demolished. The full property and sovereignty of the two banks, and the navigation of the river of the *Amazons*, was acknowledged to belong to his *Portuguese* majesty; and *Lewis* desisted from his pretensions to the lands of the *Cape de Nord*. To the king of *Prussia* cession was made of the town of *Guelders*, with part of the upper quarter of the *Spanish Guelderland*, the country of *Kessel*, and the balliage of *Kreckenbeck*. He was likewise acknowledged sovereign lord of the principality of *Neufchatel* and *Vallengin*, and the inhabitants were granted the same privileges in *France* as the other *Swiss* cantons. On the other hand, the king of *Prussia* renounced all pretensions to the principality of *Orange*, and the lordships of *Chalons* and *Chastelbelin*, undertaking to satisfy the late prince of *Nassau Frise* with an equivalent. By this article liberty remained to his *Prussian* majesty to call that part of *Guelderland*, ceded to him, by the name of the principality of *Orange*, and to retain the title and arms of the principality. Besides these, there were two other articles which merit observation. The one was, that *Lewis* and *Philip* consented to give his *Prussian* majesty the title of king, and to pay his ministers the honours due to the ministers of a crowned head. The other, that the king of *Prussia* should cede to the archbishop of *Cologne* the town of *Rhineberg*, as soon as peace between the empire and *France* should be concluded; but without prejudice to his claim on the archbishopric.

Conclusion of the conferences.

Treaties with Portugal and Prussia;

By the treaty with *Savoy*, the island of *Sicily*, with the title of king, were given to that prince. He was likewise secured in the succession of the *Spanish* monarchy and the *Indies*, for himself and his heirs male, in case of failure in the king of *Spain* and his posterity. The frontiers of *France* and *Savoy* were so regulated, that the summit of the *Alps* was to be the fixed boundary. Pursuant to this determination, *Savoy* yielded to the king the valley of *Barcelonetta*, with its dependencies; and the king restored to the duke the duchy of *Savoy*, the county of *Nice*, the valley of *Ragelos*, with the forts of *Exilles* and *Fenestrelles*; in a word, all the country along the *Alps*, towards *Piedmont*.

His catholic majesty's renunciation of the crown of *France*, and the solemn cession of all pretensions to the crown of *Spain* and the *Indies*, by the dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, formed the basis of the treaties with *Great Britain* and the States General. Each of these treaties had also their particular conditions. Those with *Holland* may be reduced to four heads. The first and second comprehend what the king promised to restore to the house of *Austria* in the *Netherlands*, and what the States General agreed to cede to *Lewis*. The third and fourth regard the elector of *Cologne* and the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*. His majesty promised to sequester in the hands of the States General, for the house of *Austria*, all that *France* or her allies possessed in the *Spanish Netherlands* at the conclusion of the treaty of *Ryswick*. But it was stipulated, that *Austria* should not be put in possession before she had consented to the barrier received by the States; that his *Prussian* majesty should retain what was granted in the treaty with him; that a portion of land, to the yearly value of 30,000 crowns, should be reserved in the duchies of *Luxemburgh* and *Limburgh*, and erected into a principality for the princess *de Ursino*, that ambitious woman, who had more than once, with her airy projects, broke off the negociations for the tranquillity of *Europe*; that the elector of *Bavaria* should be compensated for his great losses; that he should be restored to the rank of ninth elector, and to the estates he formerly possessed in the empire, except the *Palatinate*; that he should be put in possession of the island of *Sardinia*, with the title of king; and that

^a Torcy Neg. t. ii. DANIEL, t. v. HAINAULT. sub. ann.

in the mean time he should hold, as an equivalent, the sovereignty and revenues of the city and duchy of *Luxembourg*, the city and county of *Namur*, and *Charleroy*. Other cessions besides were deposited in the hands of the States, for the use of the house of *Austria*; but upon this express condition, that the *Roman* catholic religion should, in all these places, be preserved in the same condition as at the commencement of the war; that the magistrates should be catholics, the clergy religious, and that the knights of *Malta* should enjoy their revenues. The States General reciprocally consented to restore to the king the town and castellany of *Lisle*, *Lalen*, *Lagorgue*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant*, and *Fort Francis*. As to the elector of *Cologne*, the king promised he should demolish the fortifications of *Bonne* in three months after his establishment. It was further agreed, that the States General should maintain garrisons in *Huy* and the citadel of *Liege* at their own expence; that the town of *St. Goar* and the fortress of *Rhinfeldtz* should remain to the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, and his successors, provided they maintained the catholic religion. An equivalent was to be given to the prince of *Hesse Rhinfeldtz*.

with
England.

With respect to *Great Britain*, the king consented to the succession of that crown in the protestant line of the house of *Hanover*; to the demolition of the fortifications and harbour of *Dunkirk*; to the cession of certain places in *America*, such as *Newfoundland*, *Hudson's Bay*, and *Acadia*. *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* was ceded to the crown of *Great Britain* by *Spain*, and certain privileges with respect to the *American* trade were granted by *Philip* to *British* subjects, which were denied to the *French*, who had placed him on his throne. We may reckon among the articles most glorious to the queen, that she obtained the liberty of such of the king's subjects as were imprisoned on account of conscience and religion. This indeed was turning victory to noble purposes; it was dictating to a great monarch how to govern his own subjects, and pursuing the feelings of humanity amidst the labyrinths of politics.

The emperor
refuses the
terms of accom-
modation.

Peace was now happily restored to all *Europe*, except the empire and *Spain*, from whence the emperor refused to withdraw his forces, either from a confidence in the great abilities of prince *Eugene*, or the mistaken councils of his ministers. *Charles VI.* denied his consent to the treaty of *Utrecht*, hoping, notwithstanding the misfortunes of the preceding campaigns, to obtain better conditions. Had he acceded to the proposals then made, he would have avoided the mortification of experiencing how unequal the strength of the house of *Austria* is to that of *France*, when unassisted by *Great Britain* and *Holland*. He persisted in war, and he met with disappointments and disgraces. *Villars*, loaded with glory from his late victory over the most renowned general of the empire, took the field once more, to oppose the celebrated *Eugene*, and, by additional conquests, to restore the tarnished lustre of the *French* arms. The prince was encamped near *Philipsburgh*, beyond the *Rhine*; and *Villars*, by a long and secret march, posted himself on the opposite bank of the same river, extending his wings from the causeway of *Philipsburgh* to *Spire*, thus cutting off from *Landau*, upon which he formed a design, all possibility of succour.

Progress of the
war.

On the 12th of *June* the town was invested, and twelve days afterwards the trenches were opened, and the siege pushed with vigour, under the direction of marshal *de Bezons*. At the same time the town and castle of *Keiserlautern* were attacked and carried by detachments made from the main army; Mr. *Dillon* obliging the garrison, composed of 700 men, to surrender at discretion; and immediately afterwards he reduced the castle of *Wolfstein*. These excursions did not retard the siege of *Landau*; *Bezons* pressed the garrison so closely, erected his batteries so judiciously, and plied the enemy so warmly with his cannon, that by the 20th of *August* he was preparing to storm the breach; which obliged prince *Alexander* of *Wirtemberg*, with his garrison of 5500 men, to surrender prisoners of war. Every post was taken, and a lodgment made sword in hand; so that the *French* lost above 3000 men in this siege: but it augmented the reputation of *Lewis's* arms, and paved the way for a blow more decisive and fatal to the emperor.

Villars suc-
cessful in Ger-
many.

The next object that attracted the notice of the victorious *Villars*, was the strong town of *Friburg*; but it was not possible to invest this place without forcing the enemy's lines, extending from *Hornberg* to the outworks of *Friburg*. General *Vaubonne* was intrenched at *Roscof* with seventeen battalions and a body of cavalry, in a situation almost inaccessible; but marshal *Villars*, determined to conquer all difficulties, after several feints, arrived on the 20th of *September* within sight of the lines, on the side of *Friburg*. Dispositions were immediately made for an attack. The left was conducted by the count *d'Estrades* and the duke *de Mortemar*; the chevalier *d'Asfeldt* and sieur *de Guerchois* commanded in the center; and the count *de Bourg* was on the right, while *Villars* took post where-ever glory was to be acquired, and his presence could be useful. The imperialists sustained three attacks with great firmness; but the fourth was pushed with such impetuosity, as baffled all resistance; the lines were forced, and the enemy driven back with prodigious slaughter. Still, however,

* Torcy, ibid. VOLTAIRE, t. i. p. 342. SMOLLET, l. v. c. ii.

a the greatest obstacle remained; the right line, supported by the intrenched camp, was untouched. A steep mountain must be climbed; and *Villars*, who had received a wound, could retard the *French* soldiers, eager to gain a complete victory, and whetted only by the success already obtained. Animated by the presence of the marshal, and the example of their officers, they proceeded with such resolution, as diffused a panic through the imperial army, made them desert their posts, and suffer the *French* to take possession of the camp, without making scarce any resistance. Thus were prince *Eugene's* lines forced, marshal *Vaubonne's* camp taken, and the way opened for the siege of *Friburg*, the capital of *Anterior Austria*.

b On the 1st day of *October* *Friburg* was invested. No city was ever attacked or defended with greater valour. The baron *d'Arfeh* commanded the garrison, and shewed, by his vigilance and courage, how deserving he was of being opposed to *Villars*. It was not before the last day of the month that the trenches were opened: then begun a furious discharge of artillery from the batteries, while the besieged made frequent and vigorous sallies. In one of these they were so successful as to recover a lodgment, and gain possession of the head of the trenches; but they could not maintain their ground; they were briskly charged and driven thence by the chevalier *de Peseux*. While the *French* grenadiers were marching out to attack a half-moon and the covered way, the besieged sallied out with great impetuosity, and produced a bloody conflict, in which, after great slaughter on both sides, they were defeated. The attack of the covered way was not disturbed by this accident; it was led on by the count *de Bourg* and *Valori*, engineer-general, who met with an obstinate resistance: at length, on the arrival of the marshal, it was stormed, and the enemy put to the sword. A lodgment at the same time was effected on the half moon, not without great effusion of blood; in both attacks above 2000 men perished, among whom were some general officers. The rest of the month was employed in drawing off the waters, filling up the ditch, making a breach, and building bridges for the assaults, during which time the besieged kept up a terrible fire. At length, on the 1st day of *November*, every thing being in readiness for a general assault, baron *d'Arfeh* retired to the citadel, sending notice to the marshal, that he left the town to his discretion, and 2000 sick and wounded he was forced to leave behind.

d *Villars*, having taken possession of the city, began his approaches against the citadel; and pushed them so vigorously, that the baron surrendered on the 26th by capitulation, after he had sent a courier to prince *Eugene*, and found he could expect no relief. By the reduction of *Friburg*, *Villars* had the honour of restoring the military reputation of *France*, of terminating the war, and of concluding peace with the emperor, by a treaty signed with prince *Eugene* at *Rastadt*. This was perhaps the first time that two opposite generals quitted the field, to negotiate in the names of their sovereigns. But, before we come to the particulars of their treaty, it will be necessary to relate the transactions in *Catalonia*, where the emperor still maintained an army.

e Count *Staremburg* had kept *Gironne* closely blocked up from the month of *October*, the preceding year. He was now forced to retire, on advice that marshal *Berwick* was in full march to give him battle. *Philip's* general had already passed the *Ter*, which obliged *Staremburg* to retreat with so much precipitation, that he left behind a part of his artillery, several loaded waggons, and great store of provision and ammunition. He had lost near 2000 men during the blockade; and the arms of the imperialists were not more fortunate in *Spain* than in *Germany*. *Berwick's* sudden approach made the enemy evacuate *Cervera*, and excited a commotion in *Barcelona* in favour of the catholic king. So violently were the people set against the house of *Austria*, that the empress, who still continued here, found it necessary to her security to introduce several more regiments into the city. Nor could this terrify the mutineers; cries were heard in the night, alarms given, *Philip's* standards erected, and *pasquinades* fixed on the palace; but the arrival of an *English* squadron quieted the people. The empress then declared to the magistrates, that the circumstances of affairs obliged his imperial majesty to renounce his pretensions to the *Spanish* monarchy. This declaration produced a tumult; the *Catalonians*, ever inconstant, suddenly dropped their resentment against the house of *Austria*, and were now as eager for the stay of the *Germans* as they were a little before for their departure; nor could the sedition be appeased but by menaces of introducing the *French* and *Spanish* troops*. But the reader must consult the preceding volume of our history for the transactions in *Spain* at this period.

f HAPPILY for *Europe*, and particularly for *Germany*, the war was now drawing to a conclusion. *Charles VI.* finding all his efforts against *France* baffled, was forced to accept of worse terms than had been offered at *Utrecht*. His towns had been reduced, his armies defeated in two successive campaigns, and his general, the first in reputation in *Europe*, had the

* VOLT. t. i. c. 22. DANIEL, t. v. HAINAULT, t. ii. sub ann.

mortification to see his laurels, collected with toil, blighted by the rancorous breath of a malice and envy. It was the jealousy of the imperial council, not the superiority of *Villars's* genius, that triumphed over *Eugene*. This gave *Villars* occasion to tell the prince, on their meeting at *Rastadt*, "Sir, we are not enemies; your enemies are at *Vienna*, mine at *Verfailles*." Both indeed were persecuted by factions and cabals at their several courts. The very names of these ministers were sufficient testimonials of their characters. They had tried strength in the field, now they measured genius in the cabinet. No mention was made of the emperor's vain title to the *Spanish* monarchy; peace was too essential to the empire, to be deferred for parade: however, it must be observed, in honour of *Lewis*, that, at three several treaties, at the conclusion of as many general wars, he seemed the principal support of the *Germanic* liberties. At *Munster*, he procured an eighth electorate in favour of the house of *Bavaria*. The treaty of *Nimeguen* confirmed that of *Westphalia*. By the treaty of *Ryswick*, cardinal *Fustemberg* was restored to all his estates and titles; and, lastly, by the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Rastadt* two electors were established. In a word, *Lewis* gave law to the empire, and he had it prescribed to him by *Great Britain*. The particular conditions, signed by *Eugene* and *Villars*, were, that *Lewis* should yield to the emperor the fort of *Kell*; the city *Friburg*, with all its appendages; *Old Brisac*, with all its dependencies; but that fort *Mortier*, with some other places upon the *Rhine*, should belong to the Christian king: that the fortifications of *Hunningen*, *Homburg*, *Selingen*, and *la Pile*, should be demolished; but that fort *Lewis* should remain the property of *France*: that the king should execute the treaty of *Ryswick*, and restore his conquests in the empire, except the places stipulated: that *Lewis* should hold *Landau*, and its dependencies, as before the war, his imperial majesty taking upon himself to obtain the consent of the empire: that the king should acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of *Hanover*: that the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* should be restored by the emperor to their estates, dignities, rights, rank, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the war; by virtue of this article, the *Palatinate*, excepted in the treaty of *Holland*, was now given to the elector of *Bavaria*; but the following article stipulated, that *Sardinia*, designed for him, should remain to the emperor: that the king should leave the emperor in the quiet possession of the estates he actually enjoyed in *Italy*; but that the emperor should do speedy justice to the dukes of *Guastalla* and *Mirandola*, and the prince of *Castiglioni*: that conferences should be held in *Switzerland*, for regulating and reducing to form the treaty with the empire, when all the princes of the empire should give their consent to the present agreement. Afterwards the peace with the emperor was proclaimed at *Paris*, on the 19th day of *April*. Thus *Lewis*, by his constancy and perseverance, obtained conditions, after numberless defeats and misfortunes, more favourable than some years before he could procure, after a rapid course of the most brilliant victories recorded in history. It will appear, indeed, from comparing the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Ryswick*, that not a single acquisition was made by any of the parties, in consequence of a tedious war which had almost desolated *Europe*, and for a series of years subjected it to every kind of calamity. As we propose concluding the *French* history with the death of *Lewis XIV.* it may be agreeable to the reader that we take a concise survey of the civil policy of a reign, in which science and arts met with the utmost encouragement, and the human mind was cultivated to the highest degree of perfection.

S E C T. XIX.

Containing a survey of the civil policy of France, the progress of arts and sciences, during the reign of Lewis XIV.

THE reign of *Lewis the Great* effected a total revolution in the arts, genius, manners, and civil policy, of the *French* nation. For nine centuries before this æra, *France* was sunk in barbarism, and rent with factions and civil wars; the laws, the language, and the manners, were ever fluctuating; the nobility were resigned to sloth, except when they were engaged in war against the sovereign; the clergy were immersed in ignorance and superstition; and the people, overwhelmed with wretchedness and poverty, were groaning under the weight of oppression. The politics of *Richlieu* and *Mazarine* broke the stubborn insolence of the nobility, and fixed their dependence on the crown: this was the first step towards the aggrandizement of *France*. The regal authority had been almost annihilated; each of the nobility assumed a sovereign authority, were tyrants within their jurisdictions, and paid only the mere tribute of homage to the sovereign: even this was frequently refused. *France*, as we have seen, was parcelled out into fiefs, the laws were feudal, and the whole kingdom governed

a verned rather as one immense fief, than as a monarchy. The sword alone was insufficient to work the necessary alteration; the manners, the habits, and the prejudices, of the people, must be changed. This was what *Lewis XIV.* and his able ministers boldly attempted, and happily accomplished. It was by enlightening the mind, introducing science, and removing that dark cloud of ignorance, in which the greater part of *Europe* was still enveloped, that these great purposes were effected. The experimental academy at *Florence*, founded by *Leopold de Medicis*, and the royal society in *London*, furnished the *French* king with the idea of a philosophical institution, which soon became an incorporated society of the utmost utility to knowledge. No pains, no expences, were spared, to engage persons eminent in science to honour the new academy with their presence; *Cassini* was brought from *Italy*, and *Huygens* from *Holland*, by the offer of large pensions and a fine philosophical retreat. Darkneſs was dispelled from the human mind, and jargon banished the schools; the philosophers ſtone was no longer the purſuit of naturaliſts; nor the prediction of future events the ſtudy of aſtronomers. Every part of knowledge was accurately examined, and thoſe particularly which regarded the conveniency of mankind, the intereſts of ſociety, and the promoting of commerce: the ſchools of civil law were again opened, and profeſſors of *French* law eſtabliſhed in all the univerſities of the kingdom. In a word, the ſpirit of good ſenſe that now prevailed, deſtroyed inſenſibly thoſe ſilly prejudices and ſuperſtitious notions which had ſo long enthralled reaſon, and fettered the mind in ſhackles, which could only be removed by the influence of ſcience. To theſe firſt dawns of good ſenſe, *Voltaire* attributes that celebrated declaration of *Lewis*, prohibiting the tribunals of juſtice from receiving informations of witchcraft. In the reign of his predeceſſor, ſuch an edict might have produced dangerous conſequences; now it was conſidered as an inſtance of the monarch's good ſenſe and humanity.

FRANCE, however, hardly kept pace with ſome other nations in philoſophy; that the people made any progreſs, was owing to the king and *Colbert*, who never failed to drag merit out of obſcurity, and modeſty to the exertion of talent. *England* had conſiderably the ſtart of the *French* in geometry, mechanics, natural philoſophy, and aſtronomy; but in eloquence, in polite learning, and works of taſte, the latter may be conſidered as the legiſlators of *Europe*. *England*, indeed, produced a *Spencer*, a *Sidney*, a *Shakeſpeare*, and a *Milton*; but taſte was ſo far from becoming univerſal, that the merit of the lofty blind bard was neglected, until Mr. *Addiſon*'s critique firſt diſcovered it to the public: ſtill there are ſcholars in *England*, who pique themſelves on aſſerting, that *Milton* is inflated, harſh, ſtiff, and unnatural. In *France*, poetry, oratory, and the eloquence of the bar, pulpit, and hiſtorian, were pushed to the ſummit of perfection under the auſpices of *Lewis*. *Corneille* and *Racine* gave birth to fine poetry; *Bourdaloue*, *Boſſuet*, *Fenelon*, and the abbe *de St. Real*, to eloquence and hiſtory. *Moliere* was the legiſlator of *French* politeneſs; the archneſs of his comic muſe banished aſfection, as far as it could be ſeparated from a lively preſuming people. As to muſic, painting, ſculpture, and architecture, they were in the womb at the acceſſion of *Lewis XIV.*; it was the obſtetric hand of *Colbert* which brought them to light. The ſimplicity and exquisite taſte of *Sully* then firſt charmed the ear; *Colbert*, the *Mæcenæ*s of all the arts, laid the foundations of an academy of painting, a ſchool that has produced pieces not unworthy of a *Raphael* or a *Titian*. The ſame encouragement was given to the ſtudy of architecture, though with unequal ſucceſs. As to ſculpture, the equeſtrain ſtatue of the preſent moſt Chriſtian king at *Bordeaux*, the tomb of cardinal *Richlieu* in the chapel of the *Sorbonne*, and the baths of *Apollo* at *Versailles*, are proofs of the progreſs of the *French* nation in this elegant art.

BUT *Colbert* did not confine himſelf to the culture of the mind; to render a kingdom reſpectable, it was neceſſary to introduce riches, and, to perpetuate the felicity of the people, eaſe, conveniency, order, and induſtry, were indiſpenſable. *Colbert* had regard to each; he began with relieving the ſubject from the burden of oppreſſive taxes, at the ſame time that he augmented the revenue by introducing regularity and œconomy. All the great roads were levelled and repaired, and the canal of *Languedoc* formed merely to aſſiſt induſtry. The year 1667 was at once the epoch of *Lewis*'s firſt laws and firſt conqueſts; he alone poſſeſſed the happy art of making foreign victories and domeſtic policy go hand in hand. The civil ordinance appeared firſt; then the ſtatutes of manufactures, the criminal edicts, the commercial and marine codes. His ſeverity againſt duelling proved moſt beneficial to the nation, by giving a check to the remains of barbariſm and ignorance, which allowed, that right, innocence, and opinion, ſhould be adjudged by ſtrength of arm.

In a former volume of this work, the reader will find an explicit account of the riſe and progreſs of the *French Eaſt India* company; about the ſame time a company was formed to traffick to the *Weſt Indies*. The encouragement given to both was nearly equal; not ſo their ſucceſs. Frequent bankruptcies, in deſpite of the aſſiſtance of the government, interrupted the progreſs of the former, while the latter flouriſhed beyond the moſt ſanguine expectation. The king furniſhed a tenth of the *Weſt India* ſtock: he granted a bounty of thirty franks *per ton* upon

upon exportation, four on importation, and five livres *per* ton on every vessel built in the ports of the kingdom. All this was owing to the public spirit of *Colbert*; yet did that great minister labour for the ungrateful. A clamour was raised against his administration: these new establishments were condemned, because they were not understood; they were termed ideal, because they exceeded the narrow comprehensions of shallow politicians. But the philosophical spirit excited by *Colbert* in *France* at length corrected the vulgar prejudices; the people were forced to acknowledge, that with all the œconomy, correctness, and regularity of *Sully's* judgment, he possessed the most extensive talents, a genius for improvements, projects, and the most useful establishments. This however, is an honour granted only to his memory; the body of that great minister, after his death, hardly escaped being torn in pieces by the mad multitude.

To encourage industry, and render the kingdom populous, *Colbert* persuaded the king to encourage marriages in the provinces, by exempting all those who should marry at a certain age from paying taxes for the space of five years. Even this most popular of all institutions had its opposers, because it proceeded from *Colbert*. It was likewise an excellent regulation of the same minister, that every father of a family of ten children should for life be exempted from taxes, because the labour of his family contributed more to the state than the taxes he would have paid. In short, every year of *Colbert's* administration was distinguished by some wholesome ordinance, some useful establishment and improvement. Silks were manufactured in different parts of the kingdom, and fine broad-cloths made at *Abbeville*, the king advancing 2000 livres, besides other gratifications, to the manufacturer for every loom he employed. The carpets of *Turkey* and *Persia* were rivalled in the *Savonnerie*, and the tapestries of *Flanders* were equalled at the *Gobelins*; in design and pattern they were superior. In a word, laces, stockings, fine glasses, earthen-wares, and all the variety of new manufactures, were diligently cultivated, and rapidly attained in perfection; and this ought to be stiled the age, not only of improvement, but of creation.

MILITARY improvements were not neglected; every day introduced some new manœuvre or weapon. *Lewis* first armed musquets with bayonets, and rendered infantry impenetrable. To this monarch posterity owes the proper use of artillery: he instituted academies for this purpose at *Douay* and *Metz*; and the regiment of artillery was at last, says *Voltaire*, filled with officers who were almost all capable of conducting a siege. He likewise formed a regiment of bombardiers, and another of hussars. Companies of cadets were maintained in most of the frontier towns, where they were taught geometry, drawing, and the military exercises. To encourage merit, the order of St. *Lewis* was established; and to shelter the infirm, wounded and decrepid veteran, the hospital for invalids was founded. To these regulations *Lewis* owed the strength, the union, and the spirit, of his forces. Officers and soldiers were actuated equally by motives of interest and glory to the discharge of their duty. *Louvois* was the spring of military changes; sometimes indeed he abused the power lodged in his hands, by preferring interest and consanguinity to merit; in general, the good of his country and the king's honour prevailed.

LEWIS was not more remiss in settling his marine on a respectable footing. The increase of commerce and navigation formed a seminary for sailors; and his fleets, in return, secured and promoted trade. The civil wars, and the policy of *Mazarine*, suffered the *French* navy to fall into decay. When *Colbert* came to the administration, all the ports in *France* afforded but a few crazy worm-eaten vessels. Even before the talents of this minister had been distinguished, the king himself perceived the necessity of a marine. On his accession he made some essays towards raising the maritime power of his kingdom; and, as early as the third year of his government, we read of a *French* squadron making conquests on the coast of *Africa*. In the year 1667 *France* had sixty ships of war in her harbours. These were glorious efforts, and such as enabled *Lewis* to dispute, with the masters of the ocean, that superiority they claimed. His admirals were ordered not to pay the usual homage of lowering the flag to the *English*. *Charles II.* and his council vainly insisted on this prerogative; their necessities were forced to yield to the firmness of the Christian king: a *British* monarch, more tenacious of his honour, would, however, have greatly embarrassed *Lewis*. In virtue of the solemn precedency granted a few years before, *France* maintained her naval superiority over *Spain*, while she insisted on equality with *England*. The *Spaniards* were forced to lower the flag to the king's ships; and the *French* refused to acknowledge that homage demanded by the *English*.

NOTHING could exceed the industry and spirit with which the *French* court pushed the marine. The sailors of the merchantmen and royal navy were registered, and found to exceed 60,000 men. Every year the number was increasing; and in the year 1681, *France* had a fleet of 200 sail of men of war, exclusive of smaller vessels, and 30 galleys in the port of *Toulon*, which might soon be equipped for action. In a word, 166,000 men were classed for the various services of the navy; 1000 young gentlemen of family performed duty on board, and were instructed in the art of navigation; they were in the marine, what the cadets were

a were in the army; the port of *Rockfort* was formed, councils for building ships in the most advantageous manner were established in the several ports; and five marine arsenals were erected at *Toulon*, *Dunkirk*, *Havre*, *Brest*, and *Rockfort* (A). To give dignity to the navy, marshals of *France* were appointed to the sea service; and the favours of the monarch indiscriminately dispensed among the sea and land officers. Before the reign of *Lewis XIV.* military honour was confined to the land service; the nobility never thought of reaping laurels on the ocean. The fruits of this spirit of emulation were soon perceived. *France*, the most feeble maritime power in *Europe*, became formidable to *England* and *Holland*; her fleets often triumphed over the joint squadrons of the sovereigns of the sea; and her power might have been of longer duration, had not a mistaken order from court obliged the gallant b *Tourville* to hazard the fortune of *France* at *La Hogue*. Here a severe blow was sustained, to which all applications have proved inadequate. The marine lingered, and only faint gleams of its former vigour ever since appeared: they were extinguished almost as soon as visible. Now the disease seems to have touched the vital parts, and even the success of a *Colbert's* art would be very dubious.

With respect to a marine, we have seen *France* struggling with extreme difficulties when *Colbert* was called to the helm. Exhausted and oppressed with civil and foreign wars, the subject was squeezed; yet the revenues of the crown did not exceed 70 millions of livres, at 27 livres to the mark; at his death they rose to 117 millions, by which *Lewis XIV.* was richer than his great grandson with 200 millions, allowing for the difference of specie. *Colbert* c was the first minister who studied and understood the constitution of the finances; but the situation of affairs would not suffer him to practise all his knowledge. To answer the continual expences of wars, improvements, and the pleasures and luxuries of the court, he was forced to have recourse to expedients very opposite to his system. It was not possible to adhere to the measures his own judgment approved, while the monarch was ambitious, and the court luxurious, effeminate, dissolute, and necessitous. This obliged him to revive, what he had determined eternally to abolish, provisional imposts, annuities, and other pernicious temporary expedients. The demesnes of the crown were trifling, commerce almost forgot, industry extinguished, and no remedy left to augment the revenue, but by taxes easily collected and proportioned. The spirit of this minister's politics is obvious from d the pains he took to increase the number of the inhabitants, promote the culture of the lands and industry of the people; the edict for the establishment of the chamber of justice, and after the dissolution of the chamber, the arret of council, declaring it capital for any one to advance money upon new taxes. While the revenues were farmed, he was sensible the people must be fleeced and oppressed; yet did the necessities of government overturn all the fine-concerted schemes of *Colbert*. After his death, the long war to maintain the duke of *Anjou's* right to the *Spanish* succession obliged the ministers, less faithful and able than *Colbert*, to use every expedient to remove the present necessity. Alterations were made in the value of coin; a mark of silver was rated at 40 imaginary livres; the king was eased for a time, that his necessities might return with redoubled pressure. Under *Chamillard*, e the king received little more than half a mark for a whole mark of silver; the debtor, who owed 27 marks in the beginning of his administration, paying to the crown a mark, and the debtor who owed 40 livres, paying no more than a mark at the death of that minister. His successor *Moret*, nephew to the illustrious *Colbert*, found it impossible to heal a disorder which circumstances concurred in rendering incurable. It was in vain to attempt renewing the scheme formed by *Chamillard*, of issuing payments in bank-bills; that was already condemned, and the bills discounted at 50 per cent. The disease now proceeded without endeavour to restrain its progress: and *Lewis*, notwithstanding he treated upon an equality with the confederates at *Utrecht*, and gave law to the emperor at *Rastadt*, left at his death a debt of two thousand six hundred millions of livres, at 28 livres to the mark.

f We shall close this review of the celebrated reign of *Lewis XIV.* with a few remarks on the conduct he observed towards the clergy. In all the countries in *Europe*, where the catholic religion prevails, it has been found difficult to restrain the ambition of ecclesiastics, without lessening that reverence and respect, without which the sacred function would produce no effect on morals, and the church would prove a mere inanimated excrescency on the state.

(A) The intelligent M. *Savary* reckons the number of royal ships in *France*, in the year 1681, including frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and pinks, at 294 sail. The expence of supporting which amounted, in six months, to 7,272,081 livres, equivalent to 12,993,920 livres, at the present value of money. Yet it is apparent, that *France* might now maintain an equal fleet at the same expence it then cost, as the salaries of the sea-officers have not increased with the diminution of the value of

specie. All the additional expence, if there be any, will only regard the equipment and construction of the fleets. However, if the difficulty of raising a marine, where it is the interest of more powerful maritime states to suppress it, the diminution of the *French* commerce, the loss of territories in *North America*, and the security of the cod fishery be considered, we may reasonably conclude, that the repeated efforts only of a series of years can again render *France* formidable on the ocean.

No prince knew better than *Lewis* how to subject the clergy to the civil power, without diminishing their dignity, and oblige them to contribute to the necessities of government, while he preserved their privileges inviolate. Stability, moderation, delicacy, and sovereign authority, were all necessary ; *Lewis* would assume these at pleasure. He always mentioned the right of appealing to the parliament, in which he attained an undisputed authority, from the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, whenever such decrees affected the royal prerogative. Thus he frequently supported the national privileges against the clerical ambition, and maintained the right of the *Gallican* church against the usurpation of the pontiffs. In this he was considered sometimes as the enemy, sometimes as the protector, of the church ; *Lewis* was indifferent by which name he passed, provided he was sure that his cause was popular. His right of enjoying the revenues of bishoprics, and disposing of the dependent benefices during the vacancy of the episcopal chair, was once disputed by the two most eminent and virtuous prelates in *France*. *Lewis* exerted his prerogative, and the prelates thundered out excommunications. They engaged the pope in their quarrel, and the king, disregarding both, seized their temporalities, and confirmed his authority. The conduct of *Lewis* towards the *Hugonots* is not to be defended ; policy and religion vigorously opposed so cruel a persecution. *Colbert* perceived and turned the stream of fanaticism in the *Cevennes* to the good of the public ; his successors, as well as those who preceded him in the administration, took a different course. *France* was depopulated, and *England* and *Holland* filled with ingenious artizans. The truth is, *Lewis's* disposition was soured with ecclesiastical disputes ; *Calvinists*, *Jansenists*, and *Quietists*, had in their turns disturbed the government ; he desired uniformity in religion, for the sake of peace ; but unhappily pursued measures productive only of eternal war and bloodshed.

FROM this general view it appears what changes were made during this reign in the kingdom. *Lewis* found *France* divided with factions, the laws neglected, industry extinguished, the finances disordered, commerce almost unknown, arts and sciences plunged in obscurity, and the whole nation a scene of confusion, intrigue, poverty, and oppression. He abolished that spirit of rebellion which had possessed the nation, rendering the state one regular and consistent body ; he reformed and improved the laws ; he introduced industry, promoted commerce, cherished and cultivated science ; he infused different morals, gave birth to politeness and taste, and was the founder of that elegance of sentiment, that splendor of luxury, and refinement of understanding, for which *France* has ever since been distinguished and imitated. In a word, with all the faults consequent on ambition, *Lewis* was the most magnificent, munificent, and splendid prince of his age and country.

C H A P. V.

The history of Italy.

- T**H E ambition and conquests of the *Lombards*, together with the negligence of the emperors of the East, having obliged the popes to have recourse to the kings of the *Franks* for protection, *Charlemagne*, after taking *Desiderius* their king prisoner, and reducing *Pavia*, their capital, caused himself to be crowned king of *Italy*, at *Monza*, by the archbishop of *Milan*; and having confirmed to the popes the dominions first granted to them by his father *Pepin*, he received the allegiance of the rest of *Lombardy*, which included not only *Piedmont*, the *Milanese*, the *Mantuan*, the territory of *Genoa*, *Parma*, *Moderana*, *Tuscany*, and *Bologna*, but also the dukedoms of *Friuli*, *Spoletto*, and *Benevento*, which last comprehended the greatest part of the present kingdom of *Naples*, and, on account of its extent, was called *Longobardia Minor*. Italy subdued by the Franks, A. D. 774. Charlemagne crowned king of Italy.
- C**HARLEMAGNE having thus conquered all *Italy*, excepting some of the southern provinces, which still continued under the dominion of the emperor at *Constantinople*, he returned to *France*, taking *Desiderius* with him a prisoner, who, according to *Blondus*^a, was banished to *Liege*; but others say he was confined in the monastery of *Corbie*. Upon the departure of *Charles*, the dukes of *Friuli*, *Spoletto*, and *Benevento*, who had submitted to the *Franks* only because they were not able to resist them, revolted from their allegiance, and declared themselves sovereigns in their territories^b; but *Charlemagne*, who was then engaged in a war with the *Saxons*, being informed of their rebellion by pope *Adrian*, marched, though in the middle of winter, with his army into *Italy*, and having defeated *Rotgand*, duke of *Friuli*, whom he afterwards beheaded, by this victory stopped the progress of the revolt, and forced the dukes of *Spoletto* and *Benevento* to a submission. As they had not openly appeared in arms, he continued them in their dukedoms, and contented himself with a renewal of their allegiance; but he added the cities of the dukedom of *Friuli* to his kingdom, and gave the command of them to *Franks* and *Austrasians*. The Lombards revolt, but are again reduced by Charlemagne. 776.
- C**HARLES having thus settled the affairs of *Italy*, returned to *France*, and was engaged the three following years in reducing the *Saxons*, and opposing the *Saracens* in *Spain*; but hearing that the *Lombards* threatened to revolt in favour of *Adalgise*, the son of their former king *Desiderius*, whom they expected with a fleet and army from *Constantinople*, he resolved again to visit *Italy*; and taking his wife *Hildegarde*, and his two youngest sons along with him, he arrived at *Pavia* about *Christmas*^c. Soon after he called an assembly of the states, both clergy and laity, and with their advice published a body of laws, which are still extant, for the punishment of murder, robbery, and perjury, and to regulate the superiority of lords over their vassals. After the publication of these laws, he dismissed the assembly, and continued his journey to *Rome*, being received with many honours by all the cities through which he passed. At *Rome* pope *Adrian* was no less solicitous to receive him in a royal manner: *Charles* desiring both his sons to be crowned, the eldest of them was baptized by the name of *Pepin*, and the day following, being *Easter Sunday*, they were both crowned by the pope, *Pepin* being declared king of *Lombardy*, and *Lewis* king of *Aquitain*^d. This ceremony being over, *Charles* quitted *Rome*, and caused his son *Pepin* to be again crowned at *Monza*, with the iron crown, by the archbishop of *Milan*; and leaving him in *Italy*, with a governor, and the officers necessary for his household, he himself returned to *Germany*, to be present at the diet at *Worms*. A. D. 780. Charlemagne causes his second son Pepin to be crowned king of Lombardy. 781.
- T**H E first years of the reign of *Pepin* were remarkable for their tranquillity, and for the many salutary laws which were then published; but this calm was soon interrupted by the intrigues of the empress *Irene*; who being jealous of the growing power of *Charlemagne*, and displeased to see the *Franks* masters of *Italy*, resolved to give assistance to *Adalgise*, to enable him to recover his father's kingdom: for this purpose she concluded a secret treaty with *Archis* duke of *Benevento*, and *Tassillon* duke of *Bavaria*, both brothers-in-law to *Adalgise*, who promised to take arms in his favour, as soon as he appeared in *Italy* with an army of *Greeks*. *Charlemagne* being informed of this league by the pope, immediately marched with his army over the *Alps*, and arrived at *Florence*, where he celebrated his *Christmas*, and ordered the city, A league formed by Irene for the restoring of Adalgise; which is prevented by the arrival of Charlemagne in Italy.

^a BLOND. D. ii. l. i.^b Codex Car. c. 59.^c SIGON. l. iv. p. 91.^d BARON. ad an. 781.

which had been ruined by *Totila*, king of the *Goths*, to be rebuilt. From *Florence* he marched to *Rome*, and was there met by *Romuald*, the eldest son of *Arechis*, who was sent by his father to beg for a peace; but *Charles*, by the advice of the pope, refusing his request, detained *Romuald*, and marching with his army into *Campania*, took the city of *Capua*. *Arechis* being informed of the taking of *Capua*, quitted *Benevento*, and retired to *Salerno*, upon the sea coast, from whence he sent a second embassy to *Charles*, suing for peace, which was granted him, upon condition of paying a yearly tribute to *Pepin*, of delivering up his treasure, and of giving his second son *Grimoald* and his daughter *Adeleisa*, as hostages for his fidelity. *Arechis* did not long survive this peace, but died the *August* following, and his eldest son being likewise dead, *Charlemagne* sent *Grimoald* from *France*, who was received by the *Beneventans* with the utmost demonstrations of joy.

CHARLEMAGNE, upon his return to *Germany*, resolved to punish *Tassillon*, and ordered an army of *Franks* and *Saxons* to assemble at the *Danube*, while he himself with another body marched to the river *Lech*, and his son *Pepin*, with an *Italian* army, marched into the *Trentine*. *Tassillon* finding himself surrounded, came and submitted to *Charles*, who pardoned him upon his renewing his allegiance, and giving his son *Theodon*, and twelve other persons, as hostages: but the year following, being accused by the diet of having invited the *Hunns* to invade the *Franks*, in consequence of his league with *Arechis* and *Irene*, he was condemned to be shut up in a cloyster the rest of his life, with his son *Theodon*. The *Hunns*, who had been solicited by *Tassillon*, raised two armies, and this year, according to their promise, invaded *Germany* and *Friuli*; but were defeated in both countries, and obliged to return to *Pannonia* with great loss.

The Hunns invade Germany and Italy, but are defeated. A. D. 788.

Adalgise invades Italy with a Grecian army, but is defeated and put to death.

Grimoald revolts, but is reduced by Pepin and Lewis. A. D. 793.

WHILE *Pepin* was engaged in opposing the *Hunns*, he was informed by *Grimoald*, prince of *Benevento*, that the *Greeks* intended to invade *Italy*, in favour of *Adalgise*, because *Charlemagne* had refused to give his daughter to *Constantine*, though she had been betrothed to him several years before (A). In revenge for which affront, the emperor determined to expel the *Franks* from *Italy*; and hoping the *Italians* would take arms to support the son of their former king, he gave orders to *Theodore* the patrician, prefect of *Sicily*, to transport a strong army into *Calabria*, along with which went *Adalgise*. Soon after the landing of the *Greeks*, *Grimoald*, who had preferred his allegiance to *Pepin* to his affinity with *Adalgise*, being joined by *Hildebrand* duke of *Spoletto*, and *Vinigise* general of *Pepin*, with the forces under their command, he attacked the invaders in *Calabria*, where, after an obstinate dispute of several hours, he entirely routed them, and took all their baggage; and many prisoners, among whom was *Adalgise*, who was put to death by torments. Notwithstanding this great service of *Grimoald*, we find, that four years afterwards, by the persuasion of his mother, he renounced his allegiance to the *Franks*; which *Charlemagne* being informed of, he sent his son *Lewis*, king of *Aquitain*, against him, who passing the *Alps* by mount *Cenis* with his army, and joining his brother *Pepin* at *Ravenna*, they marched together into the country of *Benevento*, where they plundered and burnt every thing before them, and returned home with their army towards the end of winter.

Two years afterwards pope *Adrian* dying, *Leo* was chosen in his stead, who, the day after his consecration, sent an embassy to *Charlemagne*, acquainting him of his election, and at the same time sent the keys of the confession of *St. Peter*, and the standard of the city; and *Sigonius* adds, that he likewise desired *Charlemagne* to send one of his nobles to *Rome*, to take the oath of allegiance from the *Romans*: by which it appears, that notwithstanding the great patrimony granted to the see of *Rome* by *Charlemagne*, and his father *Pepin*, the popes had not yet assumed to be independent sovereigns; but as they had renounced their allegiance to the emperor, they sheltered themselves under the protection of their benefactor the king of the *Franks*.

The duke of Friuli invades Pannonia.

THE *Hunns* at this time, by their frequent incursions, infesting *Italy*, *Charlemagne* created one *Henry*, a *Frank* by nation, duke of *Friuli*, who soon after raising an army, marched into *Pannonia*, and having defeated several of their generals, took and plundered the royal palace, sending the wealth he found there to *Charlemagne*. The same year *Pepin* likewise invaded *Hungary*, and having driven the enemy beyond the *Tbyffe*, and enriched his army with spoil, he afterwards went to *Aix la Chapelle*, and returned the beginning of the next year to *Italy*, where

^c LEO Ost. l. i. c. 16.

^f SIGON. l. iv. p. 94.

^g SIGON. ubi supra.

(A) This is the account of *Sigonius*; but *Eginbard* and *Theophanes* say, that the match was broke off by the emperor's mother *Irene*, who being afraid lest the young empress should ruin her authority, and persuade *Constantine* to rule by himself, rejected the alliance of the *Franks*, whom she hated, and obliged her son, contrary to his inclination, to marry an *Armenian* woman of obscure

birth. But from *Theophanes* it appears to us, that this rupture with the *Franks* was owing to the intrigues of *Adalgise* at the court of *Constantinople*, who hoped, that if he could prevent the intended match, and prevail with the emperor to declare war against the *Franks*, he might by that means recover the kingdom of his ancestors.

a he was soon after informed, that *Irene* had caused her son *Constantine* to be imprisoned, and his eyes to be put out, by which he died three days after.

THE following year great disturbances happened at *Rome*, a conspiracy having been formed against the pope by some relations of *Adrian*, who were offended at his promotion. The conspirators having formed their plot, attacked the pope in the church of *St. Stephen*, on *St. George's* day, as he was preparing to celebrate the service for that saint; and having thrown him down, they stripped him of his robes, and wounded him in several places; after which they thrust him, half dead, into the monastery of *St. Erasmus*, under a strong guard: but *Alcuin*, one of the domestics of *Leo*, having found means to deceive the guard, brought his master from thence at night, and conducted him to the church of *St. Peter*. In the mean time the news of the assault being carried to *Vinigise*, the duke of *Spoletto*, who had succeeded *Hildebrand*, he hastened to *Rome* with an army, and brought the pope safe to *Spoletto*, from whence he went to *Germany*, where he was received with great honour by *Charlemagne*, and after staying some months was sent back to *Rome*, with an honourable escort of nobles and bishops^a.

Pope Leo is assaulted in Rome, and obliged to seek protection of Charlemagne. A. D. 799.

CHARLEMAGNE, being afraid lest the faction that opposed *Leo* might apply to the emperor for protection, resolved to quiet the disturbances at *Rome* in person; therefore having settled the affairs of *Germany*, in the beginning of autumn he marched into *Italy*; but before he proceeded to *Rome*, he went to *Tarstus* in *Illyricum*, where he punished the murderers of *Henry* duke of *Friuli*, who had been assassinated in that city the year before. Having appointed *Cadolachus* duke of *Friuli*, he marched from thence to *Ancona*, where he sent *Pepin* with a part of his army against *Grimoald*, who had again revolted, while he himself went to *Rome*, to determine the cause of *Leo*. On the day appointed for the trial, the bishops refusing to judge their superior, the pope cleared himself, by swearing upon the gospels that he was not guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. The pope, after this oath, being declared innocent, by the voices of the whole assembly, afterwards consulted with the senators of *Rome*, how they might express their gratitude to *Charlemagne*; and having agreed to revive in his favour the title of emperor of the *Romans*, on *Christmas-day*, when he had entered the *Vatican* church, and was kneeling at the altar, the pope threw a rich cloak over his shoulders, and putting a crown upon his head, proclaimed him, *Augustus, crowned by God, the great and most pious emperor of the Romans*, which was thrice repeated by the people with loud acclamations. After this ceremony, the emperor applied himself to regulate the affairs of *Italy*, and of the church, having during the winter added some new laws to the former edicts of the *Lombards*, and likewise increased the institutions of the church. About the middle of *April* he left *Rome*, and having given audience to the *Persian* ambassador near *Vercelli*, he passed the *Alps* and returned to *Germany*. In the mean time the war in the duchy of *Benevento* was carried on with various success; though *Pepin* had taken and plundered some towns, yet *Grimoald* having taken *Luceria*, and made *Vinigise* prisoner, *Pepin* concluded a truce with him for some time, in consequence of which *Vinigise* was set at liberty, and *Pepin* spent the winter with his father at *Aix la Chapelle*. During his absence, the *Saracens* from *Africa* and *Spain*, having infested the coast of *Italy*, and seized on the island of *Corfica*, *Pepin* upon his return sent a fleet to *Corfica*, which attacking them unexpectedly, forced them to retire with loss. Soon after *Nicetas* the patrician arriving in the *Adriatic* with a fleet from *Constantinople*, to support a faction of the *Venetians*, who inclined to the eastern empire, *Pepin* resolved to protect those who continued faithful to his father; but *Nicetas* hearing of his preparations, concluded a truce with him, and returned to *Constantinople*. The same year he sent another fleet against the *Saracens*, who still infested *Corfica*, and an engagement ensuing, the infidels were entirely defeated, with the loss of thirteen ships. The following year the truce being expired with the *Greeks*, *Nicephorus* sent a strong fleet into the *Adriatic*, and likewise another into the lower sea, which took and plundered *Populonium*, a city of *Ettruria*¹, while the other landing their forces, and being joined by the *Venetians*, attacked *Comaclo*; but after an obstinate dispute, they were repulsed by *Pepin's* army, upon which the *Greeks* retired to *Venice*, and endeavoured to conclude a peace with *Pepin*, by means of the republic, which was prevented by the intrigues of *Obalerius*, or, according to *Blondus*, *Ubelarius*, formerly duke of *Venice*, but at this time in banishment, on account of his favouring the *Franks*². The *Saracens*, encouraged by these dissensions among the Christians, again invaded *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and attacking the city of *Aleria*, after having plundered it, they carried off all the inhabitants as captives, leaving only the bishop and a few old men.

Charlemagne marches into Italy, 800.

and is crowned emperor of the Romans by the pope. A. D. 801.

Pepin goes to Aix la Chapelle, 804.

but returns to Italy, and sends a fleet against the Saracens. A. D. 806.

The Greeks and Venetians attack Comaclo, but are defeated.

The Saracens invade Sardinia. A. D. 809.

THE following year the war betwixt *Pepin* and the *Venetians* was carried on with great vigour; *Pepin*, according to *Blondus*¹, being offended that the *Venetians*, on account of their commerce, had renewed their alliance with *Nicephorus*, the eastern emperor, without his

A war betwixt Pepin and the Venetians.

^a SIGON. l. iv. p. 95. BARON. ad an. 799. l. iv. p. 902.

¹ BLOND. ubi supra.

² BLOND. Dec. ii. l. 2.

³ BLOND. ubi supra. SIGON.

knowledge, resolved to attack them by sea and land; though other writers affirm, that *Pepin* undertook this war at the desire of his father, with a design of restoring *Obalarius* and *Valentine*, the banished dukes^m. Whatever was the occasion of the war, the issue of it was not favourable to *Pepin*, who having assembled his forces at *Ravenna*, embarked his troops, and immediately took *Brondulum*, *Clodia*, *Palestrina*, and *Albiola*, and from thence sailed to *Metamaucum*, which was then the residence of the dukes. The inhabitants of this city being astonished at the rapid progress of the enemy, quitted their habitations, and putting their effects on board their boats, they retired to the islands of *Rialto* and *Olivola*, which were protected from the attack of great vessels by the shallowness of the water around them. *Pepin* finding nothing but empty houses at *Metamaucum*, and being informed whither the *Venetians* had retired, he resolved to attack those islands; but as they were inaccessible to his ships, he assembled all the boats he could from the neighbouring rivers, and adding some rafts, put his men on board, and sent them forwards. The rafts being rowed by the boats, advanced pretty nigh the islands, but upon the ebbing of the tide, the *Venetians* fallying out in little skiffs, cut the rafts from the boats, many of which they sunk and destroyed, while those in the rafts trusting to the shallowness of the water, leapt overboard and were drowned. *Pepin* being thus shamefully defeated, retired with the remains of his army to *Ravenna*, from whence he went to *Milan*, where he soon after died, in the flower of his age, leaving behind him only one natural son, named *Bernard*, and five daughters, whom *Charlemagne* caused to be educated in his palace as his own.

Pepin dies,
A. D. 810.

and is succeeded
ed by his son
Bernard.

Grimoald sub-
mits and be-
comes tribu-
tary.

812.

Lewis is
crowned empe-
ror, and Ber-
nard crowned
king of Italy,
at Monza.

813.

Charlemagne
dies, and is
succeeded by
Lewis.

Stephen IV.
succeeds Leo,
and crowns
the emperor in
Germany.

816.

THE death of *Pepin* greatly affected the emperor, who, from the affection he bore him, determined to give the kingdom of *Italy* to *Bernard*; and as *Italy* was threatened with an invasion from the *Saracens*, he concluded a peace with the emperor *Nicephorus*, and ceded to him all the sovereignty over *Venice*ⁿ. Two years afterwards, being informed that the *Moors* were making great preparations to invade *Italy*, he immediately sent *Bernard* with an army into that kingdom, joining with him *Wala*, governor of *Saxony*, and brother of *Adalard*, abbot of *Corbie*, who had distinguished himself for his administration during the reign of *Pepin*. The *Moors* hearing of *Bernard's* arrival in *Italy*, turned their arms against *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, but were almost entirely cut off in *Sardinia*, very few of them escaping to *Spain* and *Africa*. This same year likewise, *Grimoald*, prince of *Benevento*, concluded a peace with the emperor, consenting to pay a yearly tribute of 27,000 crowns of gold^o. Notwithstanding the great loss the *Saracens* had sustained in *Sardinia*, the next year they invaded *Corfica*; but in their return to *Spain*, were attacked at sea by *Ermengarius*, governor of *Majorca* for the king of *Italy*, who took eight of their ships, and recovered five hundred christian captives. To indemnify themselves for this loss, they sailed to *Civita Vecchia*, which they took and plundered; and afterwards landing in *Provence*, they attacked and plundered *Nice*; but in their return landing upon *Sardinia*, they were defeated and repulsed to their ships, several of which they lost. The western empire at this time enjoying a profound peace, *Charlemagne*, affected with the loss of his two sons *Charles* and *Pepin*, sent for his only surviving son *Lewis* king of *Aquitaine*, and declaring him his heir, caused him to be crowned emperor at *Aix la Chapelle*; at the same time he ordered *Bernard*, who was in *Italy*, to be crowned king at *Monza*, by the archbishop of *Milan*. *Charlemagne* did not long survive this ceremony, but being attacked with a fever, which turned to a pleurisy, he died on the 28th of *January*, in the 70th year of his age. Upon the news of the death of *Charlemagne*, *Lewis* left *Aquitaine*, and repaired to *Aix la Chapelle*, where he was met by *Bernard*, king of *Italy*, and the ambassadors of *Leo* emperor of *Constantinople*, who renewed the treaty that had been concluded with his father. He confirmed likewise the peace with *Grimoald*, duke of *Benevento*, on condition of his paying the same tribute as formerly.

THE *Romans*, who had ever had an aversion to pope *Leo*, being informed of the death of *Charlemagne*, his protector, again began to oppose his authority, and several of the nobles conspired his death; which plot being discovered to *Leo*, he seized the conspirators, and ordered them to be put to death. A complaint being made to *Lewis* of this proceeding of the pope, he sent his nephew *Bernard*, who was still with him, into *Italy*, to enquire into the disturbance at *Rome*. *Bernard*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, having enquired into the disorders, sent an account of the whole to *Lewis*, along with the ambassadors of *Leo*, who satisfied the emperor concerning the false accusations of their master. *Leo* dying the year following, was succeeded by *Stephen IV.* who immediately after his election ordered the *Romans* to take the oath of allegiance to *Lewis*; and two months afterwards went himself into *Germany*, attended by *Bernard*, where he was received with great respect by the emperor^p, whom he crowned at *Rheims*, together with his queen *Hermingarde*. *Stephen* returning to *Rome*, died soon after, and was succeeded by *Pascal*, who immediately sent an embassy to the emperor, excusing himself for assuming that dignity before he had acquainted him. *Lewis* admitting of his ex-

^m SIGON. ubi supra.

^p Vita Dud. c. 38 & 39.

ⁿ 1THÆVUS Ann. Frank. SIGON. l. iv. p. 103.

^o SIGON. ubi supra.

a cuse, renewed the grant of his father and grandfather in favour of the see of *Rome*; and having called a very full assembly of the states at *Aix la Chapelle*, with their approbation caused his eldest son *Lotharius* to be crowned emperor, *Pepin* his second son king of *Aquitain*, and *Lewis* king of *Bavaria*.

BERNARD, king of *Italy*, who had begun to aspire to the empire, to which he thought he had the preferable right, as his father *Pepin* was the elder brother of *Lewis*, being informed of this division of the empire, by which he was consequently excluded, revolted from the emperor, and having fortified the passes of the *Alps*, made all the cities of *Italy* take the oath of allegiance to him. *Lewis* no sooner was acquainted with the proceedings of *Bernard*, but he raised a great army, and advanced with it towards *Italy*, which news so confounded the conspirators, that they quitted the part of *Bernard*, who finding himself abandoned by those who promised to assist him, resolved to have recourse to the emperor's clemency, and accordingly went and threw himself at his uncle's feet, acknowledging his crime, and making a full confession of the conspiracy. *Lewis*, who was then at *Chalons* on the *Soane*, by this discovery, having secured the chief conspirators, returned with them to *Aix la Chapelle*, where they were condemned to death, which sentence the emperor mitigated, ordering the eyes of the laics to be put out, and the bishops to be deposed. *Bernard* survived this operation only three days, and died on the 17th of *April*, having reigned only four years and five months. While these things were transacting in *Germany*, *Radelchis* count of *Campania*, having revolted, flew *Grimoald*, prince of *Benevento*, and procured *Sico* to be elected in his stead, who sent ambassadors to the emperor, promising to pay the same homage and tribute as his predecessor had done, which submission being accepted, his election was confirmed. The following year, *Cadolach* the duke of *Friuli* dying suddenly, *Lewis* conferred that dukedom upon *Balderic*, who the next campaign passing the *Alps* with an army, acted in conjunction with the emperor against *Lindentus*, who headed the rebellious *Hunns*. Having ravaged *Pannonia*, the emperor returned to *Aix*, and *Balderic* led his army back into *Italy*, after reducing *Carniola* and *Carinthia* ¹.

Bernard revolts against the emperor, but loses his kingdom and his life.
A. D. 817.

Grimoald prince of Benevento is assassinated by Radelchis.

THE year after, *Vinigise* duke of *Spoleto* resigning his principality, and taking on the monastic habit, *Suppo* count of *Brescia* succeeded him, as he had left no male issue. As the nobles in *Lombardy* were committing a great many disorders, *Lotharius* was sent into *Italy*, d received there with great joy by the people, and crowned at *Monza* by the archbishop of *Milan*; and the *Easter* following being invited to *Rome*, he was there crowned by the pope king of *Italy*, and afterwards emperor. *Rome* was at this time greatly divided by two opposite factions; the one endeavouring to support the pope's authority, the other that of the emperor; therefore *Lotharius* returned to *Pavia*, with the design of assembling some troops, to suppress the insolence of the opposite faction; but his affairs calling him into *Germany*, he went to his father's court at *Frankfort*, and sent *Adelard* count of the palace, and *Maurinus* count of *Brescia*, to put a stop to the disorders at *Rome* ². Before their arrival, *Theodore*, a dean, and *Leo* his son-in-law, a nomenclator, having been seized for preaching up obedience to the emperor, had their eyes put out, and were afterwards put to death, by order, as it was supposed, of the pope himself. The emperor *Lewis*, displeased with this proceeding, immediately sent commissioners to *Rome* to enquire into the affair; but before they set out, ambassadors arrived from the pope, who disclaimed their master's having any concern in the murder. *Pascal*, in the mean time, having assembled the bishops in the neighbourhood, in their presence cleared himself from the accusation, by swearing that he was not guilty; but he likewise declared the two persons deceased to have been lawfully put to death as traitors to their country, and therefore absolved those who had committed the murder. The emperor's commissaries upon their arrival not being able to convict the murderers, *Lewis* rested satisfied with the excuses of the pope ³, who dying the year following, occasioned by his death fresh disturbances at *Rome*, where two were chosen to succeed him; but *Eugenius* being supported by the nobles, obtained consecration, though in a tumultuous manner. *Lewis* being informed of these new disorders, sent his son *Lotharius* into *Italy*, to settle the affairs of that kingdom with the pope.

Lotharius crowned emperor at Rome.
823.

He puts an end to the tumults and disorders in that city.
825.

LOTHARIUS, upon his arrival in *Italy*, appointed *Adelard* count of the palace, duke of *Spoleto*, in the room of *Suppo*, lately deceased; but *Adelard* dying five months afterwards, that dukedom was conferred upon *Maurinus* count of *Brescia*, who survived his investiture only a few days; *Lotharius* afterwards proceeding to *Rome*, settled the affairs of that city in conjunction with the pope; and having restored those who during the late disturbances had been deprived of their possessions, he published several new laws, especially one relating to the election of the popes, by which it was ordained, that the consecration of the pope, for the

¹ SIGON. ubi supra.

² BLOND. Dec. ii. l. 2.

³ SIGON. ubi supra. BLOND. ubi supra.

future, should always be in the presence of the king, or of his ambassadors'. The affairs at *Rome* being thus settled, *Lotharius* returned to *Germany*, being jealous of the ascendancy which the empress *Judith* had over her husband, who had already promised to alter the former partition of his dominions, in favour of her infant son *Charles*, and by that means excited his three eldest sons to cabal against his government. In the mean time pope *Eugenius* dying, *Valentine* was chosen in his room, who scarcely enjoyed the papal dignity a month, and was succeeded by *Gregory IV.*; but as the emperor had no ambassador in *Rome*, his consecration was deferred till the arrival of one, who enquired into the election, before they proceeded to the ceremony of the consecration". *Lotharius*, who had still continued at the emperor's court, being at last offended, that *Allemain*, *Rhetia*, and a part of *Burgundy* (B), was given to *Charles*, with the title of king, he complained loudly of this partition, and set out for *Italy*; his two brothers *Lewis* and *Pepin* retired likewise to their own dominions, equally dissatisfied with the proceedings of the emperor. In the mean time, the empress having turned out those bishops and lords who opposed her schemes, supplied their places with her own partisans, and prevailed with the emperor to trust the administration of the empire to *Bernard* count of *Barcelona*, who was supposed to be her gallant. These proceedings, far from strengthening her cause, served only to spirit up the malecontents to an open rebellion; and the nobles, and many of the bishops, having entered into a conspiracy, they addressed themselves to *Pepin* king of *Aquitain*, complaining, that the emperor neglected all the care of the empire, and trusted the administration of affairs to *Bernard*, who being engaged in an intrigue with the empress, designed not only to destroy the emperor, but likewise to cut off his sons, that he himself might succeed to the throne; that therefore it was his duty to undertake the protection of the empire, and redress the grievances which his father's bad administration had introduced". *Pepin*, fond of the preference which the malecontents had shewn, by chusing him for their chief, willingly entered into their measures; and assembling an army, marched to *Verberie*, with a design to seize the empress and *Bernard*. The emperor, astonished at the news of this rebellion, sent *Bernard* to his government in *Catalonia*, and desired *Judith* to take sanctuary in a monastery, while he himself went with a small army to *Compeigne*. *Pepin* with his army advancing into the neighbourhood of *Compeigne*, commanded *Judith* to be brought out of the monastery whither she had fled, and ordered her, as she valued her life, to go and persuade her husband to become a monk. *Judith* being thus allowed to speak in private with the emperor, persuaded him to seem consenting to what the rebels desired; and returning to their camp, they obliged her to take the veil in the abbey of *St. Rade-gond*.

A rebellion
against the
emperor.
A. D. 830.

The rebels are
joined by Lo-
tharius, who
seizes on the
person of the
emperor.

The emperor
recovers his
authority at
the assembly at
Nimeguen.

LOTHARIUS being informed of these disturbances in the empire, immediately marched out of *Italy* with an army; and though he was not greatly offended at the revolt, yet he was uneasy to see any other besides himself at the head of the malecontents; he therefore, upon his arrival, assumed a superiority, in which he was supported by the chief of the malecontents, who declared for him as heir to the empire, and already crowned by the pope. This behaviour of the malecontents was far from being acceptable to *Pepin*, who quitted *Compeigne*, and retired to his own kingdom. In the mean time *Lotharius* having seized the emperor, treated him with great respect, but retained the power of government in his own hands; and having seized *Herbert*, brother of count *Bernard*, he ordered his eyes to be put out, notwithstanding the intercession of the emperor, whom he now trusted to the guard of some monks, advising them to prevail with him to quit the world. The monks, far from assisting the designs of *Lotharius*, advised the emperor to take courage, and promised to assist him to the utmost in recovering his dignity. One of them, more enterprising than the rest, under a pretence of religion, got leave to withdraw, and going to *Pepin* and *Lewis*, he prevailed with them to undertake the protection of their father, by promising them an enlargement of territory; he likewise prevailed with a great many bishops and counts of the empire to return to their allegiance. The party of the emperor being now superior to the malecontents, a diet was appointed at *Nimeguen*, which was frequented by great numbers from *Germany* and *France*. *Lewis* finding himself well supported, began again to resume his authority, and deprived the abbot *Hilduin* of his abbey, because, contrary to his command, he came to the diet with an armed force. This, and other instances of firmness in the emperor, disconcerted the malecontents, who seeing *Lewis* surrounded with his friends, among whom were *Lewis* and *Pepin* his sons, began to be anxious about their own safety, and consulted with *Lotharius* what was best to be done; but the emperor sending for him, laid before him in an affection-

* SIGON. l. iv. p. 3.

† Idem. ibid.

‡ SIGON. ubi supra.

(B) By *Allemain* is understood the country situated between the *Rhine*, the *Main*, the *Necker*, and the *Danube*; the part of *Burgundy* is understood modern *Swiss* land, and the territory of *Geneva*.
by *Rhetia* is meant the province of the *Grisons*; and by

a ate though serious manner the heinousness of his crime, and advised him to submit voluntarily to a power which he might perceive was greatly superior to his: *Lotharius*, touched with the affectionate reproof of his father, threw himself at his feet, and asked pardon, which was freely granted by the emperor. The rebels, impatient at the delay of *Lotharius*, and thinking him detained a prisoner, ran to arms, and determined to hazard all upon an engagement. But the emperor and *Lotharius* appearing, and declaring that they were reconciled, the face of matters was quickly changed, and the chief malecontents being seized, peace was again restored to the empire. *Lotharius*, though he was pardoned by his father, yet was deprived of the title of emperor, and all the subjects of the empire absolved from their allegiance to him; he was likewise obliged to promise upon oath, never to undertake any thing against the empire; on these conditions he was allowed to return to *Italy*. Notwithstanding these precautions, the peace was of a very short continuance, for *Bernard* count of *Barcelona*, upon his return to court, finding that he was not again to be trusted with the administration, and that he had lost the favour of the empress, retired to his government, but in his way stopped at *Aquitain*, where he engaged *Pepin* in a new conspiracy against his father. The emperor, who had sent for *Pepin* to court, suspecting by his delay that he was meditating a revolt, appointed a general diet at *Orleans*, and ordered his three sons to be present. But he was soon after surprised with the news, that his son *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was again in arms; therefore quitting his design of convoking a diet, he immediately assembled an army, and marched against his rebel son, who finding himself unable to resist the emperor, came and submitted; and upon swearing that he would never again swerve from his duty, he obtained his pardon. *Lotharius*, though he was suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy^x, yet, as he saw it stifled in the very beginning, came to his father at *Frankfort*, and assured him that he had no part in the revolt of his brother. His submission being accepted, the emperor marched against *Pepin*, who had refused to appear at the diet which was held at *Orleans* in *September*, and was now in arms. *Pepin* being summoned to appear before his father, on pain of being disinherited, thought proper to submit, as he had not forces sufficient to oppose the army of the emperor. On his arrival he was made prisoner, and conducted under a guard to *Triers*: but making his escape on the road, he posted into his own kingdom, where assembling some troops, he harassed the army of the emperor in its return to *Aix la Chapelle*. This behaviour so exasperated his father, that he at last yielded to the solicitations of *Judith*, and disinheriting *Pepin*, gave his kingdom to her son *Charles*. That *Lotharius* might not be offended at this advancement of *Charles*, the country of the *Grisons* and *Switzerland* was added to his dominions, and the empress promised to procure the imperial dignity to be again restored to him. His sons again rebel against him. A. D. 832.

But as *Lotharius* found no effect from her promises, he publicly espoused the cause of *Pepin*; and having raised an army in *Italy*, he even prevailed with the pope to accompany him into *Germany*. He entered *Alsace*, and being joined by his brothers, with their forces, he every where published, that the pope had espoused his cause, and was come to excommunicate his father. This report, though it had great influence on the common people, and several bishops of low extraction, yet served only to attach the greatest part of the bishops of *Germany* and *France* to the emperor, who wrote to the pope, that if he came to excommunicate, he would be excommunicated himself. *Gregory* replied in a high style, and affirmed, that he only came into *Germany* as a mediator betwixt the emperor and his sons; nevertheless he still continued in the army of *Lotharius*^y. In the mean time the emperor having raised an army, marched against the rebels, who were encamped betwixt *Basil* and *Colmar*. When he came within view of their camp, the pope with his retinue came over to his army, where, according to *Pascale Radbert*, he continued three days; but his mediation being unsuccessful with the emperor, he returned to *Lotharius*, who, in the mean time is said to have debauched the soldiers of his father, so that the night following almost the whole army deserted to the rebels. *Lewis* finding himself abandoned by his friends, surrendered to *Lotharius*, on condition of his life and liberty; but he was no sooner in his son's camp, than he was made a prisoner, and in a tumultuous assembly deposed; the pope, protesting against the proceeding, returned to *Italy*^z. *Lotharius* having called an assembly at *Compeigne*, was there declared emperor, and his father condemned by the bishops to do public penance; after which he was confined to a very strict imprisonment^a. The greatness of his misfortune at length procuring *Lewis* many friends, his two other sons were prevailed upon to demand the liberty of their father. *Lotharius* finding that his violent proceedings were condemned by the whole empire, left his father in the monastery of *St. Denis*, and retired into *Switzerland*, where he assembled an army, and marched against the imperialists. But the army of the emperor be- Lewis is pardoned. but Aquitaine is taken from Pepin, and given to Charles.

^x Vita Lud. pii. ad an. 833.

^y Epist. Greg. IV. apud Agobard. BARON. ad ann. 833.

^a See the History of France.

^z BARON.

who is obliged to sue for pardon. ing greatly superior, he thought proper to submit, and obtained pardon, on condition of returning into *Italy*, and not repassing the *Alps* without leave of the emperor. a

The coasts of Italy are infested by the Saracens.

A. D. 835.

Lotharius succeeds to the empire.

A final partition agreed to. 843.

Lotharius declares his eldest son Lewis king of Italy. 844.

Who is crowned by the pope of Rome.

Benevento is divided by Lewis into two dukedoms, in favour of the two competitors. 851.

WHILE *Lotharius* was thus employed in dethroning his father, the *Saracens* infested the coasts of *Italy*, and committed such ravages, that the bishops were even obliged to march to the protection of the coasts: but *Lotharius* upon his return, far from putting his kingdom in a posture of defence against the infidels, seized upon many places belonging to the see of *Rome*, under pretence that they were part of his kingdom of *Lombardy*. Pope *Gregory* complaining to *Lotharius*, without receiving any satisfaction, sent an embassy to the emperor, who being displeased with his son's proceedings, ordered him to desist, and likewise to prepare for his reception, as he proposed soon to make a journey into *Italy*. Two years afterwards, *Pepin* king of *Aquitain* dying, *Lotharius* was sent for from *Italy*: the whole empire, b excepting *Bavaria*, being divided into two lots, he had the one, and the other was conferred upon his half brother *Charles*, who was warmly recommended to his protection, both by the emperor and empress. After this partition, *Lotharius* returned to *Italy*, where he continued till the death of the emperor, which he was no sooner informed of, than he assembled an army and marched into *France*, where he was acknowledged as emperor: but not satisfied with this dignity, and the dominions left to him by his father, he quickly began to usurp those of his brother, who thereupon entered into an alliance against him: joining their forces, they engaged his army near *Fontenay*; and after an obstinate dispute, in which a hundred thousand men are said to have fallen on both sides, they obtained a complete victory, and forced *Lotharius* to retire to *Lyons* and *Vienna*. In consequence of this victory, the two brothers made c themselves masters of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy*; and to secure their conquests, called an assembly of the bishops, in which *Lotharius* was declared to have forfeited his kingdom, which was divided betwixt *Lewis* and *Charles*. *Lotharius* finding that his brothers were not only superior in arms, but likewise supported by the spiritual power, he sued for peace, and begged a new partition of the empire. His brothers reflecting that they only held their territories from the good-will of the people, consented to his demands, and a congress being held at *Coblentz*, the empire was at last divided among the three brothers, in which partition, all that is situated d betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Scheld*, all the countries situated on the *Maese*, and the provinces on both sides the *Rhine*, fell to the share of *Lotharius*, together with the kingdom of *Italy*, and the title of emperor. All beyond the *Rhine* was ceded to *Lewis*, who took the title of king of *Germany*; and *Charles* had the third division, with the title of king of *France*.

THE following year *Lotharius* being engaged in settling the affairs of *Germany*, appointed his eldest son *Lewis* king of *Italy*; and being informed that *Sergius* II. who succeeded *Gregory* IV. had been consecrated without waiting for his confirmation, he sent his son with an army into *Italy*, to be crowned in that kingdom; and desired his uncle *Drogo*, bishop of *Metz*, to accompany him. *Drogo* had orders to assemble at *Rome* the archbishops of *Milan* and *Ravenna*, and as many *Italian* bishops as he could, to examine into the election of *Sergius*. The pope, that he might avert the threatening storm, received young *Lewis* with extraordinary honours, and waited for him upon the head of the steps of *St. Peter's* church, the doors of which were shut by his orders. After *Lewis* had been introduced to the pope, and e kissed his foot, *Sergius* told him, that, if he came for the good of the church, the doors should immediately be opened, but if otherwise, he should have no access. *Lewis* declaring that he came with a pure intention for the church's welfare, after the example of his father and grandfather, the doors were thereupon opened, and the pope and he entering the church, performed their devotions together^d. This declaration of *Lewis*, however, did not prevent *Drogo* and the other bishops from enquiring into the election of *Sergius*, which they approved of, but condemned as a precedent; and to prevent the imperial right from being infringed for the future, they ordained, that the popes should not be consecrated before they were confirmed by the emperor. The day after this regulation, *Lewis* was crowned by the pope, king of f the *Lombards*, and the *Romans* afterwards took the oaths of allegiance to the emperor. During these transactions, the army of *Franks* and *Lombards*, that had attended *Lewis*, committed the same excesses in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, that they had done in their march through *Italy*: for being denied access to the city, they plundered the suburbs, and destroyed the fields. The *Romans* being under great apprehensions that *Lewis* designed to make a conquest of *Rome*, their fears were greatly increased by the arrival of *Siconolphus*, prince of *Benevento*, with another army; but that prince, after having had an interview with *Lewis*, concerning the present state of his affairs, returned to *Salerno*, and *Lewis* soon after marched with his army to *Pavia*^e.

A FEW years afterwards *Lewis* marched with an army to *Benevento*; and to put an end to the civil disputes, made an equal partition of the dukedom betwixt *Radelchis* and *Siconolphus*; g *Radelchis* being appointed prince of *Benevento*, and *Siconolphus* having *Salerno* and its territory,

^d BARON. ad an. 844. SIGON. ubi sup.

^e BARON. ad an. 844.

a under the same title ^f. After this decision, the emperor returned with his army to *Mantua*; and two years afterwards he went into *Germany*, being sent for by his father, who, a few years before, had associated him into the empire. During his absence, the *Saracens*, who were still in possession of *Bari*, again made an irruption into *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the dukedom of *Benevento*, destroying all before them with fire and sword. The *Italians*, unable to defend themselves from so barbarous an enemy, sent the abbots of *Monte Cassino* and *St. Vincent* into *Germany*, to represent their miserable condition to the emperor, and to beg the return of *Lewis*, with an army to protect them. *Lotharius* immediately ordered *Lewis* to return to *Italy*; and as he was informed that the ancient discipline of the church, established by his father *Lewis*, and grandfather *Charlemagne*, was greatly relaxed of late years, he desired him, as soon as his affairs would allow, to call an assembly of the nobles and bishops, to enquire into the disorders, and to put a stop to them by new laws. *Lewis*, upon his return to *Italy*, assembled an army, and being assisted by the *Capuans*, defeated the *Saracens* in several engagements; but the *Capuans*, for what reason is uncertain, proving unfaithful to him, he led his army to *Salerno*, where having turned out the son of *Siconolphus*, who had succeeded his father, he gave the principality to *Ademarius*, and afterwards he returned to *Pavia*, where he appointed an assembly of the states to be held soon after.

THE nobles and bishops assembling in *January* at *Tesino*, *Lewis* gave orders to *Angilbert*, archbishop of *Milan*, and *Andrew*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, to make enquiry into the lives of the bishops, and all the other clergy. After a diligent inquisition, they reported, that many of the bishops and inferior clergy lived unworthy of their profession; that, partly from the neglect of the bishops, and partly from the carelessness of the people, preaching was greatly disused; that the nobles having built chapels in their houses, neglected to attend divine service in the churches; and likewise employed persons of worthless characters, and even some that were not ordained, to officiate as their chaplains ^e. This report being given in to the king, a new edict was published on the 4th of *February*, ordaining, under severe penalties; the clergy and monks to live according to the laws of their institutions; that all causes should be judged according to the written laws; and courts established for that purpose in proper places, whither the people might be at liberty to resort, without any molestation.

d A FEW months after the publication of this edict, the peace of *Italy* was like to be disturbed by one *Daniel*, master of the soldiers at *Rome*, who, upon some disgust, went to *Lewis*, and accused *Gratian*, a master of the soldiers, and superintendent of the *Roman* palace, of advising the *Romans* to make an alliance with the *Greek* emperor, and to expel the *Franks*. *Lewis*, alarmed at this information, immediately went to *Rome*, without previously acquainting the pope of his journey. Being received in a respectful manner by *Leo*, a day was appointed to enquire into the affair; when *Gratian*, in the presence of the emperor and the pope; and a full assembly of the nobles and senators of *Rome*, proving himself innocent of the accusation, even by the accuser himself, *Daniel* was delivered over to his power, according to the *Roman* law, and *Lewis* returned satisfied to *Pavia* ^h. *Leo* likewise, in justification of himself, wrote to *Lotharius*, professing that he always had, and ever should observe his edicts, and those of his ancestors; but begged, that he would allow the *Romans* to use the *Roman* laws, which they had always hitherto observed. A few days after the determination of this affair, *Leo* died, and was succeeded by *Benedict III.* who immediately sent an embassy to the emperor *Lotharius* and *Lewis*, informing them of his election; but *Lewis* being offended that they had proceeded to the election before he was acquainted, encouraged the election of one *Anastasi*, whom his party at *Rome* elected in a tumultuous manner, and placed by force in the *Lateran* palace: not being able to prevail with the bishops to consecrate *Anastasi*, the imperial ambassadors at last consented to allow *Benedict* to enjoy the papal dignity, and he was accordingly consecrated in their presence ⁱ.

f DURING this contest at *Rome*, the emperor *Lotharius* died in *Germany*, having before his death assumed the monkish habit in the monastery of *Prum*, and made a division of his dominions among his three sons, by which division, only the kingdom of *Italy* and the title of emperor was assigned to *Lewis*, all on this side the *Alps* being divided betwixt *Lotharius* and *Charles*. Though *Lewis* was not satisfied with this partition, yet as he knew his brothers would join their forces to prevent him from making any conquests in their dominions, he submitted, without opposition, to the will of his father; and applied himself to the administration of the government of *Italy*, making progresses through the great cities of *Lombardy*, and enquiring into the grievances of his subjects. He went the following year with his empress to *Venice*, where he was received with great honours, and confirmed the peace subsisting with that republic. While *Lewis* was at *Venice*, count *Lando*, and

Lewis appoints a council to be held at Tesino, where a new edict is published regarding the clergy.
A. D. 855;

The emperor Lotharius dies and leaves the empire divided among his three sons.

^f SICON. l. v. p. 122. LEO. Orien. l. i. c. 31.
in vita Leon Pont. ⁱ Idem in vita Benedict.

^e SICON. ubi supra.

^h ANASTAS. Biblioth.

Landolphus bishop of *Capua* or *Sicopolis*, changed the situation of their city, and built a new one upon the river *Volturno*, as the former city had been greatly ravaged by fires, upon account of its high situation. The papal see soon after becoming vacant by the death of *Benedict*, who enjoyed that dignity little more than two years, *Lewis* immediately repaired to *Rome*, to be present at the consecration of the succeeding pope; and *Nicolas* being elected with great unanimity, was accordingly consecrated in the presence of the emperor, on the 22d of *April*. A few days after, *Nicolas* being informed that the emperor was proposing to return to *Lombardy*, he came out to visit him in his camp, and was received with great respect by *Lewis*, who advanced to meet him, and from an excess of complaisance alighted, and, taking hold of the bridle of the pope's horse, walked in that manner for about fifty yards, which ceremony, whether the effect of weakness or complaisance, was turned into a precedent by the following popes. The year after, the archbishop of *Ravenna* having been deposed by the pope, for asserting his independency, fled for protection to the emperor, who wrote to *Nicolas*, desiring him to call an assembly of the bishops to decide that cause. Accordingly the patriarch of *Gradisca*, and the bishops from *Campania*, *Tuscia*, and the other provinces, assembling at *Rome*, the cause of the archbishop was tried, in the presence of *Lewis's* ambassadors. But as *Lewis* had only the vain title of emperor, without the power, his protection was but of small account. The archbishop was obliged to acknowledge his error before he was restored, and likewise ordered to appear every other year at *Rome*, unless prevented by sickness, or absolved from that obligation by the pope.

Lewis marches
against the Sa-
racens, and
besieges Bari;
A. D. 867.

AFTER the determination of this cause, *Lewis* was engaged in a new war with the *Saracens*, who were still in possession of *Bari*^k. Having assembled a formidable army, he marched into the dukedom of *Benevento*, where, according to the *Greek* historians, the emperor *Michael* ordered a body of auxiliaries to join him. *Lewis*, after visiting the monastery of *St. Benedict*, according to a vow by which he had engaged himself, marched against *Capua*, which he took, and in a great measure destroyed; from thence he advanced to *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and *Puteoli*, and afterwards to *Benevento*, to secure the fidelity of *Adalgise*, who was said to have a correspondence with the *Saracens*. Early next spring, that he might exterminate the infidels from *Italy*, he marched and besieged *Bari*, their capital; but finding it too well fortified to be soon reduced, he sent to his brother *Lotharius* for assistance, and in the mean time marched against other places in the possession of the *Saracens*. Upon the arrival of the auxiliaries from his brother, he defeated the enemy in a pitched battle, and took *Lucera*, with several other places of strength in its neighbourhood. Marching afterwards against *Bari*, he besieged it a second time, but without effect; for the *Germans* becoming very sickly, by reason of the extraordinary heat of the climate, and many of them having died by the bite of the tarantula, they quitted *Italy*, and returned home^l. Upon their departure, *Lewis* raised the siege of *Bari*, and retired to *Benevento*; but the *Saracens* sallying out upon his rear, cut off 2000 of his men, and marching afterwards to the mountain *Garganus*, now *Monte di St. Angelo*, they plundered and burnt the church of *St. Michael*.

In the mean time pope *Nicolas* dying, *Adrian II.* was elected in his stead; and the emperor's ambassadors, who were then in *Rome*, complaining that they were not invited to the election, they were answered, that this was not done out of any disrespect to the emperor, but to prevent for the future the ambassadors of any prince from pretending to interfere with the election of a pope^m. This was a language which they had never used before; but *Adrian* was resolved to use none of the authority that had been usurped by his predecessor *Nicolas*: besides, as the popes protected themselves by the power of *Charlemagne*, when they withdrew their allegiance from the eastern emperors, they now saw, that, from the divisions among the descendants of that conqueror, they might safely renounce their allegiance to them. As *Lewis* had only the shadow of authority over the *Romans*, he acquiesced in the answer of *Adrian*, who was consecrated in the presence of his ambassadors. The following year *Lewis* began the campaign against the *Saracens*, with the siege of *Bari*, in which he was assisted by the *Grecian* fleet; but finding his efforts vain, he raised the siege, and marched against *Matera*, *Venosa*, and *Canosa*, which he recovered from the infidels. Having burnt *Matera*, he left strong garrisons in the other two places, and broke up his camp. The following campaign he made another attempt upon *Bari*, and being again assisted by the *Grecians*, he at last made himself master of the place, which he destroyed, and took *Seodan*, their chief, prisoner, whom, according to *Leo Ostiensis*, he put to death; but the *Grecian* writers say, that he imprisoned him in *Capua*. After the reduction of *Bari*, the emperor marched against *Taranto*, which was still possessed by the *Saracens*; but he was obliged to raise the siege, to punish the conspiracy of two counts, who finding their treason discovered, fled to *Benevento*, and implored the protection of *Adalgise*. *Lewis* in his march took *Æsernia*, and the city of *S. Agatha*; g

which he takes
and destroys.
869.

^k SIGON. l. v. p. 128.

^l Idem ibid.

^m ANAST. Bibl. in vita Hadrian.

a but upon his approach to *Benevento*, *Adalgise* coming out to meet him, obtained pardon for the two counts, which *Lewis* the more readily granted, as he was hastening to *Rome*, to consult with pope *Adrian* how to obtain the possession of the dominions of his brother *Lotharius*, which were now fallen to him by his death, but were usurped by his uncle, *Charles the Bald*, king of *France*.

THE pope warmly espoused the cause of the emperor, and wrote to *Charles*, who had been crowned king of *Lorraine*, exhorting him to desist from the usurpation of his nephew's right, and threatening him with excommunication if he refused to comply. He wrote likewise to the bishops and nobles of *France*, urging the right of the emperorⁿ, and exhorting them to acknowledge him as their prince; but not being able to prevail with *Charles* to relinquish the possession, he sent for *Lewis* to *Rome*, where he solemnly crowned him king of *Lorraine*, hoping by that ceremony to strengthen his right^o. *Charles*, though he paid no regard to the embassies of the emperor or the pope, was obliged to hearken to the claims of the king of *Germany*, and consented to a division of his new acquired kingdom with him, rather than risk the losing of the whole. *Lewis* at this time was not in a condition to make good his right by arms, for the *Saracens* were still in possession of a great many places in *Italy*, and *Seodan*, having escaped from his imprisonment, had assembled a new army, which was strengthened by a fresh body of Infidels lately landed^p. *Basil*, likewise emperor of *Constantinople*, being disappointed in his hopes of marrying *Lewis*'s only daughter, in resentment for the refusal had turned his bitter enemy, and had not only erased his title of emperor from pope *Adrian*'s letters, but had also sent a threatening letter to him, ordering him to lay it aside; and had excited *Adalgise* to renounce his allegiance, and give assistance to the *Saracens*^q. *Lewis* having sent a long letter to *Basil*, which is still extant, in justification of his right, marched with his army against *Benevento*, resolving to reduce that city, as it was the head of the whole revolt; but *Adalgise*, though he had entered into a secret alliance with *Basil*, yet publicly professed his attachment to *Lewis*. Hearing that he was marching to reduce *Benevento*, he went out to meet him, and by strong assurances of his fidelity, and that of his subjects, diverted him from his purpose. *Lewis*, being satisfied with the professions of *Adalgise*, turned his arms against the cities in possession of the *Saracens*, many of which he made himself master of in a short time; but *Capua* being fortified with a wall of square stone, made a long resistance. However, being reduced to great difficulties, the garrison at last offered to capitulate, but the terms being rejected by the emperor, they had recourse to their bishop, who marching out of the town with the body of *St. Germain* upon his shoulders, obtained pardon for his citizens, in consideration of that relique, which was afterwards carried into *France*^r.

AFTER the reduction of *Capua*, *Lewis* dismissed his army into summer quarters, and went himself to *Benevento*, where he was treacherously surprized by *Adalgise*, who put him in prison, and refused to set him at liberty, before he promised by an oath, never again to enter the dukedom of *Benevento*. Upon recovering his liberty, *Lewis* went to *Verole*, where he assembled his army, and defeated the *Saracens* near *Capua*; in consequence of which defeat, they retired to *Calabria*, and from thence embarked to *Africa*^s. The following year *Lewis* went to *Rome*, where he was absolved from his oath to *Adalgise* by pope *John VIII.* and *Adalgise* himself declared an enemy of the republic, who hearing that the emperor was marching against him, fled to *Corfica*, and left his country to the mercy of the enemy, who committed great disorders through the whole dukedom; nevertheless *Aimonius* relates, that *Adalgise*, by the mediation of the pope, was reconciled to the emperor that same year^t. As the health of the emperor was now very precarious, and he had no male issue, his uncles, the kings of *Germany* and *France*, began to intrigue about his succession. *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, had secured the interest of the empress, by ceding his part of *Lorraine* to the emperor, and promising to protect her against the *Italian* nobles, to whom she was become odious, on account of her intermeddling with the affairs of state. They wanted to have her divorced, that the emperor might marry another, in order to have an heir to his kingdom. *Charles* king of *France*, was sensible that he had no interest with the emperor or empress, and that his brother *Lewis* had a preferable right; therefore, by large promises, he privately brought over a great many *Italian* nobles to his party, and likewise secured the favour of the pope, who nevertheless went to *Verona*, and was present at a conference betwixt the emperor and *Lewis* king of *Germany*^u. While the emperor was employed in this congress, the *Saracens* again invaded *Italy*, under their prince *Abdalla*, and besieged *Salerno*; but *Lewis* sending an army to the relief of the place, the Infidels were repulsed with great loss^v.

ⁿ ADRIANI Epist. 20. ^o AINEM. Epist. 40. ^p Epit. Paris an. 615. ^q Aimon, l. v. c. 28. ^r SIGON. l. v. p. 131.

^s Aimon. l. v. c. 30. in fin. ^t BARON. ad an. 871. ^u Idem ad. an. 872. ^v SIGON. ubi supra.

^w ANNAL PITHÆI hoc anno. ^x HERMPERTUS de rebus gestis Longobard.

Lewis dies,
and is buried
at Milan.
A. D. 875.

THE following year his health daily decreasing, he fell dangerously sick in *France*, where a he died, in the month of *August*, and was buried in the church of *St. Ambrose*^x, at *Milan*, leaving behind him only one daughter, named *Hermengarde*, who was afterwards married to *Boson* king of *Provence*. *Lewis* was greatly beloved by his people, on account of his personal qualifications and his love for justice, which he caused to be administered to the meanest of his subjects with great impartiality. Though in the beginning of his reign he manifested some spirit in opposing the encroachments of the popes, yet in consequence of his father's will, finding himself without the power belonging to his title, he afterwards submitted too quietly to their usurpations, and even gave a kind of sanction to them by his condescension. *Charles the Bald*, king of *France*, being informed of the death of the emperor, immediately marched with an army towards *Italy*, and passed the *Alps* on the first of *September*, b having been secretly invited by the pope, who promised to crown him emperor as soon as he arrived at *Rome*. *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, conscious of his superior right, and being informed of his brother's march, sent his son *Charles the Gross* with an army into *Italy*, to stop him; but he, being repulsed at first, was afterwards reinforced with another body of forces under *Carloman*, upon which the king of *France*, not chusing to hazard a battle, had recourse to negotiation, and at first endeavoured to prevail with *Carloman*, by the offer of large bribes, to betray the cause of his father; but, not succeeding in that attempt, he proposed that a partition should be made of the late emperor's dominions betwixt the king of *Germany* and himself, and that till then both armies should evacuate *Italy*. *Carloman* c consenting to this, immediately repassed the *Alps*: but *Charles*, finding his enemy gone, marched on to *Rome*, pretending that he could not refuse a message from the pope.

Charles the
Bald is crown-
ed emperor by
the pope;

and likewise
crowned king
of Lombardy
at Pavia.
A. D. 876.

WHILE these things were doing in *Lombardy* the chief of the *Roman* nobility went to the pope, and represented to him, that, as the emperor *Lewis* had died without leaving a successor, that dignity, which had been usurped by foreigners for so many ages, ought now to return to the *Italians*. The count of *Tuscany* headed this party of the nobles, being in hopes of obtaining the imperial dignity for himself; but the pope, who wanted no master in *Italy*, rejected their proposition, and continued firm to the interests of the king of *France*^y, who arriving soon after at *Rome*, like another *Jugurtha*, says an author of those times^z, he corrupted the senate and nobles of that city by his profuse bribes, having, in his march thither, plundered the treasures of the deceased emperor. The pope, finding that the king of d *France* was determined to have the title of emperor at any price, resolved to sell it to him as high as he could; therefore, before his coronation, he made him stipulate to acknowledge the independency of *Rome*, and its territory, and to confess that he only held the empire by the gift of the pope^a. *Charles* condescending to the terms proposed, was accordingly crown- ed emperor by the pope, in the *Vatican* church, on the 25th of *December*, and having made many precious gifts to the churches at *Rome*, he left that city, on the 5th of *January*, and proceeded to *Pavia*, attended by the pope, who, in an assembly of the nobles and bishops, made a long discourse in praise of the emperor, full of specious falsehoods, declaring, that he was without ambition, and, like another *Joseph*, had entered *Italy* to save, not a single nation, but the universal church^b. After this discourse, the bishops and nobles pre- e sent giving their consent, *Charles* was crowned king of *Lombardy* by the archbishop of *Milan*. Thus the same person that had been threatened with excommunication by pope *Adrian* for usurping the dominions of his nephew *Lotharius*, was confirmed in his usurpation of *Italy* by pope *John*; and the emperors, from being sovereigns of the popes, had now basely become their vassals.

WHILE *Charles* was thus securing the possession of *Italy*, *Lewis* king of *Germany*, enraged at his treachery, marched with an army into *France*, which he ravaged as far as *Attigni* in *Champagne*^c; but being informed that *Charles* was actually crowned at *Rome*, he marched back, in the beginning of the year, to *Germany*, but continued, nevertheless, to make great preparations for war. In the mean time, *Charles* having received the allegiance of the *Ita-* f *lian* nobles, held a diet at *Pavia*, where he enacted several new laws, and renewed the privileges of several cities and churches, particularly of the church of *Cremona*. He likewise created his brother-in-law *Boson* a duke, and governor of *Italy* in his absence, and appointed *Vido* duke of *Spoletto*, and *Berengarius* duke of *Friuli*; after which he marched with his army into *France*, which he found ravaged not only by the *Germans*, but by deserters from his own troops, who still continued in arms in many places.

The count of
Tuscany and
several other
nobles conspire
against the
pope.

AFTER *Charles* had quitted *Italy*, *Albert*, or *Alberic*, count of *Tuscany*, and some other nobles, entered into a conspiracy against the pope, in revenge for his refusing to hearken to their proposal for retaining the imperial dignity in *Italy*. They were joined by *Formosus* bi-

^x SIGON. ubi supra.

^y SIGON. l. v. p. 132.

^z Scriptor Anonym. ap. BARON.

^a SIGON. ubi supra.

^b Post Annal. PITHÆI, p. 39.

^c AIMON. l. v. c. 32. SIGON. ubi supra.

a shop of *Porto*, and *Gregory* a nomenclator; but the pope, having deposed the two ecclesiastics, prevented the progress of the conspiracy for the present. Sending ambassadors to the emperor, he informed him of the commotions at *Rome*, and begged his assistance against the *Saracens*, who having again landed in *Italy*, and joined their countrymen at *Tarentum*, had forced the inhabitants of *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and *Naples*, to make an alliance with them, and threatened to invade the *Roman* territories. But the ambition of *Charles* prevented him from going to the defence of *Italy*; for his brother *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, being lately dead, he seized upon *Lorraine*, and marched to the *Rhine* with a great army against the sons of the deceased; but, being surprized by *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to quit the kingdom which he had usurped. In the mean time the pope sent frequent letters to the emperor, pressing him to come into *Italy*; but *Charles*, since his disorders to *Vido*, duke of *Spoletto*, and his brother *Lambert*, to give their assistance to the pope against the Infidels. Accordingly, the pope having gone with them to *Salerno* and *Naples*, prevailing with *Guaiferius*, prince of *Salerno*, to quit his alliance with the *Saracens*; but *Sergius*, prince of *Naples*, refusing to abandon the Infidels, was taken by his brother *Atkandus*, the bishop, who put out his eyes, and sent him to the pope. In the mean time the *Saracens* continued their incursions with great barbarity, and, having received a reinforcement, they passed the *Anio*, and threatened the city of *Rome*.

THE pope, astonished at the near approach of the Infidels, wrote pressing letters to the emperor to come to his relief, who, at last, yielded to his solicitation. Having settled the affairs of *France* in a diet at *Compeigne*^a, he set out for *Italy*, with his empress *Richilde*, and a splendid retinue, but with very few troops, having ordered his army to be in readiness to follow him when called. The pope, to hasten the deliberations about the war, went and met him at *Vercelli*, from whence they went together to *Pavia*, where they proposed to crown the empress; but being alarmed with the news, that *Carloman*, king of *Bavaria*, and brother of *Lewis* of *Germany*, had passed the *Alps* with a formidable army, with the design of making good his late father's right to the empire, they quitted *Pavia*, and repaired to *Tortona*, where the empress was crowned, immediately after which she retired to *Morienne* with the treasure, in her way to *France*. The emperor himself followed her soon after, being disappointed in the arrival of his army, which had been delayed by the treachery of his generals. As for the pope, he fled directly to *Rome*. *Charles* had scarcely arrived at the *Alps* when he was attacked with a fever, and, having recourse to a Jew physician, he received poison from him instead of a medicine, of which he died eleven days after, on the 5th of *October*, at a village called *Brios*, on *Mount Cenis*, in the second year of his reign over *Italy*. Before he expired he appointed his only son his successor, and sent him the regal and imperial ensigns, which were all the title he ever had of being king of *Italy*, for he died before the disturbances in that kingdom allowed any opportunity for his election.

CARLOMAN, who had made his appearance with an army in *Italy*, to accomplish what his father had only attempted, is said by *Aimonius* and *Sigonius*^c to have marched immediately back into *Germany*, in consequence of a false rumour that the emperor was marching against him with all his forces; but, according to the annals of *Fulde* and *Regino*, he continued his march into *Italy*, and made himself master of several towns in *Lombardy*. However this be, he seems to have been out of *Italy*, by a letter of pope *John*^f, written to him in *November*, in answer to one from him to the pope. While the north of *Italy* was alarmed with the irruption of *Carloman*, and the death of the emperor, the southern parts were disturbed by an insurrection of the *Capuans*, who had expelled their bishop *Landulph*, and chosen one *Ladenulph*, a person of great power, in his room, though he was married, and only lately baptized. The pope, by the advice of the abbot of *Cassino*, and the bishop of *Fiano*, refused to consecrate *Ladenulph*; but at last, overcome by the intreaties of the nobles of *Capua*, he consented to his consecration, which occasioned great tumults in that city, so that he was obliged, for the sake of re-establishing the peace, to replace *Landulph* as bishop, and to give the half of the revenues to *Ladenulph*, who soon after obtained from the pope the bishoprick of *Cajeta*^g. The *Saracens*, taking advantage of these dissensions, again made an irruption into those provinces, plundering and destroying every thing before them; and *Ladenulph*, greatly oppressing the *Cajetans*, they invited the *Saracens* to their relief. The pope being informed of this, prevailed with *Docibilis*, duke of *Cajeta*, to renounce the alliance of the Infidels, and to declare war against them. *Docibilis* accordingly, at the intreaty of the pope, engaged with the *Saracens*, but, being defeated by them, was obliged to conclude a peace, and, in order to re-

A. D. 8-7.

The emperor has a conference with the pope at Pavia;

but dies of poison soon after in his return to France.

Carloman returns with his army to Germany.

The Capuans expel their bishop and choose another, who is consecrated by the pope.

^a AIMON. l. v. c. 55.^c Idem ibid. SIGON. ub. supra.^f JOAN Epist. 63.^g SIGON de

reg. Ital. l. v. LEO Ostien. l. v. c. 43.

cover his friends that were made captives, he was forced to deliver up a fort on the river a *Garigliano*^h.

A. D. 878. In the mean time the unexpected death of the emperor had given fresh spirits to the *Italian* nobles, who, proposing to retain the imperial dignity in their own kingdom, wanted the pope to crown *Lambert*, duke of *Spoletto*. *John* refusing to consent to their demand, *Lambert* raised an army, and marched towards *Rome*, hoping that the terror of his arms would make him comply; but the pope, being highly offended at the little respect shewn him by *Lambert*, who, in his messages to him, refused him his usual titles, and treated him as his vassal, continued firm in his former resolutionⁱ, and even declared, that he would oppose him to the utmost of his power. *Lambert*, incensed at this obstinacy, made himself master of *Rome*, and immediately imprisoned the pope; but finding that his interest was not yet strong enough to set up for himself, he pretended that what he had done was by order of *Carloman*. The pope still continuing inflexible, after a month's imprisonment was set at liberty, and soon after, not thinking himself safe in *Italy*, he sailed to *Provence*, taking with him the most precious relics^k, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the *Saracens*, who, he heard, were invited by *Lambert* to come to his assistance against the church; at the same time he sent letters to *Carloman*, excusing himself for not coming to *Bavaria* as he intended, and blaming *Lambert*, who, he said, had set guards on all the roads^l. The pope was received in *Provence* with great respect by *Boson*, son-in-law to the emperor *Lewis II.* whom he adopted as his son, and favoured so much that it was supposed he designed him for the empire: however, the pope was at this time so greatly embarrassed, that he knew not whom to fix upon as his protector, but, to secure the favour of each party, he kept all in suspense.

The pope is imprisoned, but is set at liberty, and goes to France.

Lewis the Stammerer is crowned king of France by the pope at Troyes.

Italy being without a king, the nobles and states claim an independency.

The pope is conducted to Italy by Boson with an army, and returns to Rome.

A. D. 879.

The bishops of Italy assemble at Rome to elect a king, but nothing is concluded upon.

HAVING acquainted the king of *France* with his arrival, he went to *Troyes*, where, in a council of bishops, he published his excommunication of *Lambert* and his accomplices at *Rome*; and *Lewis*, who had been hindered by sickness, coming hither on the first of *September*, was crowned, a few days after, king of *France*, but not emperor, as some historians have asserted without foundation. At the conclusion of the council, the pope requested the king of *France* and the bishops, in an authoritative manner, to conduct him into *Italy* with an armed force^m; but *Lewis* being then in a bad state of health, *Boson* willingly undertook that journey, hoping thereby to obtain the imperial crown. *Italy* having now been a whole year without a sovereign, fell into the utmost anarchy and confusion, the pope having been obliged, before his departure from *Rome*, to consent to pay an annual tribute of 25,000 marks of silver to the *Saracens*ⁿ; and the nobles and states of *Lombardy*, being under no subordination, began to appropriate to themselves the lands of their governments, and to claim an independency which some of them have ever since asserted. Nevertheless *Sigonius* seems to be of opinion that *Carloman* had some authority in *Italy* at this time, as he mentions many had charters granted to the churches in *Lombardy*, in which *Carloman* is stiled king of *Bavaria* and *Italy*; but these charters are all dated in *Bavaria*^o, and the *Lombard* and *German* annals of this period are silent as to *Carloman's* exercising such an authority. The pope, after an absence of several months, being now arrived in *Italy*, attended by *Boson* with an armed force, called an assembly of the bishops at *Pavia*, on the 27th of *November*^p, to provide for the security of the church, and settle the peace of *Italy*. Finding that *Lambert* and *Albert*, upon the news of his returning with an army, wanted to be reconciled to the church, he accordingly made his peace with them, and, dismissing *Boson*, without doing any thing for his promotion, he returned to *Rome*.

A FEW months afterwards, being informed of the death of *Lewis*, who died on the 10th of *April*, leaving behind him two sons, *Lewis* and *Carloman*, both under age, the pope wrote to *Anspert* archbishop of *Milan*, ordering him to be present at *Rome*, on the first of *May*, at the election of a new king, since, as it is expressed in his letter^q, *Carloman*, king of *Bavaria*, was prevented by his infirmities from enjoying the kingdom; he likewise forbade the archbishop to crown any one king of *Lombardy* without his consent. The pope designed to have proposed *Boson* to this assembly, who had lately assumed the title of king of *Arles*, or *Provence*, and who had a great party among the *Italian* nobles: however, as *Anspert* the archbishop of *Milan* had refused to appear at the assembly, nothing was concluded upon; and as *Charles*, king of *Almain*, and *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, both wrote to the pope, requesting the imperial dignity, he gave soothing answers to each, and sought only an opportunity of delaying the election, in hopes that, as they were at variance with each other, *Boson* might have an opportunity of coming into *Italy*. In the mean time, *Lewis*, king of *Germany*, had taken possession of *Bavaria*, which was ceded to him by his brother *Carloman*, who had some time before been seized with a palsy. *Charles*, king of *Almain*, as he was also

^h SIGON ubi supra.
21. l. 3. ap. DACH.
ad an. 878.

ⁱ JOAN. Epist. 73, 84, 85, 87, 88, & 89.

^m BARON. ad an. 878.

^q JOAN. Epist. 155.

^k AIMON. l. v. c. 57.

ⁿ JOAN. Epist. 89.

^o SIGON. l. v. p. 135.

^p JOAN. Epist.

^r BARON.

a brother to *Carloman*, pretended to a part in this succession; but as he had not forces sufficient to make good his right, and was more intent upon obtaining the kingdom of *Italy*, with the title of emperor, he dropped his pretensions to *Bavaria* for the present; and resolving to prevent his competitor *Boson* from entering *Italy*, he made an alliance with the two young kings of *France*, and declared war against him, for his invasion of *Burgundy*.

Boson being thus engaged in defending his new kingdom against *Charles* and the kings of *France*, had not leisure to think of the affairs of *Italy*; and the pope, now expecting no assistance from him against the ambitious nobles and *Saracens*, wrote to *Carloman*, *Lewis*, and *Charles*, separately, inviting them to come to *Italy*, to assist him against the *Saracens*. *Carloman* had then lost the use of his body, and died in the beginning of the following year: *Lewis*, who had got possession of his kingdom of *Bavaria*, durst not leave *Germany*, lest *Arnoul*, or *Arnolf*, *Carloman*'s natural son, should invade that kingdom, to which he made pretensions, tho' his father had only left him *Tyrol* and *Carinthia*. *Charles* of *Almain* finding the other competitors engaged, entered *Italy* with an army, at which the pope seemed to be greatly alarmed, but after a conference held with him in his camp, in which *Charles* promised to grant extraordinary privileges to the holy see, he promised to crown him emperor, and returned to *Rome*, in expectation of his arrival. But *Lewis* king of *Germany* proposing an accommodation, *Charles*, instead of marching to *Rome*, repassed the *Alps*, and, in a conference with his brother, it was agreed that *Lewis* should have *Bavaria* and *Sclavonia*, and *Charles* should have *Italy* and *Almain*. During these contests about the succession to the empire, *Italy* was greatly harassed by the *Saracens*, many of the nobles having made alliances with them, to preserve themselves in the possession of their usurped power. The chief of those that entered into this alliance were *Pulcherius* governor of *Amalfi*, and *Athanasius* bishop of *Naples*, who, three years before, had put out the eyes of his brother *Sergius* for the same crime. *Athanasius*, not contented with the spiritual power in his bishoprick, had likewise invaded the civil authority, in which, by his alliance with the infidels, he supported himself, and greatly oppressed the subjects. The pope finding that his intreaties had no influence with the nobles to abandon the alliance of the Infidels, in the beginning of the following year wrote them a letter, threatening them with excommunication, if they continued that alliance after *Christmas*.

d This year, according to *Sigonius*, *Charles* came again into *Italy*, and, in an assembly of the nobles, was crowned king by the archbishop of *Milan*, soon after which he repassed the *Alps*, and went to the assistance of his brother *Lewis* and the kings of *France*, who were then besieging *Vienne*, which held for *Boson*. The siege of this place continuing longer than was expected, and *Charles* being afraid lest the *Greek* emperor should renew his pretensions to *Italy*, he quitted *Vienne*, and again marched for that kingdom. In the mean time the pope, having called an assembly of the bishops at *Rome*, in the month of *March* excommunicated *Athanasius* bishop of *Naples*, who, having refused to quit his alliance with the Infidels, had, together with them, ravaged *Benevento*, *Capua*, and *Salerno*, plundering and burning many monasteries and churches. *Charles*, after having been delayed on his march by sickness, at last arrived at *Rome*, where he was received with great respect by the nobles, and on *Christmas*-day crowned emperor by the pope. After his coronation, *Charles* continued two months at *Rome*, consulting with the pope for the security of *Italy*, and, about the beginning of *March*, he left *Rome* and went for *Lombardy*. When he arrived at *Ravenna* he was met by the *Venetian* ambassadors, with whom he renewed the treaty of peace for five years, and agreed, in conjunction with them, to fit out a fleet against the *Dalmatian* pirates, who not only infested the *Adriatic* sea, but made descents upon the coasts. Upon the news of the emperor's departure from *Rome*, the *Saracens* immediately invaded the *Roman* territories, which invasion alarming the pope, he wrote several letters to *Charles*, intreating him to return to his assistance. He sent an embassy to him likewise, with a present of the holy palm, observing to him, that, to merit it, he ought to return to the defence of the church, and shew the barbarians that *Rome* had an emperor; but *Charles* being intent upon repassing the *Alps*, continued his journey to *Lombardy*, and sent only a small body of troops to the pope. *Rome* at this time was not only in danger from the *Saracens*, but its territory was ravaged by *Vido*, duke or marquis of *Spoleto*, who, at *Narni*, caused the hands of 83 men to be cut off, but for what reason is not mentioned. These barbarities, and the continual dangers to which he was exposed, made the pope again resolve to quit *Italy*, and retire to *France*; but this resolution was not executed, for he died at *Rome* the *December* following.

While *Charles* was in *Italy*, his only brother *Lewis* king of *Germany* died without issue, by whose death *Bavaria*, *Sclavonia*, oriental *France*, and the two *Lorrains*, fell to the em-

^r SIGON. l. v. p. 136.

^s JOAN. Epist. 127.

^t SIGON. ubi supra.

^u LEO Ostiens. l. i.

c. 42. ^w AIMON. l. v. c. 60. prope finem.

^x Annales Bertin.

^y JOAN. Epist. 269. 277.

279. 293.

^z JOAN. Epist. 299.

Charles succeeds to the kingdom of Germany.

A. D. 883.
Italy disturbed by the ambition of the nobles.

884.

Charles returns to Italy, and soon after succeeds to the crown of France.

The Saracens plunder Campania, and burn the monastery of St. Benedict.

The emperor's authority declines in Italy.
885.

peror; but as he was not present to defend them, the *Normans*, who had for several years before been ravaging the maritime provinces of *France* and *Germany*, hearing of the death of *Lewis*, immediately marched into his dominions, and having burnt *Triers*, besieged *Metz*, which they made themselves masters of. *Charles* returning from *Italy*, marched against them with a great army, and besieged them, some authors say in *Metz*, but others say in *Haslou*; but the *Normans* making a vigorous defence, a peace was agreed to on very dishonourable terms to the emperor, who consented to pay to one of the *Norman* princes 4,160 marks of silver, the other, who chose to turn Christian being put in possession of the principality of *Friseland*, and marrying *Giselle*, the natural daughter of *Lotharius*. Upon the death of pope *John*, the faction of the counts of *Tuscany* used their utmost endeavours to elect a successor in their interest, and accordingly chose *Marinus Galefianus*, commonly called *Martin II.* who was consecrated on the 25th of *December*, and immediately after restored *Formosus* bishop of *Porto*, and the rest who had been excommunicated by his predecessor. Notwithstanding the unity of the nobles with the pope, the state of *Italy* was now worse than ever, the great men renouncing all authority, and every one claiming to be sovereign in his own territories, the whole kingdom was harrassed by their ambition. The emperor, to remedy these disorders, came into *Italy* after *Easter*, and was met by the pope at *Verona*, from whence, on the 10th of *May* he went to *Mantua*. The duke of *Spoletto* at this time being accused of treason against the emperor, and refusing to appear, *Charles* ordered *Berengarius* duke of *Friuli* to seize his duchy, which order *Berengarius* endeavoured to put in execution, but was prevented by an epidemical sickness that seized his forces. *Charles* himself having been seized with a languishing distemper, and believing himself relieved by the assistance of St. *Alexander*, he went and visited his church at *Bergamo*, upon which he conferred many privileges, and spending the month of *October* at *Pavia*, he returned afterwards to *Germany*, to oppose the incursions of the *Moravians*. Pope *Martin* did not long survive the departure of the emperor, but dying on the 16th of *January*, three days after *Agapetus* was chosen in his stead, by the same faction of the nobles, and took the name of *Adrian III.*

CHARLES, hearing of the death of the pope, returned the beginning of the year to *Italy*, to have a conference with his successor *Adrian*, and to quell the insolence of the duke of *Spoletto*, who had joined the *Saracens*, and committed horrid ravages all over *Italy*. Upon the arrival of the emperor, with an army of *Bavarians*, the duke of *Spoletto* thought proper to submit, and went and threw himself at *Charles's* feet. Upon giving hostages for his future fidelity, and renewing his oath of allegiance, he was pardoned by *Charles*, who soon after repassed the *Alps*, being informed of the death of *Carloman* king of *France*, who had succeeded his brother *Lewis* two years before. The *Normans*, by the death of *Carloman*, thinking themselves absolved from the peace which they had sworn to with the *French* some months before, again invaded *France*, claiming the same sum from the successor of *Carloman*, which they had received from himself. The *French*, alarmed at their invasion, made an offer of their crown to the emperor, who received their allegiance at *Gondreville*, and thus united in his person all the dominions of his predecessor *Charlemagne*; but the height of his elevation served only to shew the narrowness of his talents, and; far from becoming more powerful by the enlargement of his dominions, he from that time declined in authority, and at last became quite contemptible.

WHILE the emperor was engaged in settling the affairs of his new kingdom, and opposing the *Normans*, *Italy* was desolated by the continual ravages of the *Saracens*, who, in the beginning of *September*, plundered and burnt the rich monastery of St. *Benedict*, on mount *Cassino*, and about a month afterwards attacked the lower monastery, which they likewise burnt, and slew *Bertarius* the abbot, after which they returned to their fort on the *Garigliano*, loaded with booty^a. The *Italian* nobles, who had long despised the kings of the *Carlovin-gian* race, upon account of their mutual dissensions, and want of power, now began to think of throwing off a foreign yoke; and, as the emperor had no issue, they determined, after his death, to retain the imperial dignity in their own kingdom, hoping thereby to be in a condition of repelling the insults of their enemies: they therefore went to pope *Adrian*, and requesting him to join with them in asserting the independency of *Italy*, they obtained of him the two following decrees, "That the popes, after their election, might be consecrated without waiting for the presence of the king or his ambassadors; and that, if *Charles* died without sons, the kingdom of *Italy*, with the title of emperor, should be conferred on some one of the *Italian* nobles^b." The emperor, being informed of these proceedings of the *Italian* nobles, came into *Italy*, and complained to the pope of the two decrees above-mentioned; but, notwithstanding his remonstrances, he could not obtain a revocation of them; and as the *Normans* had made an irruption into *France*, and were besieging *Paris*, he repassed

^a LEO Ostiens. l. i. 45. SIGON. l. v. p. 138.

^b SIGON. ubi supra.

a the *Alps*, in order to relieve that city, and upon his return to *Germany* sent an army under *Henry* duke of *Saxony* against the *Normans*. The following year *Aio* prince of *Benevento*, being informed of the death of *Basil*, emperor of *Constantinople*, renounced his allegiance to the *Greeks*, and caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign in his dukedom. *Leo* the successor of *Basil*, hearing of this revolt of the *Beneventans*, sent an army into *Italy*, which was defeated by *Aio*, and obliged to quit *Italy*.^c

A. D. 886.
The duke of
Benevento
renounces his
allegiance to
the Greek
emperor.

In the mean time *Charles* was employed against the *Normans*, who still continued to besiege *Paris*; as he found himself unable to force them to raise the siege, he consented to an ignominious treaty, by which he intirely ruined himself in the esteem of his subjects; for on his return to *Germany* he was deposed in a dyet held at *Tribur*, in *November*, and *Arnoul*, or *Arnold*, and by some *Arnolph*, natural son of *Carloman* king of *Bavaria*, was chosen in his room king of *Germany*. This reverse of fortune had such an effect upon *Charles*, who was then in a bad state of health, that he died on the 14th of *January* following, and in him ended the race of *Carlovingian* kings, who had been sovereigns of *Italy* upwards of 100 years. As they generally resided in *France* or *Germany*, *Italy* was accounted by them rather as an appendix to their other dominions, than as a sovereign kingdom of itself; so that the historians who wrote the account of the reigns of those princes are very silent with regard to the transactions of this kingdom; and had it not been for the authors who treat of ecclesiastical matters, the affairs of *Italy*, after the subversion of the *Roman* empire, would have lain under as much obscurity as those of the most barbarous nations of *Europe*.

Charles is de-
posed in a dyet
held at *Tribur*,
and dies soon
after.

Arnolphus
succeeds to the
crown of Ger-
many.
888.

c Upon the death of *Charles*, the *French* chose *Eudes* count of *Paris* and *Orleans* for their king, and *Lewis* the son of *Boson* obtained the kingdom of *Provence*; but the fate of *Italy* remained for some time uncertain. The nobles of this kingdom, at this time most eminent for wealth and power were *Berengarius* duke of *Friuli*, who by his mother was great grandson of *Charlemagne*, and *Guido*, or *Vido*, duke of *Spoletto*, who was the son of duke *Lambert* and a daughter of *Pepin* king of *Italy*, and son of *Charlemagne*.^d These two nobles even while *Charles* was alive, had entered into a secret treaty, that, if he died without children, *Vido* should seize upon the kingdom of *France*, and *Berengarius* upon that of *Italy*. Immediately after the death of the emperor, *Berengarius* succeeded to the crown of *Italy*, without dispute, and *Vido*, with the concurrence of the pope, went to take possession of the kingdom of *France*.^e But the *French* having chosen *Eudes*, or *Otho*, count of *Paris*, for their king, *Guido* returned disappointed into *Italy*. In the mean time *Berengarius*, attended by many of the nobles and bishops, went to *Pavia*, where he was crowned by *Anselm* archbishop of *Milan*, and making that city the place of his residence, he began his reign with granting privileges to the cities, monasteries, and churches. While *Berengarius* and *Eudes* were establishing themselves in their new kingdoms, *Raul*, or *Rodolphus*, son of *Conrad* count of *Paris*, who was grandson of *Conrad*, brother of the empress *Judith*, and wife of *Charles the Bald*,^f seized upon *Burgundy transjurane*, which comprehends what at present is called *Switzerland*, and caused himself to be acknowledged king.

Eudes is chosen
king of France.

Berengarius is
crowned king
of Italy.

In the mean time *Guido*, or *Guy*, duke of *Spoletto*, being disappointed in his designs upon *France*, began to form pretensions upon the kingdom of *Italy*; and having got the pope and the nobles of *Rome* to favour his interest, towards the end of the year he was declared by his faction king of *Italy*, which kingdom, by his ambition, was thus divided into two opposite parties, who persecuted each other with the utmost hatred and malice. Though the cause of *Berengarius* was the most just, yet *Guido* being countenanced by the pope, his party quickly became the strongest, which *Guido* perceiving, he assembled an army, and marched against *Berengarius*, who had likewise raised an army for his own defence, and had marched to the river *Trebia*, to oppose his competitor. The two armies engaged on the banks of that river, and after a desperate engagement, *Berengarius* was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire with the remains of his army. Two months afterwards, *Berengarius* having assembled another army, again marched against his enemy, whom he engaged at *Bressa*, but was so entirely defeated, that he was obliged to retire into *Germany*, and beg the assistance of *Arnolphus*. Upon the departure of *Berengarius*, *Guido* went to *Pavia*, and the year following reduced all *Lombardy* without much opposition. Having now obtained possession of the kingdom of *Italy*, he went to *Rome*, and was crowned emperor by pope *Stephen*, on the 19th of *February*. *Guido*, that he might shew himself grateful to the pope, confirmed the grants of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* in favour of the holy see, and, upon his return to *Pavia*, held an assembly of the states, where he enacted several laws against robbers and disturbers of the public peace. *Berengarius*, who had fled into *Germany*, solicited assistance from *Arnolphus*, and promised to hold his kingdom from him, if he should be enabled, by his assistance, to recover it. *Arnolphus*, whose ambition aimed at the imperial dignity, accepted of this con-

Vido duke of
Spoletto pre-
tends to the
kingdom of
Italy.
889.

Berengarius is
defeated by
Vido, and
obliged to
retire into
Germany.
890.

^c Idem. ibid.

^d Annales Fuldens.

de France, M. de S. AUBIN. p. 202.

^e SICON. l. vi. p. 140.

^f Antiq. de la Maison

Arnolphus
sends an army
into Italy a-
gainst Vido,
but without
success.

dition, and accordingly sent his son *Zuentibold*, with an army into *Italy*, who marched directly to besiege *Pavia*; but *Guido* having fortified the bank of the river *Vervar*, which runs near the town, and placed his troops in the fortifications, *Zuentibold* could not attack the town before he had engaged the enemy^a. Notwithstanding these precautions, the army of *Guido* was soon reduced to great difficulties; for the inhabitants of the country, favouring the cause of *Berengarius*, carried all their provisions to the *German* camp, so that the *Italians* were quickly in great want of provisions and forage: but the armies continuing on both sides of the river without action, *Guido* at length corrupted *Zuentibold* with a large sum of money, and prevailed upon him to return with his army to *Germany*. *Guido* having now freed himself from the *German* arms, associated his son *Lambert* with him in the empire.

The Saracens
invade the
northern parts
of Italy.

WHILE *Guido* was engaged in defending his kingdom against *Berengarius*, the *Saracens* from *Spain* landing in the head of *Italy*, took possession of a castle near the *Alps*, which they held for many years afterwards, to the great damage of the neighbouring country, which they ravaged by their frequent incursions. During these disturbances in the northern parts of *Italy*,

Arnolphus
marches in per-
son into Italy.
A. D. 893.

Aio was besieged in *Benevento* by *Symbaticius*, general of the *Greek* emperor, who, after a siege of three months, made himself master of the place, which now returned under subjection to the *Greeks*, after having been governed 130 years by *Lombard* dukes. *Berengarius*, who had retired with *Zuentibold's* army into *Germany*, after continuing a year and a half in that kingdom, at last prevailed with *Arnolphus* to march in person into *Italy*, against *Guido*; accordingly, an army being assembled, *Arnolphus*, taking *Berengarius* along with him, marched into *Italy*, and arrived at *Verona* about the middle of *November*; from *Verona*, in the beginning

But returns
suddenly a-
gainst Rodol-
phus king of
Burgundy.

of the year, he marched to *Bergamo*, which, trusting to the strength of its fortifications, shut its gates against him. *Arnolphus*, before he proceeded further, resolved to make himself master of *Bergamo*; accordingly, laying siege to the place, he took it soon after, and, as a terror to the other cities, he caused *Ambrose* the governor to be hanged before the walls. Upon the news of this severity, the inhabitants of *Milan*, *Pavia*, and *Placenza*, sent immediately and submitted to him. *Arnolphus* sent *Otbo* the *Saxon*, the grandfather of *Otbo* the great, to take possession of *Milan*, and marched himself for *Pavia*, where he replaced *Berengarius*, and afterwards pursued *Guido*, who had fled with his wife towards *Spoletto*: when he came to *Placenza* he stopped his pursuit, and repassed the *Alps* with his army against *Rodolphus* king of

Lambert suc-
ceeds his fa-
ther *Guido*,
and obliges *Be-*
rengarius to
leave *Pavia*.

Burgundy. *Guido*, being informed of the departure of *Arnolphus*, hastened back into *Lombardy*, but, when he came to *Placenza*, he was seized with a vomiting of blood, of which he immediately died. *Berengarius*, who was then at *Verona* with an army, hearing of the death of *Guido*, immediately returned to *Pavia*, and took possession of the government without a rival. But the nobles who had favoured the cause of *Guido*, despairing of being pardoned by *Berengarius*, continued still to oppose his government, and promised their assistance to *Lambert*, *Guido's* son, if he would claim the kingdom. *Lambert*, being excited by his mother *Ageltrude*, accepted of their offer, and assembling an army marched against *Berengarius*, who being deserted by most of his friends, quitted *Pavia*, and returned to *Verona*, leaving the kingdom to *Lambert*, without making any opposition. *Berengarius* being now unable to make disturbance, *Lambert* left *Pavia* and went to *Rome*, which at this time was disturbed by the ambition of *Sergius*, who, in revenge for the preference that was given to *Formosus* at the last election, continued to molest his government, in which he was assisted by many of the nobles, and especially by *Adelbert* count of *Tuscany*. *Lambert*, when he came to *Rome*, even joined the faction of *Sergius*, though he had been crowned by *Formosus*. This behaviour of *Lambert* alarmed the pope, who wrote letters to *Arnolphus*, offering him the crown, provided he would come with an army into *Italy* to oppose the insolence and tyranny of *Lambert*.

The pope offers
the empire to
Arnolphus
king of *Ger-*
many;

Arnolphus willingly embracing this opportunity of satisfying his ambition, in the month of *October*, marched with an army into *Italy*, which, after he had passed the *Po*, he divided into two bodies, ordering the one to march by *Bologna* to *Florence*, the other he led himself by the sea-coast to *Perici*, where he kept his *Christmas*: marching afterwards to

896.

Rome, he encamped before that part of the city called *Leonine*, from *Leo IV.* who inclosed it with a wall against the invasions of the *Saracens*. *Ageltrude*, who had been left by *Lambert* to take care of the city, upon the approach of the *Germans* had fled to the dukedom of *Spoletto*; however, the *Romans* trusting to their own strength, refused to open their gates to *Arnolphus*, who thereupon resolved to get admittance by force, and immediately besieged the city. While these things were doing, *Berengarius*, who now perceived that *Arnolphus* was acting more for his own interest than to serve him, quitted the *German* camp. In the beginning of the siege the *Romans* made a pretty vigorous defence, but by a particular accident the *Germans* made themselves masters of the city without any resistance; for a hare starting,

who besieges
and takes
Rome;

a and running towards the city, as they were marching to the attack, the whole army raised a shout and ran after it. The *Romans*, not seeing the hare, but observing the enemy running at such a pace, were struck with a panic, and abandoned the walls; which being perceived by the *Germans*, they quickly filled up the foss, and breaking open the gates, got possession of the city^h, and obliged those who were beyond the *Tiber* to surrender. *Arnolphus*, being now master of *Rome*, expelled *Sergius*, and slew all those of his faction who had opposed him; *Sigonius* says, that he neither spared women, children, priests, nor nuns.

FORMOSUS, being thus delivered from the faction that oppressed him by the king of *Germany*, received him with great respect, and leading him to the confession of the apostles, crowned him emperor, giving him the titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*. After this ceremony, *Arnolphus* received the allegiance of the *Romans*, and leaving *Farold*, one of his officers, governor of the city, he marched to *Camers* against *Ageltrude*, who, finding herself unable to defeat her enemy by force, had recourse to deceit, and, by great presents, prevailed with a certain officer, an intimate of the emperor, to give him a potion, which, she told the officer, when she presented it to him, was quite innocent, and only tended to cause him to abate his resentment against her. The officer accordingly took an opportunity of administering the potion to the emperor, which he had no sooner drank than he was seized with a lethargic sleep, which continued for three days. When he awaked he did not recover the power of speech, and seemed also to have lost his understanding; so that his friends found it necessary to raise the siege, and continue their march to *Lombardy*. When they arrived at the mountain *Bardo*, the emperor began to recover the use of his faculties, and formed a design of seizing the kingdom of *Italy*, and putting out the eyes of *Berengarius*, who had been pardoned by him, and again returned to his camp. *Berengarius*, being informed of this design of the emperor, immediately left him, and fled to *Verona*, where he published the intended treachery; which so irritated the *Italians*, that, when the *Germans* came to *Pavia*, the inhabitants rose in the night, and killed great numbers of them. *Arnolphus*, finding himself odious to the *Italians*, made all haste into *Germany*; but, not daring to march by *Verona*, where *Berengarius* had assembled some troops, he took the road of *Milan*, and repassed the *Alps* at *Montijoux*.

c Soon after the emperor had returned to *Germany*, *Formosus* died at *Rome*, which city was thrown into the utmost confusion by his successors in the papal dignity. *Boniface VI.* who was his immediate successor, died fifteen days after his election, and was succeeded by *Stephen VII.* who was elected by the *Sergian* faction, to gratify whom he began his pontificate with judging his predecessor *Formosus*, whose body he caused to be dug out of the grave, and stripping it of the pontifical habit, ordered it to be thrown into the *Tiber*. Not contented with this revenge, he annulled all his acts, declaring *Lambert* emperor, and the ordination of all those ordained by *Formosus* to be void. *Stephen* is said by some to have enjoyed the papal dignity three yearsⁱ; but others say, that, after he sat one year, he was thrown into prison, and strangled^k, and was succeeded by *Romanus*, who reversed all his decrees, and caused the body of *Formosus*, which had been thrown up by the tide, to be buried in the *Vatican* church. *Romanus*, after five months, was succeeded by *Theodore II.* who died a few days after his election. Upon his death, the *Sergian* faction again endeavoured to elect *Sergius*, but the other party prevailed, and chose *John IX.* who, the following year, called a council at *Ravenna*, whither he invited the emperor *Lambert*. The council consisted of 74 bishops, and the pope and *Lambert* being present, they annulled the coronation of *Arnolphus*, and prohibited *Sergius* or his excommunicated associates to be restored: they likewise annulled the former decree of *Adrian*, and ordained, that the elected popes should not be consecrated but in the presence of the emperor or his ambassadors.

d DURING these transactions at *Rome* and *Ravenna*, *Berengarius* continued at *Friuli*, and was not without hopes of recovering the kingdom; for the *Italian* nobles hating the arbitrary government of *Lambert*, began to think of restoring *Berengarius*; and *Mangifroy*, count of *Milan*, not only opposed *Lambert* in that province, but also made irruptions into the territories subject to him. *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, who was at that time by far the richest man in *Italy*, being joined by count *Hildebrand*, likewise declared against *Lambert*, and began secretly to raise troops. *Lambert*, who had seized and executed *Mangifroy*, thought thereby to deter the rest from favouring *Berengarius*; but as he was hunting in the forest of *Marin*, he was informed of the revolt of *Adelbert* and *Hildebrand*. Having intelligence where they were encamped, he took with him 100 men, and falling upon them at night, they immediately dispersed; but *Adelbert* and several other nobles were taken prisoners, and conducted to *Pavia*, there to be tried. But *Lambert*, being soon after engaged in hunting, and, upon account of fatigue, reposing himself under a tree, was slain by *Hugo*, the

and is crowned emperor by Formosus.

who dies soon after, where by Rome is thrown into the greatest confusion.

The Italian nobles again favour Berengarius; A. D. 898.

^h LUITPRAND, l. i. c. 8. SIGON. l. vi. p. 143. Epita. Stephani.

ⁱ BARON. in. vit. Serg.

^k SIGON. l. vi. p. 144.

son of the count of *Milan*, who was then the only person attending him. Upon the news of the death of *Lambert*, *Berengarius* immediately quitted *Verona*, and came to *Pavia*; and having set *Adelbert* and the other prisoners at liberty, applied himself to the establishment of his government. But many of those who had hitherto opposed *Berengarius*, were not reconciled to him, even by the death of *Lambert*; but, desirous of setting up a competitor, and finding none whom they approved of in *Italy*, they sent a message to *Lewis*, the son of *Bo-*
but a faction of the nobles offer their crown to Lewis, king of Arles.
son, and king of *Arles*, offering him their kingdom, provided he would expel *Berengarius*. The author and chief of this conspiracy was *Adelbert* marquis of *Ivrea*, who had married a daughter of *Berengarius*, by whom he had a son of the same name. *Lewis* made no scruple of accepting the offered kingdom, but raised an army as soon as possible, for taking possession of what he reckoned his inheritance, in right of his grandfather *Lewis II.*
A. D. 899. *Berengarius*, in the mean time, was not idle in making preparations to oppose him; he went to *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, and representing to him the detestable nature of the conspiracy, prevailed with him to give his utmost assistance in opposing the foreign invasion. Accordingly, the following year, when *Lewis* had entered *Italy* with an army, *Berengarius*, being joined with the count of *Tuscany*, and the nobles who were influenced by him, opposed his competitor by an army much stronger than his, and surrounded him in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to escape, so that he was obliged to sue for peace, and leave to retire, which was granted to him, upon his swearing never again to enter *Italy*, although he should be invited to be crowned emperor.

While *Berengarius* was thus engaged in opposing the king of *Arles*, *Radelchis*, prince of *Benevento*, was deposed by *Atenulphus*, *Gastald* of *Capua*, who seized his principality, which continued in his posterity for near 200 years. Soon after his taking possession of *Benevento* he raised an army, and went to attack the fort of the *Saracens* on the *Garigliano*, but, being surprized by them during the night, he was forced to retire to the river, with considerable loss; however, the next day, the fight being renewed, the *Saracens* were intirely defeated, and forced back into their town, and, for some time afterwards, did not venture to make any inroads into the country. In the end of this year died *Arnolphus*, king of *Germany*, and soon after, the states chose his son *Lewis* for their king; who, during his whole reign, had no concern with the affairs of *Italy*¹.

In the mean time, the enemies of *Berengarius* used their utmost endeavours to recall *Lewis*, king of *Arles*; and his mother *Hermengarde*, finding that *Berengarius* was chiefly supported by the count of *Tuscany*, spared no pains to prevail with him to favour the interests of her son. *Adelbert* at last being influenced by means of his wife *Bertha*, abandoned the party of *Berengarius*, and the greatest part of *Lombardy* following his example, the crown of *Italy* was again offered to *Lewis*, who, having no regard to his oath, but being now sure of obtaining the kingdom of *Italy*, as he had now got the count of *Tuscany* on his side, immediately assembled a greater army than formerly, and marched towards *Italy*. He had no sooner passed the *Alps*, but he was joined by *Adelbert* and the greatest part of the nobles of *Lombardy*, which *Berengarius* being informed of, he did not think fit to hazard a battle, but quitted *Pavia*, and retired to *Verona*. *Lewis*, upon his arrival at *Pavia*, was received by the nobles and people with great demonstrations of joy, and being soon after crowned king of *Italy*, studied to secure the affections of the clergy, by granting privileges to several bishops; which means of conciliating the favour of the people was at this time likewise practised by *Berengarius*; for the charters granted by these princes, in the same year, to the bishops of *Modena* and *Reggio*, were extant six hundred years afterwards. The following year *Lewis*, attended by a great many nobles, went to *Rome*, where he received the imperial crown from pope *Benedict IV.* and having renewed the grant of former emperors to that church, he returned directly to *Pavia*. In the mean time the *Hunns*, who, three years before, had defeated the *Germans* near *Augsburg*, and had over-run *Bavaria*, *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and *Saxony*, pillaging and burning where-ever they went, invaded *Italy* with a considerable army, and encamped upon the *Brenta* near *Padua*, from whence they sent several spies to examine the populousness and fertility of the country. They reporting, that the country was exceeding rich, but very full of people, the *Hunns* quickly decamped, and marched back into their own country, to make greater preparations against the next year^m.

Lewis, not being alarmed at the incursions of this new and unknown enemy, was wholly intent upon expelling his rival *Berengarius*, and for that purpose, in the beginning of autumn, marched with his army towards *Verona*, which *Berengarius* being informed of, he fled immediately into *Bavaria*, to wait for a more favourable opportunity of asserting his right. Having provided for the security of *Verona*, *Lewis* returned to *Pavia*, and the following year made a progress into *Tuscany*, and visited the count at *Lucca*. Being surprised

¹ See on. ubi supra.^m Idem ibid.

- a at the magnificence of his entertainment, and the numerous and splendid retinue of *Adelbert*, he made the following reflection to one of his friends, "That *Adelbert* might rather be called a king than a count, for he seemed inferior to himself in nothing but the title." This expression coming to the ears of *Bertba*, she told her husband, who, from that moment, became his enemy, and favoured the interest of *Berengarius*. *Lewis*, having finished his progress through the kingdom, returned to *Verona*, and, by the advice of *Adelard*, the bishop, dismissed his army. *Berengarius*, who was watching every opportunity of recovering his kingdom, being informed that *Lewis* had disbanded his army, left *Bavaria* in the end of *July*, and came privately to *Verona*. Having corrupted the guards, he entered the city in the night-time, and being joined by a few of his friends, he passed the river *Athesis*, which runs through the town, and towards break of day attacked the palace, which was seated on a hill. *Lewis* finding himself thus surprized, fled for sanctuary to a church; but being observed by one of the soldiers of *Berengarius*, he was immediately seized, and his eyes put outⁿ.

Berengarius surprizes

Lewis at Verona, and orders his eyes to be put out.

- BERENGARIUS*, having thus forced his rival to abdicate the throne, returned to *Pavia*, and took possession of his kingdom, which he governed for twenty years afterwards, without any opposition from his subjects, who now began to be sensible from the effects, how great calamity their country was exposed to by their civil discords. *Berengarius* had hardly got possession of his kingdom, when he was alarmed with an irruption of the *Hungarians*, who, with a numerous army, entered *Italy* by *Friuli*, and, passing *Aquileia* and *Verona*, marched towards *Como* and *Bergamo*, and having plundered and burnt the country as they passed, they directed their route for *Pavia*. *Berengarius*, having alarmed his whole kingdom, drew together an immense army, which terrified the *Hungarians* so, that they immediately resolved upon a retreat; but having lost a great many men in passing the *Adda*, they sent to *Berengarius*, offering to deliver up all their booty, and never again to enter *Italy*, provided they were allowed a safe retreat. The *Italians* disdaining to grant them any terms, the *Hungarians* were driven to despair, and attacking their enemy, defeated them with great slaughter. After this victory, the *Hungarians* again over-run the country, and plundered *Treviso*, *Vicenza*, and *Padua*, without resistance, the inhabitants every where flying into the fortified towns for safety. During the winter, the barbarians made some unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of the *Venetians*, but in the spring, again over-ran the continent of *Italy*, plundering and destroying every place that was not fortified.

The Hunns invade Italy, and defeat Berengarius;

- BERENGARIUS* at last having prevailed with the barbarians to leave *Italy*, by paying them a large sum of money, applied himself the following year to repair the devastations which they had committed, as appears by the charters granted to him by some churches. This year died pope *Benedict*, who was succeeded by *Leo V.* a person of an abandoned character, but nevertheless acceptable to the prevailing faction of the *Romans*, who were governed by *Theodora* the concubine, and, by some authors, the wife of *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, then in possession of the strong castle of *St. Angelo*, and who had prostituted herself and her two daughters to several of the popes^o. *Leo*, forty days after his election, was seized by *Christopher*, who, forcing him to abdicate his dignity, caused himself to be declared pope without any election. *Sergius*, who twice before attempted to obtain the papal dignity, imitating the example of *Christopher*, seized upon him, with the connivance of the count of *Tuscany*, and forcing him to become a monk, declared himself his successor^p. The transactions of *Italy*, during the rest of the reign of *Berengarius*, lie under very great obscurity. The following year the *Hungarians* invaded *Friuli*, and met with no resistance, the *Italians* being afraid to meet them in the field. They were scarcely gone, when the *Saracens*, who had settled at the foot of the *Alps*, made an irruption as far as *Acqui*, in the neighbourhood of *Pavia*, while the inhabitants, instead of opposing them, fled for security to some forts that had been erected in the country during the first irruption of the *Hungarians*. While the *Saracens*, from the *Alps*, invaded *Apulia* and *Calabria*, the emperor *Leo* not daring to resent the affront, *Berengarius*, in the mean time, employed himself in providing for the future security of his kingdom, and in causing the churches and monasteries to be rebuilt that had been burnt by the *Hungarians*.

who is obliged to purchase their departure by a large sum of money.

A. D. 904. Orders the devastations which they had committed to be repaired.

A. D. 905. The Hunns again invade Italy, which, at the same time, is infested by the Saracens.

POPE *Sergius* dying soon after, *Anastasius IV.* was chosen in his room, from whom *Berengarius* requested some privileges for the bishop of *Pavia*. As he could not procure the metropolitan dignity for that church, he obtained leave for the bishop of using an umbrella, of riding on a white horse, of having the cross carried before him, and of sitting on the left hand of the pope at a council. At the request likewise of the bishop of *Padua*, he ordered that church, which had been burnt by the *Hunns*, to be rebuilt, and conferred upon it a new charter, which is dated in the 25th year of his reign. This same year *Anastasius* dying,

A. D. 912.

ⁿ LUITPR. l. ii.

^o BARON. an. in. vit. Christopheri.

^p SIGON. l. vi. p. 151.

John X. is
elected to the
papal dignity
by means of
Theodora.

was succeeded by *Lando*, who survived his predecessor only a few months, and was succeeded a
by *John X.* who was not chosen according to the canons, but intruded by the power of
Adelbert, count of *Tuscany*, at the solicitations of *Theodora*. This most impudent and most
powerful whore, says *Luitprand*^a, having an intrigue with *John*, presbyter of *Ravenna*, caused
him to be elected bishop of *Bologna*, and the archbishop of *Ravenna* dying soon after,
she procured that archbishoprick for him. But, not contented with having him 200 miles
distant from her, she took an opportunity, at the death of *Lando*, of obtruding him into the
papal dignity.

He forms an
alliance a-
gainst the Sa-
racens,

who are in-
tirely extir-
pated by the
allies.

Berengarius
is crowned im-
peror by the
pope.

A. D. 915.
Adelbert,
count of *Tuf-*
cany dies, and
is succeeded by
his son *Vido*;
who forms a
conspiracy a-
gainst the em-
peror. 917.

A new conspi-
racy is formed
by the marquis
of *Ivrea*.

Lambert
archbishop of
Milan joins
the conspira-
tors.

921.

John having now arrived at the highest preferment, applied himself to regulate the affairs
of the church, and provide for the security of *Italy* against the *Saracens*, who daily infested
the *Roman* territories. While he was considering of the means of effecting this, one of the b
Saracens, who had received an injury from his countrymen, fled to *Rome*, and offered to
deliver the *Romans* from their incursions, if the pope would allow him a small body of men.
His proposal being hearkened to, 60 young men were chosen, and completely armed, who,
being conducted by the *Saracen* into bye paths, attacked the Infidels as they were returning
from their inroads, and several times defeated great parties of them. These losses affecting
the *Saracens*, a general alliance was concluded among all their cities; and the fortified town
on the *Garigliano* being judged the strongest, they abandoned the rest and repaired thither.
In consequence of this alliance, the *Saracens* became more formidable than before; which
alarmed the pope, he consulted with *Atenulphus*, prince of *Benevento* and *Capua*, and sent
ambassadors to *Constantine*, the *Greek* emperor, and to the *Spoletans*, and the inhabitants of c
Camers, inviting them to an alliance against the *Saracens*. The *Greek* emperor, influenced by
the activity of the pope, the year following sent *Nicholas*, the patrician, with a great body
of *Greeks*, who being joined by the *Capuans*, *Beneventans*, and *Salernitans*, encamped near
the *Garigliano*, while *John*, with the count *Adelbert*, the *Spoletans*, and the inhabitants of
Camerino, besieged the place on the other side. The *Saracens* supported the siege for three
months with great vigour; but, at last, being put to great distress for want of provisions,
they set fire to the town, and sallied out to the neighbouring woods and mountains. The
Italians pursuing them, forced them to an engagement, in which they were all cut off to a
man. Some authors make no mention of a siege, but relate, that the *Saracens*, being de-
feated by the *Italians*, fled to a mountain near the *Garigliano*, which was immediately beset d
by their enemy, who, by continual skirmishes with the Infidels, entirely extirpated them.
This victory was of so great importance to *Italy*, that the historians of those times say, that
the apostles *Peter* and *Paul* appeared fighting for the Christians.

THERE is no mention of any assistance that *Berengarius* gave in this expedition, but it is
more than probable, that he was greatly concerned, for, by charters granted by him, it is
evident, that this year he obtained the imperial crown from the pope. The year following,
being at *Pavia*, he granted new privileges to the church of *Cremona*, which had suffered
greatly by the *Hunns*; and *Adelbert*, count of *Tuscany*, dying soon after, he confirmed his
son *Vido* in the possession of his estates. *Bertha*, his mother, who had been greatly ambi-
tious of the imperial dignity for her husband, now attempted the same in favour of her son, e
and began to cabal against the emperor. *Berengarius* being informed of her secret practices,
marched with an army into *Tuscany*, and taking her and her son prisoners, conducted them,
under a guard, to *Mantua*; but, not being able to reduce any of the cities belonging to the
count, he was reconciled to his two prisoners, and set them both at liberty. *Bertha*, in re-
venge for her imprisonment, formed a new conspiracy against *Berengarius*, which broke out
a few years afterwards. The chief of the conspirators was *Adelbert*, marquis of *Ivrea*,
who had formerly married the emperor's daughter, but, she being dead, he had now con-
tracted an alliance with the count of *Tuscany*, by marrying his sister. He was joined in the
conspiracy by *Olderick*, count of the palace, and another count, named *Gilbert*, and many
other *Italian* nobles; but, their treason being discovered, *Olderick* was seized, and commit- f
ted to the keeping of one *Lambert*, who, a few months before, by the favour of *Berenga-*
rius, had obtained the archbishoprick of *Milan*.

SOME days afterwards *Berengarius*, demanding *Adelbert* to cause him to be put to death, *Lam-*
bert refused to deliver him up, alleging, that it was unbecoming his profession to be con-
cerned in the death of any one, and, dreading the resentment of the emperor for this refusal,
he dismissed *Olderick*, and joined the conspirators, who were then considering of a fit person
to be set up in opposition to *Berengarius*. Having at last fixed upon *Rodolphus*, king of
Burgundy, they sent an embassy to him, inviting him to come into *Italy*, promising to assist
him in expelling *Berengarius*. For this purpose they held frequent conferences, and began to
assemble some troops in the neighbourhood of *Brescia*. In the mean time, the *Hungarians*

^a LUITPR. l. ii. c. 13.

^f SIEON. l. vi. p. 153. LUITPR. l. ii. c. 14.

a made an irruption into *Italy*, and advanced as far as *Verona*, being probably invited by *Berengarius*, who had some time before made an alliance with them. At his desire they unexpectedly attacked the rebels near *Brescia*, killed *Olderic*, and took *Albert* and *Gilbert* prisoners. *Albert* escaped in disguise, but *Gilbert* they stripped almost naked, beat in a most cruel manner, and brought bound to the emperor. *Berengarius*, instead of punishing him as a traitor, ordered him to be dressed, and, telling him that he trusted to his honour for his future fidelity, generously dismissed him. This lenity of the emperor had but a very bad effect upon *Gilbert*, for he directly joined the rebels, and being sent by them to *Rodolphus*, conducted his army over the *Alps*, within thirty days after.

who are unexpectedly attacked by the Hungns.

b *RODOLPHUS* had no sooner entered *Italy*, than he was joined by the forces of the rebels; and by their assistance, having obliged *Berengarius* to retire to *Verona*, he was soon after crowned at *Pavia* by *Lambert*. The *Italians* received him with great appearance of joy; but he had not enjoyed his new dignity many months, before parties began to be formed in favour of *Berengarius*, who now returned with an army to *Placenza*, to dispute the crown with his competitor. The two armies engaged in the neighbourhood of that city, and, after an obstinate dispute, victory inclined to favour *Berengarius*, when a party of the enemy, that had been in ambush, renewed the dispute with fresh vigour, and, after a great slaughter, defeated the emperor, and obliged him to fly to *Verona*. After this victory, *Rodolphus* returned to *Pavia*, and, having settled the affairs of *Italy*, and created his brother-in law, *Boniface*, marquis of *Spoleto* and *Camers*, for his great services in the late action, he went to visit his kingdom of *Burgundy*. The following year, which was the 36th of the reign of *Berengarius*, was likewise the last of his life; for the inhabitants of *Verona*, who had hitherto continued always faithful to him, began now to plot against him. The chief of the conspirators was one *Flambert*, whose son *Berengarius*, some time before, had received from the sacred font; and being now informed of the conspiracy, he sent for *Flambert*, and told him, that the many instances of friendship that had passed betwixt them would not let him believe, that he had conspired against him, especially when he considered, that his future preferment depended wholly upon his prosperity. At the same time he presented him with a golden cup, and desiring him to drink what was contained in it to his health, he made him a present of the cup itself, and told him, that, if he found him faithful, *Flambert* would find him grateful. *Flambert*, having made such an answer as freed the king from suspicion, immediately retired, and consulted with his associates how to cut him off the following night. Early next morning, *Berengarius* having entered the church for his devotions, in his usual manner, without any guards, the conspirators rushed in after him; and *Berengarius* inquiring into the cause of the tumult, *Flambert* called out to him not to be concerned, for these armed men were only for his defence: accordingly he trusted himself among them without suspicion, but was immediately killed by one of the traitors, by a blow on the back part of his neck. The conspirators did not long survive their treachery, but were apprehended the third day after, by *Milo* count of the city, who ordered them all to be hanged.

Rodolphus is crowned king of Italy;

A. D. 932. and defeats *Berengarius* near *Placenza*.

924. *Berengarius is assassinated at Verona.*

e *BERENGARIUS* being slain, and *Rodolphus* absent, the *Hungarians* resolved to improve this opportunity for invading *Italy*; and accordingly having entered *Lombardy* under their general *Salardus*, they took and plundered *Mantua*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*. Marching afterwards to *Pavia*, they invested it on every side, and, about the middle of *March*, taking advantage of the wind, they set fire to the houses next the walls, and, during the confusion, broke open the gates, and got possession of the place, where they committed all manner of barbarity. Having burnt the capital of the kingdom, they marched from thence to *Placenza*, and burnt the monastery of *St. Sextus*, in the suburbs of that city, and being loaded with booty, returned to *Pannonia*. *Rodolphus*, hearing of the death of *Berengarius*, and the irruption of the *Hungarians*, made haste into *Italy*, and arriving at *Verona* to support his faction in that city, he confirmed the privileges granted by former kings to the church of *Padua*. The death of *Berengarius*, and the absence of *Rodolphus*, gave the *Italians* an occasion of a new conspiracy, which was encouraged by *Ermengarde*, the widow of the marquis of *Ivrea*, in hopes of raising one of her sons to the kingdom. As she was possessed of great wealth, she got a party of the nobles to favour her, and raising some troops the following year, surprised *Pavia*. *Rodolphus*, alarmed at these hostilities, retired to *Verona*, and, by the assistance of the archbishop *Lambert*, raised an army, with which he marched to recover the capital, and encamped within five miles of that city, at the confluence of the *Po* and *Texino*. During the continuance of the siege, *Ermengarde*, finding herself too weak to defend the place, privately made her peace with *Rodolphus*, and, by a deceitful message, prevailed with him to abandon his own army, and come into the town. The nobles of his army, alarmed at the flight of their general, retired to *Milan*, as a place of defence, being informed that *Rodolphus* was intending to attack them at the head of his new friends.

The *Hungarians* invade *Italy*, and take *Pavia*.

925.

Rodolphus returns to Italy, but is obliged to quit Pavia on account of a conspiracy.

^s SIGON. l. vi. p. 155.

^t Idem. ibid.

Adelbert count
of Tuscany in-
vites the Hun-
garians into
Italy against
the pope.

A. D. 926.
The archbishop
of Milan offers
the crown of
Italy to Hugh
count of Arles.

WHILE *Rodolphus*, by his imprudent behaviour, thus disoblged those friends who had a hitherto supported him, *Adelbert* count of *Tuscany*, having had some dispute with the pope, was obliged to quit *Rome*, and thereupon retired to *Orti* in *Tuscany*, and invited the *Hungarians* into *Italy*, to revenge his quarrel against the *Romans*. The *Hungarians* accepted of his invitation; but, instead of attacking the *Romans*, they fell upon *Tuscany*, and carried off a great booty, and many young men and women captives into *Hungary*; while the *Romans*, in revenge for the injury intended them, attacked *Orti*, and slew *Adelbert*. The *Italians* having now almost wholly revolted from *Rodolphus*, the following year the archbishop of *Milan*, by the advice of the pope and many of the nobles, offered the crown of *Italy* to *Hugh* count of *Arles*, the grandson of *Lotharius* king of *Lorraine*, by his daughter *Berta*, who was married first to *Lotharius* count of *Arles*, and afterwards to *Adelbert* count of *Tuscany*. *Hugh*, b during the life of *Berengarius*, had made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain the kingdom of *Italy*; but now having an invitation from the greatest part of the nobles, he made no doubt of succeeding, and accordingly made great preparations for his expedition. *Rodolphus*, having discovered the designs of the *Italians*, went immediately to *Burgundy*, where he raised an army, and, being joined by *Burchard* duke of *Suabia*, his father-in-law, he returned to *Italy*, before *Hugh* was in condition to move with his forces. Having advanced as far as *Ivrea*, *Rodolphus* sent *Burchard* to *Milan*, to try the inclination of *Lambert*. *Burchard*, before he entered the city, turned aside to the church of *St. Laurence*, upon account of devotion; and having observed a place proper for building a castle, he said to those of his retinue, when riding round the walls, "I am not *Burchard*, if I do not make the *Italians* content to c "ride upon bad horses with one spur." Some *Italians*, who understood the *German* language, overhearing this speech, immediately informed *Lambert*, who dissembling his knowledge of it, received *Burchard* very courteously, but at the same time excited the inhabitants of *Pavia* and the *Italian* nobles to conspire his death. Accordingly, upon his return towards *Ivrea*, they set upon him at *Novara*, and having slain him, they attacked his attendants, and dragging them from the church of *St. Gaudentius*, put them all to death. *Rodolphus* being informed of the fate of *Burchard*, thought it in vain to attempt any thing farther, but retreated with his army to *Burgundy*.

Hugh arrives
at Pisa, and
is soon after
crowned at
Pavia.

He concludes an
alliance with
the king of
Germany and
the emperor of
Constanti-
nople.

927.

In the mean time *Hugh*, being afraid of the land forces of *Rodolphus*, came by sea into *Italy*, and landed at *Pisa* in the month of *July*, and went directly for *Pavia*, where he was d crowned by the archbishop of *Milan*. Soon after he went to *Verona*, and from thence to *Mantua*, where he entered into an alliance with the pope, and then returned to *Pavia*. During these transactions, *Marozia* the daughter of *Theodora*, and widow of *Adelbert* count of *Tuscany*, being in possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*, married *Vido* marquis of *Tuscany*, whom she excited against the pope, with whom she had for some time been at enmity. In the mean time *Hugh* was employed in securing the possession of his kingdom by foreign alliances, and the following year he concluded an alliance with *Henry* king of *Germany*, and procured the friendship of *Romanus* the *Greek* emperor by many valuable presents, some of which had like to have been fatal to that emperor; for two large mastiffs, when they were brought into his presence, being struck with the imperial ornaments, attacked *Romanus*, mistaking him for a e wild beast, and with great difficulty were prevented from tearing him to pieces. *Hugh* likewise made an alliance with *Ursus* doge of *Venice*, and renewed the privileges formerly granted to that republic: besides, he had the good fortune to quell a conspiracy of some malecontents, which threatened his life, and, by his prudent management in that first commotion, struck a terror into the rest of his subjects. There was one *Valpertus* in *Pavia*, a lawyer of great wealth and high reputation, who had procured the bishoprick of *Como* for his son, and married his daughter to *Gilbert* count of the palace. This man had prevailed with one *Eberhard* a relation, and several others, to enter into a conspiracy against the life of the king; which being discovered to *Hugh*, he sent for *Valpertus* and *Eberhard*, and reproving them in a gentle manner, declared to them, that, if he had done them any injury, he would make them full satisfaction. f The traitors, unaffected with this gentleness of the king, were only more earnest in hastening the execution of their plot. *Hugh*, dissembling his knowledge of their designs, pretended a reason for leaving *Pavia*; but, having concerted his measures with *Leo* the bishop, and one count *Sampson*, a capital enemy of *Eberhard*, he soon after returned: the conspirators, thinking this opportunity proper for executing their purpose, went out in the usual manner to meet the king; but *Leo* having shut the gates, they were immediately attacked by *Sampson*, and taken prisoners. *Eberhard* had his eyes put out, *Valpertus* was executed, and the rest were imprisoned. By the punishment of these conspirators *Hugh* made himself feared, not only in *Pavia*, but over all *Italy*.

Quells a con-
spiracy of his
subjects.

* LUITPR. l. iii. c. 4. in fin.

* SIGON. l. vi. p. 156.

^a WHILE these things were doing in *Pavia*, *Marozia* continued to excite her husband *Vido* John X. is im-
prisoned by or-
der of Vido
marquis of
Tuscany
A. D. 913. against the pope; accordingly, the following year *Vido* took an opportunity of rushing with armed men into the *Lateran*, and having slain *Peter* the pope's brother, they seized the pope but a very short time, and left his possessions to his brother *Lambert*. In the mean time *Marozia* being resolved upon having a husband, sent an embassy to *Hugh*, who was brother to her late husband, offering him the government of *Rome*, on condition of his marrying her. *Hugh* embracing this opportunity of increasing his dominion, marched immediately to *Rome*, Hugh marries
Marozia, his
brother's wi-
dow, and ob-
tains the go-
vernment of
Rome; and leaving his army without the city, was received into the castle, and having celebrated the marriage, got possession of the city without opposition: but a trifling accident gave occasion to his being quickly expelled; for *Marozia* having prevailed with her son *Alberic* to furnish water for washing her husband's hands, *Hugh*, offended with his awkward manner, struck him a blow on the face. The young man, enraged at this affront, went to the *Romans*, and reproaching them in a warm manner for their meanness in submitting to a *Burgundian*, who had acquired the government not by any merit, but by incestuous marriage, he incited them to take arms against the intruder. The words of *Alberic* had such an effect upon the *Romans*, that they immediately declared him consul, and under his command attacked the castle. *Hugh*, not having time to strengthen the garrison by a reinforcement from his army, was obliged to consult his safety, by letting himself down from that part of the castle next the city wall, and flying to his camp². The *Romans*, having expelled *Hugh*, seem to have had an intention of asserting their antient liberty; for despising the authority both of the king and the pope, they not only appointed *Alberic* consul and patrician, but likewise named a prefect of the city, and tribunes of the people, whom they called decarchons³. *Leo*, who had succeeded *John X.* dying in the end of *October*, *Stephen VII.* was chosen in his room, who enjoyed the papal dignity little more than two years. Upon his death, *Alberic* appointed *John XI.* his successor, who was likewise a son of *Marozia*, whom she bore in adultery to pope *Sergius*^b. but is expelled
by the Romans;
also declare
Alberic consul
and patrician.

In the mean time, *Hugh*, who after his repulse at *Rome* had returned with ignominy to *Pavia*, began to be afraid lest the *Italians* should renounce their allegiance to him, and offer the kingdom to his half-brother the marquis of *Tuscany*; therefore he resolved to ruin him; and having consulted with his brother *Boson*, he denied that *Lambert* was his brother, and sent a message to him, forbidding him to call himself by that name. *Lambert*, instead of complying with the king's message, declared to him, that he would assert by single combat, that he was born of the same mother with himself. The king, thinking he had got an opportunity of destroying him, accepted of the condition, and procured one *Teduin*, a strong young man, for his adversary. *Lambert* defeated his antagonist; nevertheless *Hugh* commanded him to be seized, and giving his marquise to his brother *Boson*, soon after ordered his eyes to be put out. The king, by this cruelty towards his brother, alienated the minds of the *Italians*, who again offered their crown to *Rodolphus*; but *Hugh* being informed of this, immediately entered into a treaty with *Rodolphus*, and by ceding to him a part of his kingdom of *Arles*, obtained from him a promise, which he confirmed by an oath, that he would not set a foot in *Italy*, or disturb him in the possession of that kingdom. In the mean time the *Saracens*, who were still in possession of some strong-holds near the *Alps*, made an incursion as far as *Aqui*; but having lost their general, they retired without doing any considerable damage. Hugh seizes
upon Lambert
marquis of
Tuscany, and
confers his
marquise up-
on Boson his
brother.
931.

Soon after, another body of *Saracens* from *Africa* landing at *Genoa*, surprised the city, and killing the greatest part of the inhabitants, loaded their ships with the wealth of the city, and returned to *Africa*. The *Italians*, finding that *Rodolphus* refused to accept of their crown, the following year made an offer of it to *Arnold*, or *Arnolphus*, duke of *Bavaria*, who soon after entered *Italy* by the valley of *Trento*, and advanced to *Verona*, where he was received by the count *Milo*, and the bishop *Ratherius*. *Hugh* being informed of this invasion, immediately marched against *Arnold*, whom he entirely defeated, and obliged to return into *Germany*^c; and having recovered *Verona*, he brought *Ratherius* prisoner with him to *Pavia*, where that bishop wrote a treatise upon his disgrace. *Hugh* having quelled this sedition, for the greater security of his government, associated his son *Lotharius* with him in the kingdom, and caused him to be crowned by the archbishop of *Milan*, soon after concluding a marriage for him with *Adelaide*, the daughter of *Rodolphus* king of *Burgundy*. The Italians
invite Rodol-
phus to come
into Italy, but
he enters into a
treaty with
Hugh.
The Saracens
surprise and
plunder Ge-
noa.
The Italians
offer the crown
to Arnold duke
of Bavaria,
who is defeat-
ed by Hugh
near Verona.
932.

HAVING thus secured himself from foreign pretenders, *Hugh* raised a formidable army, with which he marched against *Rome*, to revenge the affront he had suffered from that city some years before. After continuing some time before the city, finding his efforts baffled by the vigour of the besieged, he turned his arms against the other cities of the *Roman* territory, many of which he reduced. While he was engaged in this war, *Lombardy* was ravaged Hugh marches
with an army
against Rome.

^y LITPRAND, l. iii. c. 12. LEO Ost. l. i. c. 57.

^a SIGON. ubi supra.

^b LUITPR. ubi supra.

^c SIGEBERT hoc anno. LUITPRAND, l. iii. c. 14. in fin.

by a kind of epidemical distemper or plague, which yielded to no remedies. The following year, *Manasses* bishop of *Arles*, and a relation of *Hugh*, hearing of his great prosperity and power, abandoned his bishoprick, and coming into *Italy*, obtained from him the bishopricks of *Verona*, *Trento*, and *Mantua*^d; but not content with these, *Luitprand* tells us, that he afterwards seized the archbishoprick of *Milan*; and obtaining likewise the marquise of *Trento*, served in the king's army.

A. D. 936. At this time *Berengarius* and *Anscarius*, the two sons of *Adelbert* marquis of *Ivrea*, were eminent for their wealth and power. *Berengarius* was the grandson of the king of that name, by his daughter *Gisla*, the first wife of *Adelbert*; *Anscarius* was born of his second wife *Ermen-garde*^e. *Hugh*, being afraid of their power, studied to secure their interest, by conferring favours upon them; accordingly he gave *Villa*, the daughter of his brother *Boson*, marquis of *Tuscany*, in marriage to *Berengarius*; and the following year *Theobald* marquis of *Spoleto* dying, he conferred his marquise upon *Anscarius*. His resentment against the *Romans* abating, *Hugh* concluded a peace with *Alberic*, and gave him his daughter in marriage^f. In returning with his army, he was informed, that his brother *Boson*, instigated by his wife *Villa*, began to cabal against him, upon which information he ordered them both to be seized, and gave the marquise of *Tuscany* to one *Hubert*.

Hugh concludes a peace with the Romans, and gives his daughter in marriage to Alberic.

The Hungarians invade Campania. 937.

Berengarius and Anscarius enter into a conspiracy against Hugh. 940.

Hugh attacks the Saracens in the Alps, but concludes a peace with them.

941.

They murder the pilgrims in their journey to Rome.

Romanus emperor of Constantinople, contracts an alliance with Hugh.

944. Berengarius sends Amadeus in disguise into Italy, to sound the affections of the nobles;

RODOLPHUS king of *Burgundy* dying soon after, he married his widow *Berta*, and by his politick administration, confirmed his authority in *Italy* every day more and more. But notwithstanding his power, the *Hungarians* invaded *Italy*, and marched with a formidable army into *Campania*; and having plundered *Capua*, and the dukedom of *Benevento*, they penetrated as far as *Nola* and *Liburia*; but after ravaging these countries, they were almost entirely cut off by the *Marfi* and *Peligni*^g. Three years afterwards *Leo VIII.* dying, was succeeded by *Stephen IX.* a *German*, who enjoyed the papal dignity little more than three years; for *Alberic* being offended at his promotion, as being a foreigner, attacked and maimed him in a miserable manner; after which assault, he never appeared in public, and is supposed to have died of grief^h. Soon after the promotion of *Stephen*, the two brothers *Berengarius* and *Anscarius*, notwithstanding the favours conferred upon them by *Hugh*, entered into a conspiracy against him, which being discovered, *Hugh*, by means of one *Sarlio*, apprehended *Anscarius*, and causing him to be put to death, conferred the dukedom of *Spoleto* upon *Sarlio*. *Berengarius*, alarmed at the fate of his brother, immediately fled to *Herman* duke of *Suabia*, who conducted him to *Otho* king of *Germany*, afterwards surnamed *the Great*. *Hugh* being informed of his retreat, sent an embassy to *Otho*, desiring him to deliver him up; but his request was denied by the king of *Germany*. The conspiracy being quelled by the death of *Anscarius*, and the flight of *Berengarius*, *Hugh* resolved to attack the *Saracens*, who were fortified near the *Alps*; and sending an embassy to the emperor at *Constantinople*, procured from him the assistance of some ships, and artificial or *Greek* fire, which had the property of burning under water. Having made these preparations, the following year he attacked *Fraxinetum* by sea and land, and burning the ships of the *Saracens* by means of the artificial fire, he forced them to abandon *Fraxinetum*, and retire to the mountain *Maurus*. *Hugh* besieged them there for a considerable time; but hearing that *Berengarius* had raised some forces in *Suabia* and *France*, and designed to invade *Italy*, he imprudently dismissed his *Greek* auxiliaries, and concluded a peace with the *Saracens*, allowing them to reside in the *Alps* between *Suabia* and *Italy*, on condition that they opposed *Berengarius*, in case he attempted to pass into *Lombardy*. The *Saracens*, being thus left in possession of several places in the *Alps*, robbed and murdered the pilgrims, who were passing that way in their journey to *Rome*; which barbarity they had exercised some years before, against a numerous troop of *English* pilgrims, murdering them by stones thrown upon them in their passage through the valliesⁱ.

THREE years after the conclusion of this peace with the *Saracens*, *Romanus*, the emperor of *Constantinople*, hearing of the great reputation of *Hugh*, sent an embassy to him, demanding his daughter in marriage. *Hugh* declaring, that he had no legitimate daughter, but had one *Bertha*, by a concubine, *Bezola*, she was accepted, and was sent the following year into *Greece*, attended by *Sigefrid*, bishop of *Parma*; and being married to *Romanus*, changed her name to *Eudoxia*^k. In the mean time *Berengarius*, who was an exile in *Subia*, hearing that the *Italians* were greatly disaffected to *Hugh*, upon account of his conferring so many favours upon the *Burgundians*, sent one *Amadeus*, his faithful attendant, into *Italy*, to sound the affections of the *Italian* nobles towards him. *Amadeus*, accordingly putting on the habit of a pilgrim, joined those who were travelling to *Rome* on account of devotion; and, having entered *Italy*, had secret conferences with many of the nobles, who were disaffected to *Hugh*, forming together with them a plan for procuring the kingdom to *Berengarius*. *Hugh*

^d SIGON. l. vi. p. 159.

^e LEO Olf. l. i. c. 58.

^f PRAND, l. v. c. 5 & 9.

^g Idem ibid.

^h BARON. in vita Stephani.

ⁱ FLODOARD hoc anno. LUITPRAND, l. iv. c. 1, 2, 3.

^j FLODOARDUS anno 941.

^k LUIT-

a having information, that *Berengarius* had sent an emissary in disguise into *Italy*, ordered strict search to be made after him; but, *Amadeus*, by frequently changing his habit, and sometimes appearing in one colour, and sometimes in another, eluded the enquiries of the king's officers, and even had the confidence to appear at his palace. Having satisfied himself in his enquiries, he returned, by bye paths, over the *Alps*, the passes of which were guarded, by order of the king; and informing *Berengarius*, that the nobles of *Italy* were ready to take arms in his favour, as soon as he appeared in that kingdom, he accordingly left *Suabia*, and goes himself into that kingdom, entered *Italy* by the valley of *Venusta* or *Winsgau*. Marching to the castle of *Fornicarium*, then under the command of *Adelard*, suffragan or clerk to *Manasses* bishop of *Trento*, *Verona*, and *Mantua*, *Berengarius* brought them both over to his interests, and obtained the possession of the castle, by promising the archbishoprick of *Milan* to *Manasses*, and the bishopric of *Como* to *Adelard*. The arrival of *Berengarius* was no sooner known, than many of the nobles repaired to his camp, the chief of whom was *Millo*, count of the palace, provoked by some injuries he had received from *Hugh*; and *Vido*, bishop of *Modena*, enticed by the promise of the rich abbey of *Nonantula*, not only left *Hugh*, but brought a great body of men with him to the camp of *Berengarius*. *Hugh*, hearing of the revolt of these two nobles, immediately assembled an army, and marched to *Vincola*, to attack the camp of his rival; but, the *Italians* continually flocking in to *Berengarius*, he found himself too weak to attempt any thing by force. While these things were doing in *Lombardy*, the two brothers, *Landulphus* and *Athenulphus*, princes of *Capua*, had seized upon the monastery of *Cassino*, and expelled the monks; but, complaint being made to the pope, he ordered the princes to resign what they had usurped, and the monks again to take possession¹.

In the mean time, *Berengarius*, being sent for by the archbishop, left *Verona*, and, arriving at *Milan*, there acted as king. *Hugh*, being informed of this, returned in despair to *Pavia*; and finding himself daily deserted, so that there was no hope of keeping possession of the crown, he sent his son, *Lotharius*, to *Berengarius*, and the *Italian* nobles, at *Milan*, to endeavour to excite their compassion, chusing a day, appointed by *Berengarius*, for giving away a great many preferments. *Lotharius* accordingly went and threw himself at their feet before the altar, in the church of *St. Ambrose*, intreating that they would not reject him as they had done his father. The *Italians* were so moved with his distress, that they took him into their protection; and *Hugh*, preparing to quit *Italy*, they sent messengers to him, desiring him still to continue in the kingdom². But *Luitprand* affirms³, that this was all done deceitfully, by the advice of *Berengarius*, who wanted to retain *Hugh*, that he might get possession of his treasures, which he heard he intended to carry into *Burgundy*, to raise forces in order to recover *Italy*. Thus, a kind of accommodation being concluded, the title of king continued with *Hugh* and *Lotharius*, but all power of government was in the hands of *Berengarius*, who acted in the beginning of his reign with an absolute authority, taking the bishoprick of *Brescia* from *Joseph*, a man of great sanctity, and substituting one *Anthony*, without any consent of the bishops. He likewise conferred the bishoprick of *Como*, not on *Adelard*, as he had promised, but on one *Valdo*, and gave that of *Reggio* to *Adelard*, and threatened to deprive the bishops of *Placenza* and *Pavia*, unless they gave him a large sum of money. Upon the death of the archbishop of *Milan*, he also appointed *Manasses* his successor, though the clergy had chosen *Aldemar*, the cardinal of their church, which proceeding occasioned a great sedition at *Milan*, so that neither of the two competitors were consecrated.

HUGH, dissatisfied with the administration of *Berengarius*, and finding himself without any authority, took an opportunity of retiring with his treasures into *Burgundy*, where he built a very magnificent monastery⁴, at his own expence, and appropriating to it all his wealth, he became monk himself, and died soon after. The emperor *Constantine* being informed of the death of *Hugh*, sent an embassy to *Berengarius*, recommending to him the protection of *Lotharius*⁵. In return, *Berengarius* sent the historian *Luitprand* ambassador to *Constantinople*, who gives a long and particular description of his own embassy⁶; but, *Berengarius*, instead of acting as a faithful administrator for *Lotharius*, is said, by the historian *Flodoard*, to have poisoned him at an entertainment⁷, of which he died soon after in a phrenzy⁸.

THE year after the departure of *Hugh*, *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*, having defeated the *Hungarians*, led his army into *Italy*, took and plundered *Aquileia*, and having ravaged the country on the *Tezino*, returned loaded with booty unmolested into *Germany*⁹. *Taxis* or *Toxis*, king of *Hungary*, hearing of *Henry's* successful expedition into *Italy*, the following

¹ LEO Ost. l. i. c. 64.

fin. l. iv. c. 64. in fine.

² LEO Ost. l. i. c. 64.³ SIGON. l. vi. p. 161.⁴ LUITPRAND, l. i. c. 6.⁵ SIGON. l. vi. p. 162.⁶ LUITPRAND, l. v. c. 13.⁷ Idem, l. vi. c. 1, 2, 3.⁸ LEO Ost. Chron. Cas.⁹ FLODOARD, anno 950.

A. D. 949.

The Hungarians follow his example.

year raised an army, and made an irruption into *Lombardy*. *Berengarius*, not being able to oppose him, consented to pay him a large sum of money, on condition that he restrained his army from ravaging, and evacuated *Italy*; but in raising the money, *Berengarius* is said to have been more grievous than the barbarians, for he obliged every individual, without distinction of age or sex, to pay so much for their head, not excepting even the poor; he likewise robbed the churches, and by that means raised an immense sum, ten modii or bushels of which he gave to the *Hungarians*, but kept the much greater part to himself^a. *Lotharius* being dead, *Berengarius* caused himself to be crowned at *Verona*, and associated his eldest son *Adelbert* with him in the government; the year after, at *Olonna*, he renewed the alliance between the *Venetians* and *Italians*, and settled the limits of their territories. Not contented with the title of king, *Berengarius* desired likewise to be in possession of *Pavia*, which was kept by *Adelaide*, the widow of *Lotharius*. In order to obtain his purpose, he proposed a marriage betwixt her and his son *Adelbert*; but, the alliance being rejected by *Adelaide*, he was highly offended, and marched with an army against *Pavia*, which he reduced; then taking the queen prisoner, he shut her up in the castle of *Garda*, near the lake of that name, being afraid lest she should have recourse to some foreign assistance. *Berengarius* had not long fixed his residence at *Pavia*, when *Adelaide*, by the assistance of *Martin*, her confessor, made her escape from her prison. In the night-time she went into a little boat with him and one female attendant, and, crossing the lake, concealed herself in a wood, where she continued for some days; but, being obliged to remove for want of food, she went and asked the protection of *Adelard*, bishop of *Reggio*, who recommended her, for greater safety, to his uncle *Atho*, who was possessed of a strong castle near *Canoza*.

A. D. 950.
Berengarius takes possession of Pavia, and imprisons Adelaide, for rejecting a marriage with his son.

She escapes to Canoza, where she is besieged by Berengarius.

She solicits the assistance of Otho king of Germany.

Otho marches into Italy, and raising the siege of Canoza, marries Adelaide.

A. D. 951.

Berengarius goes to Germany, and submitting to Otho, is restored to his kingdom.

Italy greatly harraßed by the cruelty and tyranny of Berengarius.

A. D. 956.

BERENGARIUS was no sooner informed of the place of her retreat, than he sent a message to *Atho*, desiring him to deliver her up; but, his request being refused, he marched directly with an army and besieged *Canoza*. *Atho*, finding himself unable by his own strength to sustain the siege, sent a private messenger, with the consent of *Adelaide*, to *Otho*, king of *Germany*, intreating him to come to his assistance; which, if he did speedily, he might easily expel the usurper *Berengarius*, and by marrying *Adelaide*, obtain the kingdom of *Italy*. The pope likewise, who had been offended at *Berengarius* for plundering the churches, sent a letter to *Otho*, inviting him into *Italy*^u. *Otho* willingly accepted of the terms offered him by *Adelaide*, and promised speedy assistance; and sending his son *Ludolphus* with some forces before him, marched soon after himself with a great army into *Italy*. When he arrived at *Verona*, he sent an officer with a letter to *Canoza*, to inform *Adelaide* that he had passed the *Alps*, and was marching to her relief. All access to the castle being cut off by the enemies guards, the officer tied the letter, with a ring which he had received from *Otho*, to an arrow, and shot it into the place. The besieged, upon reading the letter, gave public demonstrations of joy, which being observed by *Berengarius*, he concluded that the army of *Otho* was not at a great distance, and not thinking proper to venture an engagement, he immediately raised the siege, and retired with his sons *Adelbert* and *Vido*, to provide for the security of the places of strength in his kingdom, being resolved to oppose the invader to the utmost of his power^x. *Otho*, upon his arrival at *Canoza*, immediately celebrated his marriage with *Adelaide*, and soon after marched against *Pavia*, which he reduced by *October*, and entered the palace in triumph with his queen. There he celebrated his *Christmas*, and returning, in the beginning of the spring, to *Germany*, with *Adelaide*, he left his son *Conrad*, duke of *Lorraine*, to carry on the war against *Berengarius*. *Conrad* began the campaign with great vigour, and soon obliged *Berengarius* to lay down his arms; he advised him to go with his son *Adelbert* into *Germany* and submit to *Otho*, and trust to his generosity for the terms of reconciliation. *Berengarius* was received in *Germany* with great respect by the nobles of that kingdom; and, after three days, had an audience of *Otho*, who deprived him only of the marquisate of *Verona*, and that of *Friuli*, which he gave to his brother *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*; the rest of his kingdom he restored to him, on condition of his paying homage for it to the kings of *Germany*.

BERENGARIUS having thus made his peace with *Otho*, returned to *Italy*; but soon after hearing that *Otho* was engaged in opposing a rebellion, headed by his son *Ludolphus*, and his son-in-law *Conrad*, he likewise revolted, and again began hostilities in *Italy*. In revenge for the assistance *Atho* had given to *Adelaide*, he marched with an army against *Canoza*, and from thence to *Ravenna* and the exarchate, harraßing the pope, the bishops, and nobles of *Italy* in a most grievous manner, and leaving every-where marks of his tyranny and avarice. In the mean time, *Aldemar*, the rival of *Manasses* in the archbishopric of *Milan*, dying, the clergy and people immediately chose *Valpertus*, who, the following year, together with the pope, wrote to *Otho*, complaining of the tyranny of *Berengarius*, and shewing, that, if he

^u LUITPRAND, l. v. c. 5. in fine.
LEO Ost. l. i. c. ult.

^x Script. Anonym. apud. BARON. hoc anno.

^{*} SIGON. l. vi. p. 163.

- a was not opposed, he would soon make himself master of all *Italy*. *Otho*, being then greatly engaged with the affairs of *Germany*, ordered his son *Ludolphus* to march with an army against *Berengarius*. In the mean time, pope *Agapetus* dying, *Ostavianus*, the son of *Alberic*, who, though a clergyman, two years before had succeeded his father in the government of *Rome*, now procured himself to be elected pope, and took the name of *John XII.* being then only eighteen years of age. *Ludolphus*, being arrived in *Italy*, defeated *Berengarius* in several engagements, and at last forced him into an island in the lake *Novara*; but the following year, while he was earnest in prosecuting the war, he was cut off by a sudden death, not without the suspicion of poison, administered to him by one of his domestics that had been gained by *Berengarius*^y. His body was carried into *Germany*, and buried at *Metz*. *Berengarius*, being now freed from his adversary, and hearing that *Otho* was engaged in a war with the *Slavi*, again took the field with an army, and renewed his former violences, ravaging with great barbarity the territories of those who had abandoned him. He was likewise engaged in a war with the new pope, on account of the dukedom of *Spoletto*, each of them, according to *Sigonius*, claiming that dukedom, which had been lately in possession of *Sarlio*. *John* having got a great many bishops and others in the dukedom to favour his pretensions, *Berengarius* marched thither with an army, and harrassed those of the opposite party; but, the following year, he left his army and returned to *Pavia*, where he renewed their antient privileges to the *Genoese*, that republic asserting the charter to be still extant in their possession.
- b *The Italians*, at last, driven to despair by the tyranny of *Berengarius*, sent repeated embassies to *Otho*, intreating him to come to their relief. *Valpertus*, archbishop of *Milan*, went in person to *Otho*^z, as did several other nobles; and the pope sent a cardinal, and one of his principal officers of his court to *Germany*, supplicating *Otho* to come and deliver the church from its oppressor, and promising to give him the imperial crown, provided he would swear to consult the *Roman* church, and restore all that had been usurped by *Berengarius*. *Otho* very readily consented to the oath, but, before he set out for *Italy*, in the beginning of the year, he assembled a diet at *Worms*, in which his son *Otho*, then only six years of age, was declared king of *Germany*, and trusted to the guardianship of *William*, archbishop of *Metz*, his half brother^a. The diet being dismissed, the young *Otho* was crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*, on *Whitsunday* following; and his father having settled the affairs of *Germany*, marched with a formidable army through the valley of *Trent* into *Italy*, accompanied by his wife *Adelaide*, and attended by several bishops. *Adelbert* prepared to oppose the *Germans*, with an army, according to several authors, amounting to 60,000 men; but the counts and nobles making it a condition of their service, that *Berengarius* should forever resign the kingdom in favour of *Adelbert*, their proposal was rejected; upon which the whole army immediately separated^b, and many of the bishops and nobles going to meet *Otho*, he marched without opposition to *Pavia*, which *Berengarius* had abandoned, after setting fire to the palace^c. From thence he went to *Milan*, where the bishops and nobles of *Lombardy* being assembled, the archbishop, with the unanimous consent of all present, deposed *Berengarius* and *Adelbert*, and, conferring the kingdom on *Otho*, crowned him with the iron crown, in the church of *St. Ambrose*. In the mean time, *Berengarius*, his wife, and his two sons, abandoned the country to *Otho*, and retired separately into the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, which they fortified with strong garrisons, in expectation of a revolution in their favour. *Otho*, immediately after his coronation, returned to *Pavia*, where he kept his *Christmas*, and, in the month of *February*, marched with his army to *Rome*, to receive the imperial crown from the pope, according to his promise. The *Romans* went out to meet him, and received him into their city with the utmost demonstrations of joy. *Otho* having kissed the pope's feet, who waited for him on the steps of the *Vatican*, he was conducted into the church, and solemnly crowned emperor by *John*, amidst the loud acclamations of the people; after which both of them went to the altar of *St. Peter*, and bound themselves by a solemn oath, *John* promising always to be faithful to the emperor, and to give no assistance to *Berengarius* or *Adelbert* his enemies; and *Otho* engaging to consult the welfare of the church, and to restore to it all its patrimony granted by former emperors^d. *Otho* besides bestowed very rich presents upon the church of *St. Peter*^e. He ordained, that the election of popes should be regulated according to the canons; and that the elected pope should not be consecrated till he had publicly promised, in presence of the emperor's commissaries, to observe every thing formerly specified by pope *Leo*; that these commissaries should constantly reside at *Rome*, and every year make an exact report how justice was administered by

^y SIGON. l. v. p. 163.^z LUITPRAND, l. v. c. 6.^a Idem ibid.^b Ex hist. Longobard. Duc. ap.

BARON.

^c SIGON. ubi supra.^d REGINO & FLODOARD, hoc anno.

SIGON. l. vi. p. 167. ann. BARON.

hoc anno.

^e LUITPRAND, l. vi. c. 6.

the judges; and in case of any complaints, the commissaries should lay them before the pope; but, if he neglected to imitate them, the imperial commissaries might then determine what they thought proper^f; which regulation shews, that the emperor still reserved to himself the sovereignty and jurisdiction in the last instance over all the territories granted to the holy see. *Otho* having thus got possession of *Italy*, that kingdom continued for upwards of 300 years to be reckoned a part of the *German* empire; but, in the reign of the emperor *Rodolphus*, it became independent, and detached from the empire, the cities of *Lombardy* refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, and claiming a liberty which time has since confirmed to many of them.

He returns to Pavia, and afterwards marches against Berengarius.

The pope makes a second treaty with Adelbert to expel the Germans; A. D. 963.

and solicits the Hungarians to invade Germany.

Otho marches with part of his army to Rome, and assembles a council of bishops.

John XII. is deposed and *Leo VIII.* chosen in his stead.

THE emperor having confirmed the grant of his predecessors to the holy see, and regulated what regards the election of the popes, returned to *Pavia*, and after *Easter* marched against *Berengarius* and those of his party, who were still in possession of some places of strength. He began with the siege of the island in the *Lago Maggiore*, whither *Villa*, the wife of *Berengarius*, had retired; after two months he made himself master of the place, and gave liberty to *Villa* to go to her husband, and restored the island to the church of *Novara*^e. In the mean time, *John XII.* finding that *Otho* was not contented with the mere title of emperor, but claimed likewise the sovereign authority in *Rome*, began to repent of his calling him into *Italy*, and disregarding his oath, made a secret treaty with *Adelbert*, and promised to assist him in expelling the *Germans*. *Otho*, who was then at *Pavia*, being informed of this alliance, sent some of his faithful attendants to *Rome*, to enquire into the truth of the report, and the behaviour of *John*. Upon their return they confirmed the news, and likewise described the scandalous life of the pope. *John*, in order to throw the blame upon the emperor, immediately sent two legates to his camp, accusing him of having caused the people of *Umbria* to take the oath of allegiance to himself, and not to the holy see; but *Otho* declared, that he desired nothing more than to fulfil his promise, and sent two ambassadors to the pope to clear him by their oath, which, if *John* refused, he ordered the soldiers that attended the ambassadors to justify him by single combat; at the same time he told the legates, that he had certain information that *John* had solicited the *Hungarians* to invade *Germany*^h. The ambassadors of the emperor were received with very little respect by the pope, who refused to accept of the justification which they offered, and after eight days dismissed them, sending along with them two other legates, with the design of amusing the emperor. In the mean time, *Adelbert*, having arrived at *Civita Vecchia*, repaired to *Rome*, where he was honourably received by the pope, who was earnest with the *Romans* to revolt. During these transactions, *Otho* had embarked his army on the *Po*, and sailed to *Ravenna*, which he quickly reduced; from thence he marched into the dukedom of *Spoletto* and besieged *St. Leo* or *Montfeltre*, then held by *Berengarius* and *Villa* with a strong garrison.

THE siege proceeding very slowly, he left part of his army to block up the place, and in the middle of *September* marched with the rest to *Rome*, being invited by the nobles to come to their assistance, they having opposed the proceedings of the pope and *Adelbert*, and seized upon the castle of *S. Paul*. *John*, alarmed at the emperor's march to *Rome*, immediately left the city, and taking with him the treasure of *St. Peter*, retired to some distance. In the mean time, *Otho* being received by the clergy and people of *Rome* with great respect, appointed a council of bishops to be held in the beginning of *November*, to regulate the affairs of the church. On the day appointed for the council the bishops assembled, and he himself presided, with the archbishops of *Aquileia*, *Milan*, and *Ravenna*. *Otho* began with complaining that the pope, who ought to have been the chief in their deliberations, was not present, and enquired of the bishops the cause of his absence. The council unanimously replied, that the consciousness of his crimes had made him afraid to appear: *Otho* required them to be more particular; upon which they accused him of filling the palace with lewd women, and having an intrigue with one *Stephania* his father's concubine; of ordaining a bishop in a stable; of making a child of ten years of age bishop of *Tudor*; of castrating a cardinal, and afterwards putting him to death; of saying mass and not communicating himself; of drinking the devil's health, and neglecting to use the sign of the crossⁱ. *John* refusing to appear to defend himself, the council proceeded to depose him, and elected *Leo*, the chief secretary, in his place, who, though a layman^k, was approved of by the emperor, and forthwith consecrated, taking the name of *Leo VIII.* *Leo*, in compliment to the emperor, by whose means he had obtained the papal dignity, granted a bull, by which it was ordained, that *Otho* and his successors should have a right of appointing the popes, and investing archbishops and bishops; and that none should dare to consecrate a bishop without the leave of the emperor^l. The council being dismissed, *Otho* sent back the greatest part of his troops to assist at the siege, and continuing at *Rome*, celebrated his *Christmas* with *Leo*.

^f Exemplar Diplom. Othon. apud BARON.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

^g BARONIUS hoc anno.

^h SIGEBERT apud Grat. Dif. lxxix. c. 3 & 4.

^l LUITPRAND, l. vi. c. 6.

^l SIGON. l. vii. p. 170.

- a JOHN XII. was no sooner informed that *Otho* had dismissed the greatest part of his troops, but he sent his emissaries to *Rome*, exciting the *Romans* to revolt, and promising to divide amongst them all the treasures he was possessed of, if they would surprise and cut off *Otho*. The *Romans* being easily excited by the promises of *John*, took arms on the 2d of *January*, and marched to surprise *Otho*, who was encamped on the other side the *Tyber*; but the *Germans* taking the alarm before the *Romans* had passed the river, attacked them at the bridge, repulsed them with considerable loss, and with great difficulty were restrained by *Otho* from committing great slaughter^m. *Otho* pardoned the *Romans*, on condition of their renewing their allegiance, and giving a hundred of their nobles as hostages. A few days after this pacification, the emperor received the news that *Montfeltre* was taken, and that *Berengarius* had surrendered at discretion: *Otho* sent him prisoner to *Bamberg* in *Franconia*, where he died two years afterwards; his wife *Villa*, who had accompanied him, retiring, after his decease, into a monastery. *Garda* and *Comacina* likewise surrendering to the *Germans*, there remained only *Spoleto* and *Camerino*, which *Adelbert* had strengthened with good garisons.

- Otho* resolving to go in person against these two places, at the intreaty of *Leo*, restored the *Roman* hostages, and in a few days left *Rome*, and marched against *Camerino*. Soon after the departure of the emperor, *John*, by the intrigues of his mistresses, found means of entering *Rome*, where his party immediately becoming prevalent, he called an assembly of the bishops, in which he deposed *Leo*, and annulled all his decrees, and likewise ordered a cardinal, named *John*, to be punished with the loss of his right hand, and his secretary *Azo* to lose his nose, his tongue, and two of his fingers. *John* was soon prevented by death from continuing these cruelties; for about the middle of *May*, being surprised in bed with a lady, he received a blow upon the head, of which he died eight days afterⁿ. The authors of those times say, that it was the devil that struck him, but they do not mention, whether he appeared in the shape of the husband or not. The *Romans*, upon the death of *John*, did not recall *Leo*, who had fled to the emperor's camp, but elected *Benedict*, a cardinal deacon, whom they immediately consecrated without acquainting *Otho*. Upon the news of *John*'s getting possession of *Rome*, *Otho* had determined to march against that city, after he had reduced *Camerino*; but hearing that the *Romans* had elected *Benedict*, he quickly raised the siege, and led his army against them. The *Romans*, excited by *Benedict*, shut their gates against the emperor; but their city being surrounded by *Germans*, they were very soon obliged to surrender at discretion, for want of provisions. *Otho*, upon entering the city, strictly prohibited his soldiers from committing any violence; and having restored *Leo* to his dignity, he advised him to call a council, in order to depose *Benedict*. The council of *German*, *Italian*, and *Sicilian* bishops being assembled, *Benedict* was introduced, and voluntarily stripped himself of his pontifical ornaments, asked pardon of the emperor and *Leo*, who deprived him of the title of presbyter, but leaving him that of deacon, he ordered him into banishment at *Hamburg*. Tranquillity being established at *Rome*, *Otho* was preparing to return to the siege of *Camerino*, when he was informed that *Adelbert* had abandoned *Italy*, and fled to *Corfica*. Upon this information he settled the affairs of *Italy*, and set out on his return to *Germany*: passing the rest of the summer in *Tuscany*, in autumn he marched to *Pavia*, where he kept his *Christmas*, and soon after marched with his army into *Germany*.

- Otho* had no sooner returned to *Germany*, but the *Italians*, according to their usual fickleness, revolted from their allegiance, recalled *Adelbert* from *Corfica*, and upon his return to *Lombardy*, assisted him to the utmost of their power in recovering his former dignity. *Otho*, being informed of this rebellion, immediately sent duke *Burchard* with an army into *Italy*, giving him orders to engage *Adelbert* with the first opportunity. *Burchard*, according to his orders, soon after his arrival in *Italy*, attacked *Adelbert* near the *Po*, and, after an obstinate engagement, obliged him to retire with considerable loss, his brother *Vido* having fallen in the action. In the mean time pope *Leo* dying, the *Romans* sent ambassadors to *Otho*, to consult him about a successor. Being satisfied with their submission, he gave them liberty of choosing whom they thought proper; and sent the bishops of *Spire* and *Cremona* as his commissaries to *Rome*, to be present at the election and consecration of the new pope^o. Soon after the arrival of the new bishops, the *Romans* elected the bishop of *Nani*, who took the name of *John* XIII. But he had not long enjoyed his new dignity, when *Rome* was thrown into the utmost confusion; for the prefect of the city, the consuls, and the tribunes of the people, whom they called decarchons, being greatly dissatisfied with the diminution of their power, resolved to renounce their allegiance to the emperor, and resume their former authority; but *John* declaring firmly for the emperor, and opposing their proceedings, they seized him, and threw him into prison, and finding they could not prevail with him to ap-

^m LUITPRAND, l. vi. c. 11.ⁿ Idem ibid.^o Appendix ad Reginon.

prison the new pope. A. D. 966. prove their measures, they banished him the city, and sent for one *Rofred*, a rich nobleman of *Capua*, to their assistance. *John*, upon his expulsion from *Rome*, retired to *Capua*, where he was received with great respect by the duke *Pandulphus*, who excited his brother to assassinate *Rofred*, then prefect of the city.

Otho returns with an army to Italy, and punishes the rebels of Lombardy. THE Romans still continuing in their rebellion, notwithstanding the death of *Rofred*, *Otho* resolved to pass into *Italy*; and having concluded the diet at *Worms*, he then marched over the *Alps* with a formidable army, and began with punishing the rebels of *Lombardy*, who had invited *Adelbert* from *Corfica*. He banished *Sigulfus*, bishop of *Placenza*, and several counts, who were found guilty, into *Franconia* and *Saxony*; and giving the investiture of *Montferrat* to *Aleran*, a nobleman who had continued faithful to him, he marched with his army towards *Rome*. The Romans, upon the news of *Otho's* passing the *Alps*, being

He marches to Rome and punishes the authors of the revolt with great severity. A. D. 967. afraid of his resentment, had immediately recalled the pope from *Capua*, and restored him to his dignity, hoping that he would prevail with the emperor to pardon their rebellion^p. But *Otho* thinking it proper to punish their seditious temper, by an example of severity, upon his arrival at *Rome*, banished the consuls into *Germany*, ordered the tribunes to be hanged, and the body of *Rofred* to be dug out of the grave, divided into pieces, and these to be dispersed. The prefect likewise, who had succeeded *Rofred*, was dressed in an ignominious habit, put upon an ass with his face towards the tail, and in that manner being led through the streets of *Rome*, was scourged by the hangman, and afterwards imprisoned^q. *Otho* having punished the rebels, made several new laws for the government of the city. The *Venetians* having sent an embassy to him, he renewed the former privileges granted to that re-

He goes with the pope to Ravenna,

and sends for his son Otho, who is crowned emperor.

He sends an ambassador to the emperor of Constantinople demanding Theophania for his son. A. D. 968.

The emperor rejects the alliance, and acts perfidiously towards Otho; who sends an army into Calabria, against the Greeks. 969.

The Greeks are defeated in Apulia and Calabria. Nicophorus is slain by John Zimis-

public, and, at the desire of the ambassadors, appointed the church of *Grada* to be the metropolitan of *Venice*. Having settled the affairs that regarded the city, he left *Rome*, and took the pope along with him to *Ravenna*, where, after *Easter*, he called an assembly of the states, and renewed the grant of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, in favour of the holy see^r. He likewise created *Sigebert* or *Albert*, the son of *Otho*, count of *Canoza*, marquis of *Este*, whose descendents continued in the possession of that dignity for 600 years afterwards^s. While he was at *Ravenna*, *Otho* sent an ambassador to *Nicephorus*, emperor of *Constantinople*, demanding his step-daughter *Theophania* in marriage for his son *Otho*, resolving, if he met with a denial, to make himself master of *Calabria* and *Apulia*; several nobles in these provinces having already renounced their allegiance to the Greek emperor, and done homage to him. Having settled the affairs of *Romaniola*, he dismissed the pope, and sending for his son *Otho* from *Germany*, he went as far as *Verona* to meet him, and returned with him to *Rome*, where, on *Christmas-day*, he was crowned emperor by the pope, being then only thirteen years of age.

AFTER this ceremony, *Otho* sent *Luitprand*, bishop of *Cremona*, to *Nicephorus*, again to demand *Theophania* in marriage; but that emperor, being highly offended that *Otho* and his son had obtained the title of emperor, and received the homage of the *Beneventans*, treated the ambassador with great disrespect, threw him into prison, and, after detaining him several months, dismissed him without any satisfaction as to his embassy (D). *Nicephorus* was not contented with treating *Otho's* ambassador with indignity, but likewise added perfidy to his insults; for he pretended to be reconciled to *Otho*, and sent an embassy to him at *Rome*, declaring, that he had agreed to the marriage, and desired him to receive *Theophania*, in *Calabria*. *Otho*, trusting to the assurances of the emperor, made preparations for the wedding at *Rome*, and sent a considerable body of nobility to receive the princess; but, instead of meeting with *Theophania*, they were attacked by the Greek soldiers, and almost all killed or carried prisoners to *Constantinople*^t. Enraged at this perfidy, *Otho* immediately made preparations for war, and soon after sent an army into *Calabria* and *Apulia*, under the command of *Gunther* and *Sigefrid*, with whom likewise he sent his young son. Historians make very little mention of this expedition; *Sigonius* relates, that these two generals marched first to *Capua*, from thence they went to *Tarento* and *Metapontum*, now *Torre di Mare*, and being assisted by *Pandulph*, duke of *Capua*, attacked the *Saracens*, whom they expelled from *Italy*, enriching themselves with their spoil. The Greeks at first defeated the Germans in several small engagements; but their success rendering them unwary, they were at last drawn into an ambush, and almost all cut to pieces. Those who were taken prisoners had their noses cut off, and in that manner were sent to *Constantinople*. The *Constantinopolitans*, in the mean time, exasperated against *Nicephorus*, slew him, by means of one *John Zimisces*, whom they afterwards declared emperor. Mean while *Otho* was engaged in settling the af-

^p Append. ad Reginon.

^q SIGON. ubi supra.

^r Append. ad Anastas.

^s WITTICHIND apud Meibom.

SIGON. l. viii. p. 172.

SIGON. ubi supra.

^t Append. ad Reginon.

(D) There is a long and curious account of this embassy, written by *Luitprand* himself, and published in the annals of *Baronius*, for this year, and in the collections of *Mascardi*, volume 11.

a fairs of *Italy*, and conferring honours on those who had served him faithfully. He gave the city of *Ferrara* to *Tedald*, brother of the marquis of *Este*; and created one *Scrofa*, who is declared emperor. a man of a low extraction, and a butcher, duke of *Milan*. He likewise appointed *Arnolphus* archbishop of *Milan*, in the room of *Valpert* deceased, and sent him ambassador to *John*, emperor of *Constantinople*, demanding *Theophania* in marriage for his son.

JOHN, not thinking himself secure in the possession of his throne, willingly embraced the friendship of *Otho*, and restoring the prisoners that had been surprized by the treachery of *Nicephorus*, he soon after sent the princess *Theophania* into *Italy*, with a numerous retinue, He concludes an alliance with Otho and sends Theophania into Italy. who was received by *Otho* with great magnificence. The marriage was celebrated at *Rome*, on the 8th of *April*, with great pomp, and *Theophania* afterwards was crowned empress. Otho is married to Otho, and crowned empress. Some authors pretend, that the *Greeks* at this time renounced their rights to *Calabria* and *Apulia*; but *Giannone*, an *Italian* author of great reputation, seems to have proved, that no such renunciation was made. After the celebration of this marriage, *Otho* dismissed his auxiliary troops, and marched with his army to *Pavia*, with design of extirpating the *Saracens* from the *Alps*; but, being informed of the death of several nobles in *Germany*, he laid aside that expedition, and marched with his army into *Saxony*, where he arrived soon after. *Otho* survived his return to *Germany* only two years, and died of an apoplexy at *Meinleben*, The emperor returns to Germany, where he dies. on the 7th of *May* (E). A. D. 973.

THE death of *Otho* was no sooner related in *Italy*, than that kingdom fell into the greatest confusion, by reason of civil broils among the nobles and states, many of the citizens rejecting the authority of the emperor, and chusing consuls to themselves, while the dominion of others was usurped by the nobles, who confirmed their power by building citadels. *Rome* especially was harrassed with tumults, occasioned chiefly by the ambition of a citizen named *Cincius*, under pretence of restoring the antient republic. As the pope continued firm in the interests of the emperor, and could not be prevailed with to approve his proceedings, he seized him, by means of one *Franco*, a cardinal deacon, and throwing him into prison, ordered him to be strangled. Upon his death, one *Donus* was chosen by a faction of the *Romans*; but he dying soon after, *Cincius* and his faction chose *Franco* the deacon, who took the name of *Boniface VII*. The faction of the counts of *Tuscany*, alarmed at the power of *Cincius*, unanimously conspired against him; and after several struggles, obliged him and *Boniface* to quit the city. They chose likewise a grandson of the former consul *Alberic* who took the name of *Benedict VII*. and being approved of by the emperor, and supported by his friends, he threw many of the opposite faction in chains, and, in some measure, appeased the tumults. *Boniface*, before he left *Rome*, had stripped the *Vatican* of all its wealth, which he carried with him to *Constantinople*, and incited the emperors *Basil* and *Constantine* to declare war against *Otho*, affirming, that the cities of *Italy* sought only an opportunity of shaking off the *German* yoke. These disturbances were hardly quieted at *Rome*, when the inhabitants of *Bologna* began to reject the authority of *Otho*, and to fortify Italy falls into great confusion upon his death;

. ^a SIGON. l. vii. p. 174.

^w BARONIUS ad an. 985. SIGON. ubi supra

(E) *Italy* was divided at this time into the following provinces, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, the dukedom of *Benevento*, *Campania*, *Terra Romana*, the dukedom of *Spoleto*, *Tuscany*, *Romagna*, *Lombardy*, and the marquisates of *Ancona*, *Verona*, *Trevise*, *Friuli*, and *Genoa*. Of which, *Apulia* and *Calabria* were were still claimed by the *Greek* emperor; all the rest were either immediately subject to, or held of the kings of *Italy*. Of these last, *Otho* conferred *Benevento*, which included the antient *Samnium*, on the duke of that name; he gave *Campania* with *Lucania*, to the dukes of *Capua*, *Naples*, and *Salerno*. *Rome* with its territory, *Ravenna* with the exarchate, the dukedom of *Spoleto* with *Tuscany*, and the marquisate of *Ancona*, he granted to the pope; and retained the rest of *Italy* under the form of a kingdom. He left some of the cities free, but all tributary; and appointed several hereditary marquisates and counts, reserving to himself the sovereign jurisdiction in their territories. The liberty of the cities consisted in a freedom to chuse their own magistrates, to be judged by their own laws, and dispose of their own revenues, on condition that they took the oath of allegiance to the king, and paid the customary tribute. The cities that were not free, were governed by the commissaries or lieutenants of the emperor; but the free cities were governed by two or more consuls, afterwards called *potestates*, chosen annually, who took the oath of allegiance to the emperor,

before the bishop of the city, or the emperor's commissary. The tribute exacted was called *foderum*, *parata*, & *mansuaticum*. By the *foderum* was meant a certain quantity of corn, which the cities were obliged to furnish to the king, when marching with an army, or making a progress through the country; the value of this was frequently paid in money. By the *parata* was understood the expence laid out in keeping the public roads and bridges in repair; and the *mansuaticum* included those expences which were required for lodging the troops, or accommodating them in their camp. Under the pretence of this article, the inhabitants were sometimes stripped of all that they possessed, except their oxen and seed for the land. Besides regulating what regarded the cities, *Otho* distributed honours and possessions to those who had served him faithfully. The honours consisted in the titles of duke, marquis, count, captain, valvasor, and valvasin; the possessions were, besides land, the duties arising from harbours, ferries, roads, fishponds, mills, salt-pits, the uses of rivers, and all pertaining to them, and such like. The dukes, marquisies, and counts, were those who had received dukedoms, marquisates, or counties for the king in fiefs. The captains had a command of a certain number of men by a grant from the king, duke, marquis, or count. The valvasors were subordinate to the captains, and the valvasins to them (1).

(1). Sigon. de regno Italiæ, p. 175.

their city by building some castles; the *Orvietans* likewise refused to obey the emperor's officers, and chose to themselves consuls. At the same time the inhabitants of *Milan* were remarkable for their loyalty; for their archbishop being dead, to gratify the emperor *Otho*, they accepted of *Godfrey* the subdeacon, for whom they had an aversion.

The Greeks and Saracens invade Italy and make themselves masters of Apulia and Calabria. A. D. 979. *Otho* II concludes a peace with the French and enters Italy with an army. 980.

ITALY continuing still harrassed by civil dissensions, the emperors *Basil* and *Constantine* at last resolved upon an expedition against that kingdom, which they the more readily undertook, as they knew *Otho* was engaged in a war with the *French*, on account of *Lorrain*. Having concluded an alliance with the *Saracens*, whom they had expelled from *Crete*, they took a great body of troops into their pay, and in conjunction with them, landed in *Italy*. There, upon their first arrival, taking and plundering *Bari* and *Maceræ*, they soon made themselves masters of all *Apulia* and *Calabria*. *Otho*, who had hitherto been hindered from coming into *Italy*, at first, by the rebellion raised by his cousin *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*, who pretended to the empire, and lately, by the war with the *French*; now hearing of the invasion of the *Greeks*, concluded a peace with the *French*, and, the following year, passed the *Alps* with a formidable army, being accompanied by the empress *Theophania*, and many nobles, bishops, and abbots*. He arrived at *Placenza* about the middle of *August*, and in the field called *Roncalia* held an assembly of the nobles and deputies of the cities of *Italy* (F); where after punishing the authors of the late tumults, and determining some controversies, he conferred some new honours upon *Tedald*, marquis of *Mantua*, and gave the castle of *Vico Justino* to one *Lanfranc* of *Placenza*, as a reward for their faithful services. Having settled the affairs of *Lombardy*, he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received by all parties with great appearance of joy.

A. D. 981. *Otho* renders himself odious to the Italians by his cruelty.

OTHO, after having celebrated his *Christmas*, resolved to punish the authors of the late disturbances in that city; but the method he took was much more cruel than serviceable to himself. He invited the nobles of *Rome*, and the deputies of the other cities then present, to a grand entertainment in the *Vatican* palace, and when the guests had placed themselves at the table, he forbade them, under pain of death, to speak or move, at what they should hear or see; immediately after which, the whole company was surrounded by armed men. While the guests sat trembling in suspense, the king, with great serenity, ordered the names of those concerned in the late disturbances to be read over, and the guilty persons to be punished with death in the midst of the hall; after which massacre, the king behaved with great complaisance and cheerfulness to the other guests during the whole entertainment. This cruelty made a deep impression upon the minds of the *Italians*, who, at that time, dissembled their resentment, and joined their auxiliary troops to his army. *Otho* began the campaign against the *Greeks* and *Saracens* early in the spring, and marching to *Naples* and *Benevento* increased his army by auxiliaries from those cities. After receiving this reinforcement, he defeated the enemy in several engagements, and conquered the country as far as *Tarento*. But, the following year, the *Greeks* and *Saracens* having collected their forces, made more opposition, and the two armies being encamped in the neighbourhood of *Baven-tello*, a small town on the sea coast of *Calabria*, a battle was fought, which proved very fatal to *Otho*. For during the engagement, the greatest part of the *Italian* auxiliaries, re-

He defeats the Greeks and Saracens and recovers Apulia. The Greeks afterwards gain a complete victory over him,

* LAMBERT & SIGEBERT, in Chron. hoc anno.

† SIGON l. vii. p. 180.

(F) *Sigonius* gives the following account of the manner in which the emperors marched to *Rome* (2). When they proposed such a journey, messengers went before, who acquainted the cities of *Italy*, that the king was coming, and therefore renewed their oaths of allegiance, and made a demand of the *federum*, and other services necessary upon that occasion. The emperor, upon his entering *Italy*, went directly to *Milan*; and if he had not already received the crown of *Italy*, he went into the church of *St. Ambrose*, and laying aside his regal ornaments, he assisted the archbishop as his sub-deacon during the time of divine service. After which, the archbishop anointed him with the sacred oil, and put on his head the sacred crown, upon his swearing the usual oath to defend the rights of *Italy*. At this time, all magistracies and dignities in the cities were vacant, and the king judged all controversies by the archbishop of *Cologne*, who was chancellor of *Italy*. From *Milan*, the king marched to a plain called *Roncalia*, near *Placenza*, where he encamped. The merchants and sutlers that attended the army pitched their tents and booths near the camp in the manner of suburbs, if the camp was square,

but in the form of a rampart, if the camp was round. The camp itself was divided into distinct streets, with the emperor's tent in the middle, in the form of a church, and round it were the tents of the nobles. The army being encamped, the king hung his shield upon the trunk of a tree, where all those who held any possessions of the king as fiefs, were summoned by a herald to watch the shield. In like manner, all the nobles summoned by the valvasors subject to them, and those who did not appear on the day following, were deprived of their fiefs. A diet being then appointed, the king received the deputies of the cities, who came to congratulate him, and heard those who had any controversies, which he decided by the advice of persons skilled in the laws; and likewise made new laws if there was occasion. Upon dismissing the diet, the king went attended by the archbishop to *Rome*, to receive the imperial crown, the principal inhabitants of each city, thro' which he was to pass, meeting him on his journey, which if they neglected to do, they were punished by a fine, or the loss of their privileges, or were reduced to their duty by arms.

(2) *Sigon.* p. 176.

a membering the emperor's former cruelty, left the field of battle; by whose desertion, those who remained were not only defeated, but almost entirely cut to pieces. *Otho* with great difficulty escaped from the field of battle; and, being destitute of a retreat, he stripped himself of his imperial habit, and intreated to be received on board a *Greek* vessel which was then on the coast. After he was on board, thinking himself discovered, he endeavoured to regain the land by swimming; but being retaken, he prevailed with the captain to set him at liberty, by promising him a large sum for his ransom. While *Theophania* was preparing to pay the ransom, *Otho* having been landed, and not strictly guarded, took an opportunity of escaping to *Rossani*, where the empress then was, with those who had saved themselves from the late defeat².

b THE *Greeks*, instead of pursuing their conquest and marching directly to *Rome*, spent the rest of the campaign in retaking the places which *Otho* had made himself master of in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, whereby the emperor had leisure to assemble a second army, which he composed of the remains of his former, and the garrisons of several towns. As soon as he found himself able for action, he marched against *Benevento*, which he took and plundered, as a punishment for the perfidy of their soldiers in the late engagement, they having been the first that deserted. The spring approaching, he afterwards went into *Lombardy*, to meet the reinforcements that were on their march from *Germany*. While he was at *Verona* he held an assembly of the states of *Italy* and *Germany*, in which his son *Otho*, then a boy of ten years of age, was declared emperor. From *Verona*, *Otho* returned to *Rome*, where he fell into a languishing state of health, which was followed by a dysentery, of which he died, on the 7th of *December*. Among the regulations that he made in *Italy*, one is remarkable. Finding that the *Italians* were very guilty of perjury, he ordered, that no *Italian* should be believed upon his oath; and that in any dispute which could not be proved by other means than witnesses, the parties should have recourse to a duel.

c AFTER the death of *Otho*, the tranquility of *Italy* was in some measure disturbed by the return of *Boniface* from *Constantinople*, with the design of seizing upon the papal dignity. *Boniface*, by distributing the treasures which he had formerly taken from the *Vatican*, soon gained a great party among the *Romans*, who seized upon the pope, and imprisoned him in the castle of *St. Angelo*, where he died of hunger; but *Boniface* survived this second murder but a short time, for he died suddenly four months afterwards. Upon the death of *Boniface*, *John XV.* succeeded to the papal dignity; but he was soon after obliged to leave *Rome* by the tyranny of *Crescentius Numentanus*, who aspired at the sovereignty of the city, and had assumed the title of consul, and taken possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*. The *Romans* being informed that *John* was very earnestly soliciting the emperor to come into *Italy*, immediately altered their conduct, and sent an honourable embassy to him, intreating him to return to the city³. *Otho* at this time being greatly engaged with the affairs of *Germany*, sent his mother *Theophania* into *Italy*, with some troops, commanded by *Hugh*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*. The presence of the *Germans* quieted the disturbances at *Rome*; but not long after their arrival, the city of *Milan* was greatly harrassed by a sedition of the people, which introduced a new form of government. The sedition was occasioned by the following transaction: *Bonicius*, the duke, upon the death of *Godfrey*, the archbishop, obtained that dignity for his son *Landulphus*; but the people opposing his entering the palace, his father procured the entrance by force, in which skirmish many people were killed, and among the rest one *Tatius*, a man of great wealth and power. In resentment for the blood spilt in this commotion, *Bonicius* was privately stabbed in his bed; and while *Landulphus* was proposing to confer the government of the city upon his elder brother, the people arose and drove them both from the city, and renouncing the government of a duke, chose to themselves consuls, after the example of several other cities in *Italy*; in consequence of which proceeding, *Milan* was long afterwards harrassed with the two opposite factions of nobles and people⁴.

f Soon after this commotion at *Milan*, *Theophania* left *Hugh*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, governor of *Florence*, and returned to *Germany*, where she died.

AFTER her departure from *Italy*, *Crescentius* began again to disturb the tranquillity of *Rome*, by representing to the *Romans*, that it was disgraceful for them to submit to a foreign yoke, and that they ought now to recover their former liberty. By his great wealth and pretences of regard for their honour, his party soon became very powerful in *Rome*; upon which he proposed to restore the ancient form of government, and expel the *Germans*⁵. *Otho* being informed of these proceedings, by the nuncios of the pope, and his assistance being likewise implored by *Landulphus* archbishop of *Milan*, who had fled to his court for protection, upon being entirely defeated by the other faction, he resolved upon an expedition into *Italy*, to put a stop to the ambition of *Crescentius*, and quell the commotions in that kingdom.

² SIGEBERT hoc anno. DITMAR, Chron. l. iii. LEO Ostien. l. ii. c. 9.

³ SIGON. l. vii. p. 182.

⁴ SIGON. ubi supra.

⁵ ANN. BARON. anno 985.

Otho marches
into Italy, and
reduces Milan,
where he is
crowned.

Having entered that kingdom by the *Trentine Alps*, he marched directly for *Milan*, which he besieged with great vigour. The inhabitants at first made a stout resistance; but soon finding themselves too weak to oppose the *Germans*, they consented to surrender, and accept of *Landulphus* for their archbishop. Otho entering the city in a triumphant manner, was crowned by *Landulphus* king of *Lombardy*; after which ceremony he marched with his army to *Ravenna*, where he kept the feast of *Easter*; and the archbishop being lately dead, he conferred that archbishopric upon *Gerbert*, who the year before had been forced by the pope to quit the bishopric of *Rheims*, on account of his severe writings against the holy see^d.

Bruno, a Saxon, is elected pope, and takes the name of Gregory V.

While Otho continued at *Ravenna*, the deputies of the senate and nobles of *Rome* came and informed him of the death of the pope, and at the same time desired his orders about the election of a successor. Upon their demand, Otho appointed one *Bruno*, a Saxon, his own relation, and then only twenty-four years of age, who, after his election, took the name of *Gregory V*^e.

Otho marches to Rome, and is crowned with the empress.

OTHO then marched to *Rome*, where the new pope performed the ceremony of coronation of the emperor and the empress *Mary*, who was daughter of *Garcias Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Gascony*. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, Otho caused *Crescentius* to be seized, and after consulting with some of the *Roman* nobles, had resolved to banish him *Italy*; but *Gregory V*. interceding in his behalf, he pardoned him, and continued him in his magistracy. Otho having re-established the tranquillity of *Italy*, left *Rome*, and marched for

A. D. 996.

He returns to Germany, and in his march orders the count of Modena to be put to death.

Germany. In his return through *Lombardy*, he visited some of the principalities, and stopped a few days at *Modena*, where, according to several historians, the empress *Mary* endeavoured to draw the count of *Modena* into a criminal amour with her; but he refusing to hearken to her solicitations, she in a rage accused him to the emperor, as one who attempted to violate her honour. Otho readily believing the accusation of his empress, immediately ordered the count to be put to death, but allowed him, before his execution, to speak to his wife. The count declared to her in the most solemn manner, that he was innocent of the crime of which he was accused, and intreated her to justify his innocence to the world; being then separated from her, he was conducted to the place of execution, and had his head struck off. The army encamping afterwards on the plain of *Roncalia*, the widow of the deceased count accused the emperor of having put her husband unjustly to death, and proved his innocence by carrying a red hot iron in her hand without being burnt. Otho, surprised at the miracle, acknowledged himself guilty; and the widow demanding the empress to be punished, he ordered her to be burnt alive at *Modena*, and gave the injured widow four castles as a compensation for the wrongs she had received^f. Some historians say, that the empress was only disgraced; and others, among whom is the learned *Muratori*, affirm, that the whole story is false.

The Romans revolt and expel the pope.

THE *Germans* had scarce repassed the *Alps*, when *Crescentius* began again to disturb *Rome*, and assume a sovereign authority, by representing to the *Romans* that it was unworthy of them to submit to a foreign yoke, or to accept of a pope that had been thrust upon them against their inclination: he prevailed with them to revolt against *Gregory*, and renounce their allegiance to the *Germans*. The pope, unable to oppose the proceedings of *Crescentius*, left *Rome* and retired to *Tuscany*, and from thence to *Lombardy*^e. *Crescentius* caused one *Philagathus* to be elected in his room, a *Calabrian* of obscure birth, who in his youth had been a monk; but leaving that profession, had acquired great wealth at the court of *Theophania*, and intruded himself by force into the bishopric of *Placenza*. *Gregory* being informed of this, went into *Germany*, to intreat the assistance of the emperor^b; but before he left *Pavia*, he excommunicated *Crescentius* and the pretended pope. In the mean time the *Romans*, resolving to justify their proceedings, were very diligent in fortifying their city with new works. The following year Otho, prevailed upon by the intreaty of *Gregory*, returned to

Otho returns to Italy and reduces Rome. 998.

Italy with an army, and besieged *Rome*, which being soon distressed for want of provisions, was obliged to surrender; *Crescentius* and the garrison retiring into the strong castle of *St. Angelo*, formerly called the *Mole of Hadrian*. Otho being master of the city, seized the anti-pope *Philagathus*, and ordered his hands and ears to be cut off, and his eyes to be put out, as a sacrilegious intruderⁱ. After *Easter* he ordered the castle of *St. Angelo* to be attacked, which he quickly reduced; *Crescentius*, according to *Glaber*, despairing of being able to make resistance, came out and submitted to the emperor, who refused to accept of his submission, and sent him back into the castle, which he soon after took by assault. But other authors assure us, that *Crescentius* could not be forced, and was drawn into the emperor's camp under a promise of security, where Otho, contrary to his oath, ordered him to be put to death^k. Otho having re-established *Gregory V*. marched against *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, which had likewise revolted, and slain their duke *Mazolin*. At the solicitation of *St. Romuald*, he

Crescentius is put to death, and Gregory restored.

^d BARON. Ann. 995 & 996.

^e DITMAR l. iv.

^f SIGON. ubi supra.

^g Annal Sax.

^h Chron. Hildesh.

ⁱ GLABER, l. i. c. 4.

^k LEO. Ost. l. ii. c. 18.

- a pardoned the city, on condition that they delivered up the murderers of the duke, broke down part of their walls, and gave hostages for their future fidelity. After this expedition, *Otho* returned to *Ravenna*, from whence he went in the beginning of the year to *Venice*, in consequence of a vow, and returning to *Rome*, he made a decree, that the emperor for the future should be elected only by the *Germans*, and crowned by the pope, which decree was very readily confirmed by *Gregory*¹, who died in the beginning of the following year. Upon his death, *Otho* caused *Gerbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, to be elected his successor, he having been his preceptor, and the most eminent in that age for his learning and skill in astronomy and philosophy. *Gerbert*, upon his election to the papal dignity, took the name of *Sylvester II.* and obtained from the emperor a renewal of the grants of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*,
 b in favour of the holy see^m.

Otho having settled the affairs of *Italy*, prepared to return to *Germany*; but before his departure, he is said to have done penance for his perfidy, in putting *Crescentius* to death, contrary to his oath; yet other authors say, that it was on account of his unjustly condemning the count of *Modena*. He went in penitence to the monastery of *St. Benedict* on *Monte Cassino*, where he presented two crowns of silver, and from thence went bare-footed to *Saint Michael*, on *Mount Garganus*, now *Monte di St. Angelo*. He likewise shut himself up with *Franco* bishop of *Worms*, in a cell of the church of *St. Clement*, at *Rome*, where they continued fasting and praying fourteen days, bare-footed, and clad in sackclothⁿ. *Otho* having given satisfaction to the church for his crimes, departed with his army to *Germany*; but he
 c had no sooner left *Italy*, than the *Saracens* made an irruption into *Campania*, and making themselves masters of *Capua*, ravaged the country, and threatened to invade the *Roman* territories. *Otho* being informed of these new hostilities of the infidels, returned to *Italy* with such dispatch, that he arrived with his army at *Ravenna* before the end of *March*. From thence marching directly against the enemy, he reduced *Capua*, and drove the infidels from all the towns which they had seized in that province^o. After this expedition he returned to *Ravenna*, where he proposed to spend the winter; but hearing of some commotions at *Rome*, he marched thither with his army, where he kept his *Christmas*. After this festival, he made enquiry after the authors of the late disturbances, and put to death two of the most guilty, which punishment in some measure quelled the seditious.

Otho does penance at Rome; A. D. 999.

and returns with his army to Germany.

1001.
He again enters Italy, defeats the Saracens, and marches to Rome.

- d DURING this tranquillity, the emperor published several decrees for the better regulation of the church and the empire. He established every-where governors and counts for the administration of justice, and ordered them to enquire into the usurpations made since the time of *Otho the Great*, and to cause all usurped possessions to be restored to their antient proprietors. These regulations, far from procuring the esteem of the *Romans*, served only to excite a new conspiracy against the emperor, which was encouraged by the counts of *Tuscany*. The conspirators, finding that *Otho* continued in the city with a very few guards, resolved to make use of the opportunity, and suddenly besieged him in his palace. Those that continued faithful ran to his defence, but not being able to resist the conspirators, an accommodation was proposed, during the settling the articles of which, *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, and *Hugh*
 e governor of *Florence*, found means of amusing the seditious, and giving the emperor and pope an opportunity of escaping.

The emperor publishes several decrees which irritate the Romans to a revolt.

They attack his palace, and he escapes with great difficulty.

Otho having recovered his liberty, immediately assembled his army, that had been distributed into different quarters, and gave orders to the cities of *Italy* to send their quota of auxiliaries; at the same time a new reinforcement from *Germany* was on their march to join him. The *Romans*, being afraid of his resentment, sent the widow of *Crescentius* to him, to endeavour to appease him. This woman, who lived with him as his concubine, and was in hopes of being declared empress, finding him inflexible to all her intreaties, and that she herself had even lost his favour, departed full of revenge, and sent him afterwards as a present a pair of poisoned gloves, which affected him with such a languor, that he died soon after at *Paterno*.

He assembles his army to punish the Romans;

but is poisoned by the widow of Crescentius.

- f This is the opinion of several authors^p; but *Ditmar* assures us, that he died of the small-pox^q. The *Germans* endeavoured to conceal his death from the *Italians*, and marched through *Lombardy* with the corpse dressed in the regal ornaments; however, the *Italians* having some suspicion of his death, attacked the *Germans* at several places; but they defending themselves with vigour, arrived with the corpse at *Augsburg*, without any considerable loss^r.

1002.

THE emperor's death being known in *Italy*, *Lombardy* was again thrown into confusion, upon account of his successor. One *Ardoin*, marquis of *Ivrea*, persuaded a great part of the nobles to declare against the *Germans*, alleging, that as *Otho* died without children, the *Italians* ought to assert their independency from a foreign yoke, and chuse a king of their own nation. Having, by his promises and money, prevailed with many of the nobles, an assembly was held at *Pavia*, where he was declared king. *Arnolphus*, archbishop of *Milan*, re-

Ardoin, marquis of Ivrea, is declared king of Italy, by a party of the nobles.

¹ BLOND, Dec. ii. l. iii. Chron. SIGEBERT.

^m BARONIUS, an. 996.

ⁿ DITMAR. l. iv.

^o SIGEBERT, ad ann. 1001. SIGON. l. vii. p. 185.

^p ANN. PADERB. ad ann. 1002. ADLZREITER.

Histoire de l'Eglise, & du Monde, par BENEDICT. PICTAV. p. 186.

^q DITMAR. l. iv.

^r SIGON. l. vii.

The archbishop of Milan, with the bishops, acknowledge the emperor Henry, and press him to come into Italy against Ardoin. turning soon afterwards from *Constantinople*, protested against the election of *Ardoin*, affirming, that by a decree of pope *Gregory*, a king of *Italy* could not be elected without his consent. He likewise called an assembly of the bishops at *Lodi*, where the election of *Ardoin* was declared void, and *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, who had been chosen emperor of *Germany*, was likewise acknowledged king of *Italy*. *Ardoin*, alarmed at the proceedings of the archbishop, immediately assembled some troops, with the resolution to compel the inhabitants of *Milan*, and the other favourers of the archbishop, to acknowledge his right. *Henry* being informed of the designs of *Ardoin* by *Arnolphus*, sent a small army into *Italy*, under the command of *Otho* duke of *Carinthia*, and governor of the county of *Verona*; but *Ardoin* having his troops ready for action, immediately marched against him, and attacking him in the passes of the *Alps*, before he could be joined by the well-affected *Italians*, he entirely defeated him, and obliged him to return to *Germany*. Though *Ardoin* by this victory was left without a rival in *Italy*, yet he was not able to reduce several cities in *Lombardy*, that still continued firm to the interests of the emperor; while others, particularly *Pisa*, *Genoa*, and *Florence*, took the opportunity of those disturbances to lay the foundations of their future grandeur. In the mean time the archbishop of *Milan* dying, one *Adelbert* usurped the archbishopric without any election; and pope *Sylvester* dying at *Rome*, was succeeded by *John Sico*, a *Roman*, who enjoyed the papal dignity only five months, and had for his successor one *John Fasan*, a *Roman*, who took the name of *John XIX*. The year following, the greatest part of *Pavia* was destroyed by fire, while all *Italy* was grievously afflicted with a famine, which introduced an epidemical distemper, that carried off great numbers of people.

Henry passes the Alps, defeats Ardoin, and is crowned at Pavia.
A. D. 1005.

The inhabitants of Pavia conspire against the emperor.

Henry pardons the conspirators, and returns to Germany.

Benedict VIII. is chosen pope, but is obliged to leave Rome.

Henry enters Italy with an army;
1013.

and is crowned emperor by the pope;
1014.

HENRY having by this time quieted the troubles in *Germany*, resolved upon an expedition into *Italy*, being earnestly solicited by many of the bishops and nobles who were oppressed by *Ardoin*. Having assembled a formidable army, he arrived at *Trento* upon *Palm Sunday*, and after some sharp disputes with the troops of *Ardoin*, who attacked him in passing the *Alps*, he encamped near *Brenta*. *Ardoin* finding himself disappointed in opposing the *Germans* in their passage over the *Alps*, retired with his army to *Ivrea*, while *Henry* took possession of *Verona* without opposition, and marched from thence to *Pavia*, where he was crowned king of *Italy* by the archbishop, in the presence of the nobility, and amidst the acclamations of the people. But not many hours after he was in great danger of his life, by an insurrection of the people, who having got drunk upon occasion of the solemnity, were excited by the partizans of *Ardoin* to quarrel with the *Germans*, and attack the palace of the king. The army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of the city, hearing of the danger of the emperor, ran to his assistance, and having got possession of the town by scaling the walls, repulsed the rioters, and with great difficulty were prevented from pillaging and burning the city. *Henry* pardoned the inhabitants of *Pavia*, and after giving audience to the deputies of the other cities of *Lombardy*, who came to assure him of their fidelity, he marched with his army to *Milan*, and from thence returned to *Germany*, by the country of the *Grisons*. *Henry* not having had time to establish his authority in *Italy*, immediately upon his departure, *Ardoin* took the field with an army, and ravaged the *Milanese*, and other provinces that held for the emperor.

THREE years afterwards, *John XIX.* dying, *Peter*, bishop of *Alva*, was chosen to succeed him, and took the name of *Sergius IV.* He governed the church of *Rome* not quite three years, and upon his death, the *Romans* were divided into factions, upon account of chusing a successor. Some elected one *Gregory*, but the other faction chose *John*, bishop of *Porto*, son of *Gregory*, count of *Tusculum*, who was consecrated, and took the name of *Benedict VIII.* But the party that favoured *Gregory* soon after prevailing, *Benedict* was expelled the city, and went to the emperor in *Germany*, to implore his protection. At the same time *Arnolphus*, archbishop of *Milan*, sending ambassadors to *Henry*, intreating his assistance against *Ardoin*, he resolved to march into *Italy*; and having settled the affairs of *Germany* in the best manner that he could, he left *Saxony* in the month of *September*, and entered *Italy* without any opposition. *Ardoin* not venturing to appear in arms against him, retired to his castle in *Piedmont*, and sent deputies to him, offering to deliver up the crown, on condition of being left in possession of the marquisate of *Ivrea*. *Henry* rejecting the proposal of *Ardoin*, marched with his army to the plain of *Roncalia*, where the nobles of the cities and provinces came and did homage for their fiefs; after which ceremony he held an assembly, in which he published several laws against murder and unlawful marriages. Upon dismissing the assembly, *Henry* went to *Pavia*, where he kept his *Christmas*, and marching afterwards to *Ravenna*, he conferred the archbishopric of that city, which had been seized by *Adelbert*, on his brother *Arnolphus*, and went, accompanied by his queen *Cunigond*, and many nobles and bishops, to *Rome*, where he received the imperial crown, which was also conferred on *Cunigond*, by pope *Benedict*, who had again got possession of his see. Before he entered the church, the pope

* SIGEBERT, ad hunc an.

* DITM. ibid.

* DITMAR, l. vi.

* Annal. BROUV. p. 385.

* Idem ibid.

* DITMAR, l. vi. p. 80.

* DITMAR, l. vii. MURATOR, t. ii. p. 204.

^a proposed to him the following question: *Will you observe your fidelity to me and my successors in every thing?* which demand, though a kind of homage, was submitted to by the emperor, who answered in the affirmative. After his coronation, Henry confirmed the privileges and donations granted by his predecessors to the Roman see, and added others, reserving still the sovereign authority, and the right of sending commissaries, to hear and redress the grievances of the people^a. During his residence at Rome, *Ditmar* relates, that the Romans made an insurrection against the Germans, which, with great difficulty, and after much bloodshed, was at last quelled by the emperor, who soon after marched for Lombardy, and returned after Easter into Germany^b. *and returns' to Germany.*

Soon after the departure of Henry, *Ardoïn*, still pretending to the kingdom of Lombardy, again appeared with a considerable army, and surprising *Vercelli*, marched against *Novara*; but not being able to reduce that city, he attacked *Como*, which he took by assault, and ravaged the country with his troops, even to the gates of *Milan*. The archbishop of *Milan*, alarmed at the progress of *Ardoïn*, sent to *Arnolphus* archbishop of *Ravenna* for assistance, who immediately raised an army, and joined that of *Milan*; after which junction, the two prelates recovered *Vercelli* and *Como*, and likewise reduced *Cremona*, which at first made some resistance. The people favouring the party of the archbishops, their army soon became very formidable; so that *Ardoïn*, finding himself unable to defend his usurpations, and being sensible that he had lost the affection of the people, retired from the world, and went into the monastery of *Frutari*, where he died three years afterwards^c. The following year the Saracens of *Sicily*, in conjunction with those of *Calabria*, made a descent on the coasts of *Tuscany*, took and plundered *l'Erici*, and made themselves masters of the neighbouring country. *Be-nediēt*, afraid lest they should advance towards *Rome*, raised some forces, and wrote to the bishops to join him with their troops, in order to attack the infidels: at the same time he assembled a great many ships, and sent them to that part of the coast where the infidels landed; notwithstanding this precaution, the chief of the Saracens found means of escaping, with a few attendants; but the rest were all killed or taken prisoners; among these last was the general's wife, whom the pope ordered to be beheaded^d. *The archbishops of Milan and Ravenna recover the cities, and Ardoïn retires from the world into a monastery. The Saracens invade Tuscany, but are defeated. A. D. 1016.*

About the same period great disturbances arose in *Apulia* in *Calabria*, occasioned by the severity of the Greek governor, named *Catapan*. The inhabitants of *Bari* revolted from the Greek emperor, and endeavoured to assert their freedom under the conduct of *Melo* and *Dattus*. They were however soon obliged to submit, and *Melo* and *Dattus* flying, the one to *Capua* and the other to *Garigliano*, a few years after hired some Norman adventurers, by whose assistance they renewed the war. The Normans distinguished themselves greatly by their valour; they were not, however, a match for the power of the Greeks, and *Melo* was at last obliged to have recourse to the emperor, who was likewise intreated by the pope to march into *Italy*. *Lombardy* was at this time greatly disturbed by a civil dissension among the nobles, many of whom envying the great wealth of *Boniface*, son of *Tedald*, late marquis of the king's lieutenant in *Lombardy*, they assembled in a body, and attacked the bride with her retinue. She escaped falling into their hands, but her brother *Conrad* and several others were slain. *The Normans assist the Apulians against the Greeks. 1017.*

HENRY, alarmed at the disorders that were increasing in *Italy*, at last resolved upon an expedition into that kingdom; and having made very considerable levies, passed the Alps with a formidable army in the beginning of the spring. After he had advanced a considerable way in *Italy*, he divided his army into three bodies, marching himself with the principal division along the *Adriatic* sea to *Traja*, a city in *Apulia*, lately rebuilt and fortified by *Basanus*^e; and ordering *Poppo*, archbishop of *Triers*, to march through the country of *Marsi*, now *l'Abruzzo*, with 11,000 men. He gave the command of the third division, consisting of 20,000 men, to *Pelegrine*, archbishop of *Cologne*, and ordered him to march by *Rome* to *Capua*, to serve *Pandulphus*, and the abbot of *Cassino*^f. The abbot being informed that the emperor wanted to seize him, embarked at *Otranto*, in order to sail to *Constantinople*, but was shipwrecked and perished in the voyage. *Pelegrine*, being afraid lest *Pandulphus* should likewise escape, marched directly for *Capua*, and invested the place; but *Pandulphus* came out of his own accord and surrendered to *Pelegrine*, alleging, that he had committed no crime, and was ready to justify himself before the emperor. After the reduction of *Capua*, *Pelegrine* joined the emperor, who was then besieging *Traja*, and having delivered his prisoner, Henry immediately assembled the nobles to judge him. He was found guilty and condemned to death, but at the intercession of *Pelegrine* his life was spared, *1021. Henry marches with a formidable army into Italy. 1022. The abbot of Cassino is shipwrecked in going to Constantinople. The duke of Capua is taken prisoner and kept in irons.*

^a ADLZREITER.^b DITM. ubi supra.^c SIGON. l. viii. p. 190. MABIL. Annal. Bened. sec. vii.

p. 350.

^d DITM. l. vii. Annal. Boicæ gent. p. 392.^e BLOND. Dec. ii. l. 3.^f LEO Ost.

l. ii. c. 40.

and he was banished to *Germany*. The emperor having recovered several cities from the *Greeks*, had been employed in the siege of *Traja* for some time, the garrison being very strong, and expecting to be relieved by the emperor *Basil*, whose feet they boasted *Henry* would be obliged to kiss. But he having invested the city on every side, raised very strong machines against their walls, and to prevent them from being burnt by the besieged, he covered them with raw hides. At last, after three months siege, the city being greatly distressed, the inhabitants surrendered at discretion, and were pardoned by the emperor, on condition of delivering hostages for their future fidelity ^z.

Henry reduces the greatest part of the cities of Apulia and Calabria A. D. 1023. AFTER the reduction of *Traja*, and receiving hostages from the other cities of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, *Henry* immediately marched to *Capua*, as his army had suffered greatly by the heats, and a dysentery was very frequent in his camp ^a. Upon his arrival at *Capua*, he conferred that principality upon *Pandulphus* count of *Tiano*, and giving the title of counts to *Stephen*, *Mello*, and *Peter*, nephews of the late duke *Mello*, he left them, besides the assistance of the *Normans*, several of his officers, to assist them in recovering *Bari*. Having settled these affairs, he went with the pope to the monastery of *Cassino*, where *Theobald* was elected abbot in the room of *Atenulphus*, and consecrated by *Benedict*. *Henry*, while he was there, being relieved of a fit of the gravel, attributed his cure to St. *Benedict*, and from gratitude bestowed many valuable presents upon the abbey, and added to its other possessions some fiefs in the neighbourhood of *Termini*. The distemper still increasing in his army, he left *Cassino*, and marched to *Rome*, from whence he soon after set out for *Germany*, where he died the year following, and was buried at *Bamberg*. A few months before the death of the emperor, died pope *Benedict*, who was succeeded by his brother *John*, then only a laic; but by the force of money, and the strength of the *Tusculan* faction, he obtained the papal dignity without a competitor, and took the name of *John XX* ⁱ.

Conrad duke of Franconia is chosen emperor of Germany. As *Henry* had no children, some time before his death he recommended to the nobles of *Germany*, *Conrad*, duke of *Franconia*, for his successor. Notwithstanding the recommendation of the emperor, there appeared a great many competitors at the election, which was held in a plain near *Worms*; but after canvassing the pretensions of the different candidates for six weeks, *Conrad* was at last elected, and soon after crowned at *Mentz*, by *Aribo* the archbishop. As soon as the news of the death of the emperor *Henry* arrived in *Italy*, *Heribert*, archbishop of *Milan*, held an assembly of the bishops and nobles of *Lombardy*, in the plain of *Roncalia*, and proposed to them the election of *Conrad*; but the greatest part of the nobles being averse to the *Germans*, refused to agree to the proposal of the archbishop, and inclined to favour some other competitor. The assembly dispersing without coming to any determination, *Heribert* went into *Germany*, and from his own authority alone declared *Conrad* king of *Italy*, and took the oath of allegiance to him as such ^k. *Conrad*, in return for the services of *Heribert*, increased the privileges of his archbishopric, allowing him not only to consecrate, but likewise to appoint the bishop of *Lodi*. The year after the return of *Heribert*, the bishop of *Lodi* dying, the archbishop immediately exercised his right, and appointed *Ambrose* to fill the vacant see. But the inhabitants of *Lodi* refusing to accept of him, *Heribert* immediately raised an army, and besieging their city, compelled them to receive him, and to take an oath of submission. The favour of the emperor, and the success of his arms against *Lodi*, excited *Heribert* to oppress the nobles of *Milan*, many of whom he deprived of their dignities, by which oppression, finding that he had alienated their affections, he accused them of a conspiracy, and expelled them the city. The exiled nobles continuing in a body, took up their habitation in a place called *Mons*, or *Motta* (G), between *Milan* and *Lodi*, which they fortified; and having made an alliance with some cities disaffected to the archbishop, they assembled their forces and defeated *Heribert*, who thereupon fled to *Germany*, and invited *Conrad* to come into *Italy* ^l.

The nobles of Italy offer their crown to the king of France. He refuses it; upon which they offer it to the duke of *Guienne*. IN the mean time the *Italian* nobles, who were disaffected to *Conrad*, sent an embassy to *Robert* king of *France*, offering the crown of *Italy* and the dignity of emperor to him, or his son *Hugh*, provided he would come into their kingdom with an army to oppose the entrance of the *Germans*. *Robert* refused to accept of their offer, both for himself and his son, as he knew he could not form any pretensions to the kingdom of *Italy* without exposing himself to a war with the *Germans*. The deputies having received a denial from the king of *France*, repeated their offer to *William* duke of *Guienne*, who, after consulting the king of *France*, accepted of their offer in favour of his son; and that he might not be disturbed by the *Germans*,

^z GLABER, l. iii. c. 1. & lviii. in fine.

^a LEO Ost. l. ii. c. 42 & 43.

^k SIGON. l. viii. p. 193.

ⁱ GLABER, l. iv. c. 1. LEO Ost. l. xxvii.

^l Idem ibid.

(G) *Glaber* accuses the inhabitants of this city of having renounced christianity, and offering sacrifices to idols (3).

(3) *Glaber*, l. iv. c. 2.

a prevailed with many of the nobles of *Lorraine* to revolt from *Conrad*, they having at first opposed his election, and favoured one *Cono* or *Conrad* the younger^m. *William*, thinking that he had disposed every thing to favour his enterprize, set out with an army for *Italy*; but before he had passed the *Alps*, he was informed that *Conrad* had reconciled the malecontents of *Lorraine*, and by means of the pope, and the archbishop of *Milan*, had prevailed with the greatest part of the nobles and bishops of *Italy* to declare for him. Upon this news, *William* immediately resigned his pretensions to *Italy*, and returned with his army to *Guienne*, not thinking it safe to venture among a people so fickle as the *Italians*, against so powerful a competitor as *Conrad*.

The duke accepts of their offer, and sets out with an army for Italy.

In the mean time the emperor having quieted the commotions in *Germany* and *Lorraine*; caused his son *Henry*, then a boy of about eight years of age, to be crowned king of *Germany*; and publishing throughout all the provinces, that every lord that disturbed the public peace, during his absence, should be put to the ban of the empire, he marched with his army towards *Italy*, and arrived at *Vercelli* about *Easter*. According to *Glaber* and *Sigonius*ⁿ, he met at first some opposition; but having taken *Ivrea*, and obliged the inhabitants of *Motta* to surrender, he marched to *Milan*, and from thence to *Modoelia* or *Monza*, where he desired to receive the crown of *Italy* according to the ancient usage; which being now revived by *Conrad*, was observed by most of the following emperors. After the ceremony of the coronation, he marched with his army, and encamped in the plain of *Roncalia*, where he held a diet of the nobles and people, and published several new laws. Upon dismissing the diet, he visited several of the cities of *Italy*, and sent part of his army to block up *Pavia*, which city, upon hearing of the death of *Henry*, had burnt the imperial palace, and being fortified with a strong garrison, had refused to acknowledge *Conrad*. The imperialists investing the place very strictly, the inhabitants were soon reduced to great distress, and consented to take the oaths of allegiance to *Conrad*, and rebuild the palace at their own charge. After the reduction of *Pavia*, the emperor marched with his army to some mountains near the *Toza*, in the *Milanese*, where he continued two months, on account of the excessive heats, and in the beginning of autumn he marched to *Ravenna*, where he spent the winter (H).

Conrad enters Italy, and is crowned at Monza. A. D. 1026.

He obliges Pavia to surrender.

In the spring, *Conrad* set out for *Rome*, and upon his approach to the city, the nobility, clergy, and people, came out to meet him, with palms and branches of trees in their hands, and conducted him to the church of *St. Peter*; when he came to the steps, he was there received by *Rodolphus* king of *Burgundy*, and *Canute* king of *England* and *Denmark*, who walked up the steps, supporting the emperor. The archbishop of *Milan* being absent, the archbishop of *Ravenna* took *Conrad* by the hand, and led him to the pope, who was seated on the steps of the altar; but the deputies of *Milan* calling out that he usurped the office of their bishop, and a tumult arising, *Conrad* stopt, and desired the archbishop of *Milan* might be called. The deputies answering that he was absent, for a just reason, the pope ordered that the bishop of *Vercelli*, his suffragan, should perform his office; and the tumult being appeased, *Conrad* received the imperial crown, which was likewise conferred on his wife *Giselle*^o. A few days after this ceremony, which was performed on *Easter Sunday*, *Conrad* was alarmed with an insurrection of the *Romans*, which arose from a quarrel betwixt a *German* and an *Italian*, about purchasing the skin of an ox. The *Romans* running to the assistance of their countryman, immediately grew so outrageous, that they attempted to expel the emperor and his retinue; but the *Germans* taking arms, repulsed them, and, after much bloodshed, obliged them to submit. After this insurrection, *Conrad*, not thinking himself safe in *Rome*, left the city, and marched with his army to *Lombardy*, and at *Verona* granted some privileges to that bishopric, the charter being dated in that city on the 20th of *May*. Soon after he returned to *Germany*, and called a general diet at *Ulm*, to judge some nobles that had rebelled during his absence.

He goes to Rome, and is crowned by the pope. 1027.

A few years after, a faction in *Rome* having risen against the pope, expelled him from the city, and committed very great disturbances, which the emperor being informed of, he marched with an army to *Rome*, and, after punishing the authors of the commotion, returned to *Germany*, to defend the kingdom of *Burgundy*, which had been left to him by *Rodolphus*.

^m SIGEBERT, ad an. 1026. WIPPO.

ⁿ GLABER, l. iv. in principio. SIGON. l. viii. p. 193. Frising. l. vi. c. 29. ARETIN. Ann. Boii, l. v. p. 460. BLOND. Dec. ii. l. 3. SIGON. ubi supra.

^o OTHO

(H) About this time flourished *Guido Aretin*, a monk of the order of *St. Benedict*, who was invited by the pope, upon account of his eminent skill in musick, he having rendered himself famous by inventing the six notes, which are still used, and which he named from the first syllables of the following lines of the hymn of *St. John*.

UT queant laxis
RESonare fibris,

MIra gestarum
FAMuli tuarum,
SOLve polluti
LABii reatum.

He afterwards published a treatise, which he called, *Micrologus*, and dedicated it to *Theobald*, bishop of *Arrezzo*.

before

The Italians form a resolution of a general revolt. before his death *. *Conrad* was not long returned to *Germany*, when the *Italians* entered into a resolution of a general revolt, and swore that they would not allow any one to reign over them, who imposed any thing upon them without their own consent. The inhabitants of *Cremona*, finding that their bishop opposed their designs, expelled him and his friends from their city; and not thinking the place strong enough, they entirely destroyed the fortifications, and rebuilt others larger and stronger, with a full resolution to defend their undertaking against the emperor.

Conrad returns to Italy; 1037. *CONRAD*, though informed of these tumults, was hindered by the affairs of *Germany* from going into *Italy* till the end of the following year, when he passed the *Alps* with a formidable army, and arrived at *Verona* about the end of *December*. After *Christmas* he went to *Milan*, where he was received with great pomp by *Heribert*, in the church of *St. Ambrose*; but the inhabitants of *Milan* behaving in an insolent manner, he went to *Pavia*, where he called an assembly of the nobles, to try those who had been accused of raising the late disturbances. *Heribert* being suspected of encouraging the commotions, was summoned to justify himself before the assembly; but he refusing to submit to their jurisdiction, *Conrad* ordered him to be seized, and put under a guard. The bishops of *Vercelli*, *Cremona*, *Placenza*, and many others, convicted of the conspiracy, were sent prisoners into *Germany*; and all those of *Cremona*, who had been concerned in expelling their bishop, were deprived of their lands for five miles round, which were all conferred upon the bishopric. Upon dismissing the assembly at *Pavia*, *Conrad* went to *Ravenna*; but being informed that *Heribert* had escaped, by making the *German* guards drunk with wine, and had returned to *Milan*, which he was fortifying, he immediately left *Ravenna*, in order to put a stop to the designs of the archbishop. In his march he took possession of many of the castles of the malecontents, which he razed; and, upon his arriving at *Cremona*, he was met by the pope, who came there to intreat his favour towards many *Italians*, who had suffered greatly, though they had not been concerned in the revolt.

He besieges Milan, but without success. FROM *Cremona* the emperor marched to *Milan*, and the gates being shut against him, he invested the place, and ravaged all the country in the neighbourhood; but being baffled in his attacks upon the town, and losing a great many men, he set fire to the suburbs, and retired with his army, at the same time depriving *Heribert* of his archbishopric, which he conferred on *Ambrose*, one of his cardinals, having prevailed with the pope, who was then only a boy of seventeen years of age, to excommunicate *Heribert* †. During the summer months *Conrad* distributed his troops into quarters of refreshment, but in the autumn he again assembled his army, and marched to *Parma*, where he proposed to continue during the winter. While the emperor was celebrating his *Christmas* in that city, a sedition arose betwixt the inhabitants and the soldiers, in which some chief officers were killed, at whose death the *Germans* were so enraged, that they set fire to the city, by which the greatest part of it was destroyed. *Conrad*, not satisfied with this punishment, ordered their walls to be pulled down, in order to deter other cities from any seditious attempts. After this example of severity he marched to *Rome*, and having received many embassies from the monks of *Cassino*, both when he was in *Germany* and since his coming to *Italy*, intreating his protection against the violences of *Pandulphus* prince of *Capua*, he sent some of his chief officers to him, ordering him to restore all that he had taken from the monastery without delay.

Conrad marches against Pandulphus. *PANDULPHUS* refusing to obey, *Conrad* marched to *Cassino*, where he was received with the greatest respect; and he and the empress having made some rich presents to the monastery, he marched afterwards to *Capua*, where he arrived on the eve of *Whitsuntide*, and next day was solemnly crowned (I), after which ceremony he quitted the city, and encamped at *Old Capua* ‡. *Pandulphus* having abandoned the place upon the news of the approach of the emperor, had fled to the strong castle of *St. Agatha*; but finding *Conrad* absolute master of the country, he resolved to make his peace with him, and offered for his pardon 300 pounds of gold, one half to be paid immediately, and his son and nephew to be given as hostages for the security of the payment of the rest. The emperor agreed to his proposal; but *Pandulphus* soon after repenting, and refusing to fulfil it, *Conrad* gave the principality of *Capua* to *Guaimar* prince of *Salerno*, and at his intreaty confirmed *Rainulphus* the *Norman* in the county of *Aversa*. He likewise restored *Atenulphus* to his archbishopric of *Capua*, and then marched

He confers Capua on Guaimar, and confirms Aversa to Rainulphus.

* GLABER, l. iv. c. 8 & 9.

† SIGON. l. viii. p. 196. HERIBERT hoc an. & seq. l. ii. c. 66 & 67. Chron. Cavense, ad an. 1038. Chron. Cassin. ap. MURATOR, tom. v. p. 56.

‡ LEO Ost.

(I) The coronation spoken of here was only a solemn repetition of what had formerly been done at *Rome*, *Monza*, and *Germany*; it being a custom in those times to perform this ceremony on any of the great feasts of

the church: and *Conrad* is even said by *Sigebert* to have been crowned the year before, on *Whitsuntide*, at *Missa* near *Milan*.

a with his army to *Benevento*, from whence he set out for *Germany*, by the coast of the *Adriatic*, or upper sea. During his march his army was attacked by a contagious distemper, by which a great many died, among whom was *Herman*, duke of *Suabia*, the son of the empress by her first marriage, *Canon*, duke of *Franconia*, and *Gonild*, or *Matilda*, the daughter of *Canute*, king of *England*, who had married *Henry*, the emperor's eldest son, two years before.

b THE *Germans* had no sooner left *Italy*, but *Heribert* made great preparations for war against *Conrad* *re-*
Ambrose and all those who favoured him; but *Conrad* dying the year following, *Henry*, his *turns to Ger-*
successor, was reconciled to him, and sent ambassadors to him, desiring the crown of *Italy*, *many, where*
and promising future friendship. The wars in which *Henry* was engaged with the *Bohemians* *he dies.*
c and *Hungarians*, prevented him for several years from entering *Italy*. In the mean time, *A. D. 1309:*
the abbot of *Cassino*, resolving to expel the son of *Pandulphus* from the castle of *St. Agatha*,
prevailed with *Guiamar*, duke of *Capua*, to march against the place with an army. The gar-
rison being informed that *Pandulphus*, instead of receiving assistance from the emperor at
Constantinople, had been thrown into prison, and hearing likewise that *Guiamar* intended to
give the place to the inhabitants of *Tiano*, they voluntarily submitted to the abbot.

Soon after the city of *Milan* was greatly afflicted by domestic dissensions betwixt the nobles
and the people, who having divided amongst themselves the power of their former dukes, *1042.*
could not agree about one prerogative, namely, the right of possessing the estates of *Milan is*
dying without heirs. Each faction obstinately claiming this right, they had recourse to arms *greatly di-*
to justify their pretensions, and the people, fixing upon *Lanzo Curtius*, one of the nobles, *turbed by two*
c and constituting him their chief, became immediately too strong for the other faction, and *factions.*
expelled them from the city. The exiles still continuing in a body, and hiring other troops, re-
turned against the city, which they reduced to great distress, by a very close siege. *Lanzo*,
not able to repel the besiegers, fled to the emperor in *Germany*, imploring his assistance,
which *Henry* immediately promised, on condition that he would admit 14,000 *Germans* into
the city. *Lanzo* agreed to that condition; but, upon his return to *Italy*, reflecting that the
German auxiliaries might be more dangerous to the city than their domestic enemies, he went
privately to the camp of the nobles, and by shewing them their danger, prevailed with them
to be reconciled to the people. The year after this reconciliation, *Heribert* dying, the
nobles again began to oppress the people, and in an assembly made two decrees to strengthen
d their own power, one for the perpetual banishment of *Lanzo* and all his relations; the other,
that if a nobleman killed a plebeian, he should only be punished by a small fine. The
people, enraged at these injuries, chose another of the nobles, named *Landulphus*, for their
patron; and, the year following, at the election of the archbishop, opposed the faction of
the nobles with great violence, proposing four candidates against *Vido Valvasor*, the person
named by the nobles. The emperor approving of *Vido*, who was attached to his interest by
a personal friendship, the tumults greatly increased, and the people, in revenge, treated the
new archbishop with all possible indignity.

At this time *Rome* was likewise divided by two powerful factions; the chiefs of the one *The Romans*
e were the counts of *Tuscany*, or *Tuscanella*, who, for almost two centuries, had governed *oppose the*
with an absolute authority in the city, and destroyed the freedom of election of the popes. *counts of Tus-*
The other faction was supported by *Ptolemy* the consul, a man of great power, and who boasted *cany, and ex-*
to be descended from the emperor *Augustus*. The *Romans* under his command took arms, *pel pope Bene-*
and expelled pope *Benedict*, whose scandalous life was universally offensive; at the same time *dict.*
substituting one of their own faction, *John* bishop of *Sabinum*, who having procured the pa- *A. D. 1044.*
pal dignity by the force of his money, took the name of *Sylvester III*. *Benedict* was restored
three months afterwards by the *Tuscan* faction, and excommunicated *Sylvester*; but, find-
ing himself despised and hated by the *Romans*, he soon after resigned the pontificate to *John*,
archpresbyter of *Rome*, in consideration of a sum of money, and retired to his father's house,
f to continue his debauches with the greater freedom. Being soon tired of a private life, he
resumed his dignity, which was at the same time claimed by the other two, who, being each
supported by their partisans, maintained themselves upon the revenues of the holy see: thus,
while *Benedict* possessed the palace of the *Lateran*, *Sylvester* remained at *St. Peter's*, and the *1045.*
other at *St. Mary Major*, all three being remarkable for their scandalous lives. *Three popes at*
Roman priest of piety and learning, observing that what they chiefly regarded was the revenues *the same time*
of the church, prevailed with them all to renounce the pontificate, in consideration of a yearly *have their*
revenue, to be paid out of the patrimony of *St. Peter*, for which service the *Romans* were so *residence at*
grateful, that they elected him pope, under the name of *Gregory VI*. *Rome.*

^d SIGON. l. viii. p. 101.
OTHON Frisingens. l. ii. c. 32.

^e PETR. DIACON. Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 68.

^f LEO Ostiens. l. ii. c. 80.

Henry marches
into Italy
with an army.
A. D. 1046.

Is crowned
with the iron
crown at Mi-
lan.

Gregory VI.
is deposed.

Clement II.
is consecrated
pope, and the
same day
crowns the
emperor and
empress.

1047.
The emperor
confirms the
Norman con-
quests in Apu-
lia.

Clement dies,
and the papal
see is again
invaded by
Benedict.

A. D. 1048.
Damascus II.
is sent from
Germany, but
dies soon after.
Bruno bishop
of Toul is
elected pope,
and takes the
name of
Leo IX.

1049.

The Normans
invade the
territories of
the church.

1052.

HENRY being informed of these disturbances at *Rome*, at last resolved upon an expedi- a
tion into *Italy*, and ordered the nobles of *Lombardy* to assemble against a certain day at *Ron-*
calia. As he was delayed on his march he did not arrive at the time appointed; and the
nobles having waited for him three days, separated on the fourth, after protesting that they
had performed their duty as feudatories. Having at last passed the *Alps*, he marched to *Mi-*
lan without opposition, and establishing *Vido*, was crowned by him with the iron crown in
the church of *St. Ambrose*; after which ceremony he went to *Pavia*, where he called an as- b
sembly of the states, about the end of *October*, and restored those that had been exiled by
Conrad. The exiles, according to *Sigonius*^e, upon their return to *Italy*, retired from the
world, and took the habit of monks of the order of *St. Benedict*, having chosen for their re-
sidence a place called *Rondinetum*, near *Como*. The emperor having dismissed the assembly b
at *Pavia*, went from thence to *Placenza*, where he was met by the pope, who accompanied
him to *Sutri*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; at *Sutri* he called an assembly of the bishops,
where *Gregory* being accused of simony, was deposed, and the papal see being declared va-
cant, the *Romans* referred the nomination of a new pope to the emperor, who proposing *Sui-*
deger, or *Hedeger*, Bishop of *Bamberg*, he was unanimously approved of, and took the name
of *Clement II*. He was consecrated on *Christmas-day*, and the same day performed the cere-
mony of the coronation of the emperor and empress, after which they all three walked to the
palace of the *Lateran*, with their crowns and robes. Having continued about a month in
Rome, the emperor sent the late pope *Gregory* into *Germany*, and went, accompanied by the
pope, to the monastery of *Cassino*, from whence he marched to *Capua*, where he confirmed to c
the *Normans* the conquests they had made in *Apulia*^h.

He marched afterwards to *Lombardy*, and celebrated his *Easter* at *Mantua*, from whence
he proceeded to *Roncalia*, where he held an assembly of the states, and appointing a bishop
for *Pavia*, and recommending him to the archbishop of *Milan*, he marched with his army
over the *Alps*, accompanied by pope *Clement*. The *Pavians*, refusing to accept of the bi-
shop named by the emperor, the archbishop of *Milan* raised some forces, in order to ob-
lige them to receive him; but the *Pavians* meeting him in the field, an engagement en-
sued, which continued for some time with great obstinacy, till the *Pavians* being at last de-
feated, were obliged to submit and acknowledge their new bishop. Soon after the emperor's
return to *Germany*, pope *Clement* died, which *Benedict II*. being informed of, he again seized d
upon the papal dignity, which he held for eight months, till the arrival of *Poppo*, bishop
of *Brescia*, who took the name of *Damascus II*. he being sent from *Germany* by the emperor,
in consequence of a decree made when *Henry* was at *Rome*, whereby the nomination of
the popes was to depend solely upon the emperor^k. *Damascus* enjoyed his new dignity
only twenty-three days, and died at *Preneſte*, whither he had retired during the heats of
summer. *Benedict*, upon his death, again endeavoured to take possession of the papal see.
But being extremely odious to the *Romans*, they sent an embassy to the emperor, de-
siring him to name a pope, who accordingly sent *Bruno*, bishop of *Toul*, who, with great
unwillingness, accepted of his new dignity; but, having given his consent, he put on the
pontifical habit, and set out for *Rome*. On his journey he was met by *Hildebrand*, abbot of e
Cluny, afterwards *Gregory VII*. who persuading him to lay aside his purple, and not to accept
of the government of the church by the appointment of a layman, accompanied him to
Rome, where he was unanimously elected by the clergy and people, and took the name of
Leo IX.^l The following year *Leo* went into *Campania*, and made the cities renew their
oaths of allegiance to the emperor and the church, at the same time dissuading them from any
alliance with the *Normans*, whose power began to be dreaded in *Italy*. Having likewise freed
the *Beneventans* from the sentence of excommunication, he set out for his bishopric of *Toul*,
in *Lorraine*, and afterwards had a conference with the emperor at *Augsburgh*. Upon his re-
turn to *Rome*, he called a council bishops, in which *Gregory*, bishop of *Vercelli*, was deposed, f
having been accused of adultery and perjury. Soon after, *Drago*, count of *Apulia*, having
been assassinated by the *Apulians*, was succeeded by his brother *Humphrey*, who being de-
sirous of extending his dominions, invaded the territories of the church, plundering many
churches and monasteries. At the same time, his brother *Richard*, count of *Aversa*, being
informed of the death of *Pandulphus*, raised an army, and took possession of *Capua*, while
the pope, unable to oppose their arms, complained to the emperor, and excommunicated the
states of *Capua* and *Benevento*. A few months after this incursion of the *Normans*, *Boniface*,
marquis of *Mantua*, was assassinated at *Spineta*, and buried in the church of *St. Andrew*, at
Mantua, built by his wife *Beatrice*, who had by her husband two children, *Boniface* and
Matilda, afterwards famous for her piety and liberality to the church^m.

^e SIGON. l. viii. p. 202.

^h LEO Ostiens. l. ii. c. 81. Chron. Cavenf. ad hunc an. ROMUALD. Chron. ad hunc an.

^k LEO Ostiens. l. ii. c. 82.

^l Ibid. l. ii. c. 82. ROMUALD. Chron. ad hunc an. Pantheon

GODFREDI Viterbiens.

^m Chron. Cavenf. ad hunc an. SICARDI Chron. Vit. Mathildis à DONIZONE

- a THE *Normans* still continuing to infest *Campania* with their hostilities, *Leo* went into Ger-^{Leo IX. goes}
^{many} to solicit the assistance of the emperor; and after celebrating his *Christmas* with him ^{into Germany}
 at *Worms*, they had several conferences together about the affairs of *Italy*. *Leo*, demanding ^{to solicit the}
 the immediate jurisdiction of several abbies and churches in *Germany*, that had been granted ^{assistance of}
 to the holy see by former emperors, *Henry* proposed him to give in exchange the city of *Benevento*, which was accepted by the pope, on condition that the emperor would allow him
 a strong body of *Germans* to repel the *Normans*, who, regardless of the censures of the church, were still committing great outrages in the *Roman* territories. *Henry* agreeing to his
 demand, granted him some troops, which were joined by great numbers of volunteers of
 profligate characters, who expected to enrich themselves by the expedition ^a.
- b LEO, fully resolved to punish the *Normans*, marched for *Italy* with his army, accom-^{He returns to}
 panied by *Godfrey*, duke of *Lorraine*, *Frederick* his brother, and several other nobles of Ger-^{Italy with an}
^{many}. Arriving at *Rome* about the beginning of *Lent*, he immediately held a council to de-^{army.}
 liberate upon the expedition, and resolving to go in person against the enemy, the expecta-^{A. D. 1053.}
 tion of all *Italy* was raised for the event of the campaign. The *Normans*, alarmed at the
 great preparations against them, sent a submissive embassy to the pope, desiring peace, and
 offering to become his vassals, and to hold all their conquests of the holy see. Their re-
 quest was denied by *Leo*, who insisted, that their conquests belonged to the church of *St.*
Peter, and therefore must be restored. The *Normans* answered, that what they had con-
 quered by their arms they would likewise defend by their arms; and, though very few in
 number, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost. *Leo*, having a considerable army,
 and the *Norman* force consisting only of a very few infantry, with 3000 horse, he marched on,
 confident of victory, and gave orders to attack the enemy. His superiority of numbers ^{Engages the}
 soon gained him a great advantage, which the *Normans* being sensible of, they retreated ^{Normans, but}
 from the field of battle, and pretended to fly. The enemy pursuing them in disorder, they ^{is entirely de-}
 returned to the charge with great fury, and the *Italians* immediately flying, they attacked ^{feated and}
 the *Germans*, and, after a very great slaughter, intirely routed them. *Leo*, during the ^{taken prisoner.}
 battle, retired to a strong town in the neighbourhood; but, being besieged by the *Normans*,
 he was obliged to surrender in a few days, having first taken off the sentence of excommuni-
 cation which he had laid them under the year before ^o. The *Normans* received the
- d pope with great respect, and conducted him to *Benevento*, as though he had been a con-
 queror. The pope, finding his enemies so courteous, entered into a treaty with them, and
 confirmed to them all their conquests in *Calabria* and *Sicily*, and, after continuing six months
 at *Benevento*, he returned to *Rome*, on the 12th of *April*, and died a few days after. While ^{He is set at li-}
Leo continued at *Benevento*, the emperor caused his son *Henry*, then a boy of three years of ^{berty and re-}
 age, to be declared king of the *Romans*, in an assembly at *Tribur* upon the *Rhine*, soon ^{turns to Rome}
 after which he was informed that his enemy *Gozelo* had married *Beatrice*, the widow of the ^{where he dies.}
 marquis of *Mantua*, and that *Godfrey*, *Gozelo*'s son, and duke of *Spoletto* and *Tuscany*, had ^{A. D. 1054.}
 married *Mathilda*.

- AFTER the death of *Leo*, the *Roman* see continued vacant eleven months and twenty-four ^{Victor II.}
 days, occasioned by the violent intrusion of *Benedict IX.* who was supported by the counts ^{elect.}
 of *Tuscanelle*. The clergy, not finding any one to oppose to him at *Rome*, sent *Hilde-* ^{1055.}
brand, ambassador to the emperor, desiring him to appoint a person in *Germany* fit for that
 dignity. *Henry* immediately called an assembly of bishops at *Mentz*, where *Gebehard*, bi-
 shop of *Eichstet*, was chosen, much against his own inclination, and that of the emperor,
 who needed him greatly both for the education of his son, and his advice in affairs of state.
 However, he was conducted to *Rome* by *Hildebrand*, and being consecrated on holy *Friday*,
 took the name of *Victor II.* ^p. Soon after his promotion he called an assembly at *Florence*,
 to which he invited the emperor, who had entered *Italy* with an army, at the solicitation of ^{The emperor}
 the *Italians*, against *Gozelo*, the husband of *Beatrice*, whom they accused of aspiring to the ^{enters Italy}
 sovereignty of *Italy*. Upon his arrival the emperor found *Gozelo* very submissive; and as ^{with an army.}
 he publicly declared, that he was contented with the possessions he had acquired by his ^{Receives the}
 wife, he received him into his friendship, being afraid that, if he became disaffected, he would ^{submission of}
 join in an alliance with the *Normans* ^q. ^{Godfrey duke}
^{of Lorraine.}

HENRY having celebrated the feast of *Easter* at *Mantua*, arrived at *Florence* about *Whit-*
suntide, and was present at the council, where several new canons were made for the regulation
 of the church. In the mean time, *Gozelo*, or *Godfrey*, duke of *Lorraine*, notwithstanding his
 apparent reconciliation with the emperor, left *Italy*, and went to his brother *Baldwin*, count
 of *Flanders*. *Beatrice*, his wife, coming afterwards to the emperor, to justify herself and her hus-
 band, *Henry*, who was offended at his departure, detained her, and carried her prisoner with him

^a HERMAN. Chron. hoc an.

^o GULIELM. Apul. l. ii. LEO Ostiens. l. ii. c. 85—88. HERMAN. Chron.

hoc anno. Chion. Cavenfe. ROMUALD. Chron.

^p HERM. Chron. LEO Ostiens. l. ii. c. 90.

^q SIGON.

l. viii. p. 207.

into *Germany*. Her son *Boniface*, dying before she left *Italy*, *Mathilda* remained sole heiress a of all her possessions. *Henry*, having settled the affairs of *Italy*, returned, in the beginning of winter, to *Germany*, and died the year following at *Butfeld*, near *Paderborn*, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, having, a little before his death, called a diet of the empire at *Goslar*, at which the pope was present, and, together with the nobles of *Germany*, confirmed the election of his son *Henry*.

His son Henry is acknowledged emperor. IMMEDIATELY after the death of *Henry*, the empress *Agnes*, under pretence of being guardian to the young emperor, assumed the whole authority, having gained the bishops and many of the nobles, and likewise secured the fidelity of the troops of *Bavaria* and *Franconia*. A diet being soon after called at *Cologne*, *Henry* was acknowledged without opposition, and a reconciliation was made betwixt the empress and *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, and his brother b *Godfrey*, marquis of *Tuscany* or *Etruria*, by means of the pope. The *Italians* likewise, being now accustomed to the *German* princes, made no opposition to *Henry*, and received *Gilbert Corrighia* of *Parma* as the emperor's legate, or vicar, in *Italy*. *Victor II.* having continued with the young emperor for some weeks after *Christmas*, returned to *Italy*, and stopped at *Florence*. While he continued in that city, *Frederic*, another brother of *Godfrey*, marquis of *Tuscany*, who, two years before, had turned monk at *Cassino*, and was now elected abbot of that monastery, came to him, attended by eight brothers of the order, to receive consecration, and to complain of some violences of the count of *Tiano*. The pope having excommunicated the count, created *Frederic* a cardinal, and soon after consecrated c him abbot of *Monte Cassino*. The new abbot continued for some time with the pope; but, having obtained his leave, he went to *Rome*, where, a few weeks after his arrival, news was brought of the death of the pope at *Florence*. The cardinals immediately assembled for the election of a successor, and, after deliberating some time, united their votes for the cardinal *Frederic*, whom they brought by force from his lodgings to the church of *St. Peter*, where he was unanimously declared pope, and named *Stephen IX.* Immediately after his consecration, *Stephen* sent *Hildebrand*, as his legate, to the empress *Agnes*, to inform her of what had been done, and to consult with her concerning the reformation of the clergy, who were universally accused of simony.

Disputes betwixt the clergy and inhabitants of Milan. THE church of *Milan*, which, for almost 200 years, had separated from the church of *Rome*, was, at this time, likewise remarkable for simony, and other irregularities, benefices d being intirely procured by money, without any regard to merit. *Landulphus Cotta*, the prefect of the people, endeavouring to reform this abuse, was opposed by *Vido*, the archbishop, who was supported by the nobles. At last, the people having compelled the married priests to perform divine service apart by themselves, and the boys giving them the name of *Patarini*, in contempt, from the name of the place where they performed their functions, *Vido* called an assembly of his bishops, and, by a public decree, gave allowance to the clergy to marry.

Stephen forms a design of conferring the imperial crown on his brother. STEPHEN having continued four months at *Rome*, employed in reforming the abuses of the church, went, in the beginning of *December*, to the monastery of *Monte Cassino*, where he consecrated a new abbot, and sent him as his legate to the emperor of *Constantinople*. e Returning afterwards to *Rome*, he is said, by *Leo Ostiensis*, to have formed a design of conferring the imperial crown on his brother *Godfrey*, who, by his marriage with the countess *Beatrice*, was in possession of *Lucca*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*, and all that country which is at present called the *Patrimony of St. Peter*. Stephen, in order to assist his brother to raise troops, sent to the abbot of *Cassino*, desiring him to bring all the gold and silver of his monastery, as privately as possible, to *Rome*, promising to repay it in a short time, with a large addition. The abbot obeyed; but, upon his arrival at *Rome*, testifying a great reluctance at parting with the immense wealth, the pope was so moved, that he ordered it to be immediately carried back, reserving only a small *Greek* image, which he himself had brought from *Constantinople*. f Going afterwards to *Florence*, to have a conference with his brother, and, according to some authors, to declare him emperor, he died in that city, on the 28th of *March*, in the eighth month of his pontificate.

The Tusculan faction declare the bishop of Velitri pope, by the name of Benedict X. UPON the news of the death of *Stephen*, great disturbances arose at *Rome*; the *Tusculan* faction, presuming upon the minority of the emperor, rushed at night, with a body of armed men, into the *Vatican* church, where they declared their relation, *John* bishop of *Velitri*, pope, by the name of *Benedict X.* and the cardinals and bishops flying from *Rome*, they caused him to be consecrated by a presbyter of the church of *Ostia*, both pope and priest being equally ignorant, as *Peter Damian*, a man of great piety and learning, and then bishop of *Ostia*, declares, in one of his letters, that if either of them could read a page, he would

^r Ibid. l. ix. p. 209.

^s *Leo Ostiensis*. l. ii. c. 96—98,

^t *BLOND.* Dec. ii. l. iii. *SICON.* ubi supra.

^u *Leo Ostiensis*. l. ii. c. 99 & 100

^w *BLOND.* ubi supra.

- a not reckon *Benedict* a pope, but an apostle *. *Hildebrand*, at this time returning from his embassy in *Germany*, and hearing of the intrusion of *Benedict*, stopped at *Florence*, and assembling the bishops and cardinals at *Siena*, elected *Gerard*, bishop of *Florence*, who took the name of *Nicholas II*. Having sent to demand the confirmation of the emperor, *Henry* not only granted their request, but ordered *Godfrey*, marquis of *Tuscany*, to put *Gerard* in possession of the apostolic see. Before he entered *Rome*, *Nicholas* held a council at *Sutri*, at which were present, *Godfrey*, *Matilda*, *Guibert*, the chancellor, and a great many bishops of *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*. The council having deposed and excommunicated *Benedict*, *Nicholas* advanced to *Rome*, where he was received by the clergy and people with great respect. Soon after his arrival he held another council, consisting of 113 bishops, besides abbots, priests, and deacons, in which, among other matters, it was decreed, that, for the future, the pope should be elected only by the cardinals; but, that the emperor might take no offence, a clause was added, reserving to him all due honour and respect †.

The cardinals and bishops elect the bishop of Florence. A. D. 1059.

Benedict is excommunicated.

- As *Nicholas* wanted to settle all disputes with the *Normans*, he transferred the assembly to *Melfi*, whither *Robert Guiscard*, and his brother *Richard*, came with a numerous retinue, and proposing to hold their possessions of the pope, it was agreed, that the *Normans* should restore to the holy see the city of *Benevento*, and all other lands which they had conquered from it; and that the pope should give them a solemn absolution of all their former sentences of excommunication. *Nicholas* then gave the investiture of the principality of *Capua* to *Richard*, and of the dukedoms of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, to *Robert*, both princes swearing to be true and faithful feudatories to the holy see, and to pay every year twelve deniers of the money of *Pavia*, for every yoke of oxen in their dominions ‡. The treaty with the *Normans* being concluded, some of that nation, at the persuasion of *Nicholas*, marched through *Campania*, and invaded the territories of the counts of *Tuscanella*, under pretence of their rebelling against their lord the pope. Having entered their country, they committed great outrages, so that the counts were obliged to submit to the pope, and to intreat his intercession with the invaders §.

Pope Nicholas makes a treaty with the Normans;

and gives the investiture of Capua to Richard, and of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, to Robert.

- WHILE these things were doing in *Apulia* and at *Rome*, *Peter Damian* had arrived at *Milan*, as pope's legate, to terminate the disputes in that city, having been sent for by the prefect *Landulphus*. The day after he arrived, the people being informed of the design of his coming, assembled in great crowds at the palace, and by ringing the bells, and blowing trumpets, they raised a great insurrection in the city, threatening to put the legate to death, and crying out, that the pope had no right to regulate their church, which was independent of the *Roman* see. *Peter* going into the church, made a discourse to the people, which had such an effect upon them, that they immediately submitted. Proceeding then to examine into the grievances complained of, he found that there was scarce one priest, but who had purchased his preferment, and lived with a concubine. The archbishop being brought at last to acknowledge that he had transgressed the canons, and swearing with his clergy never again to commit the like offences, he was pardoned by the legate, who quickly left the place. Upon his departure, the clergy reviling him for betraying the rights of their church, he again allowed them to keep concubines, which being opposed by the people, the city was again thrown into great confusion ¶.

Peter Damian goes to Milan as pope's legate.

The archbishop and clergy swear to reform the abuses in that church. A. D. 1060.

- POPE *Nicholas* dying about two years after, the city of *Rome* was greatly divided, on account of chusing a successor, *Hildebrand* having persuaded the cardinals and bishops to have no regard to the emperor, but immediately to proceed to the election: on the other hand, the counts of *Tuscany* supported the rights of the emperor, in hopes that he would assist them in recovering what the *Normans* had lately taken from them. This faction being joined by cardinal *Hugh*, a *German* by nation, and by the bishops of *Lombardy*, they sent an embassy to the emperor, in the name of the senate, the clergy, and people, to present him with a crown of gold, and the title of patrician of *Rome*, at the same time intreating him to nominate a pope *. *Hildebrand* and his party, hearing that the other faction were accusing them to the emperor, sent the cardinal *Stephen*, as their ambassador, to the imperial court; who, after waiting five days, without being admitted to an audience, returned to *Rome*. Upon his return, the cardinals, pretending necessity, and the danger of a civil war, immediately elected *Anselm*, bishop of *Lucca*, who being soon after conducted to *Rome* by the marquis *Godfrey*, was consecrated without the authority of the emperor, and took the name of *Alexander II*.

Rome in great confusion on the death of pope Nicholas. 1061.

The counts of Tuscany support the rights of the emperor, in opposition to the cardinals; who elect Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who takes the name of Alexander II.

THE news of this election arriving at *Basil*, where the emperor then was, and had called an assembly of bishops, it was judged a high contempt of the imperial authority; and the chancellor *Guibert* affirming, that the emperor ought to exercise his power in

* PET. DAM. Epist.

† BARON. ad hunc an.

‡ Chron. Cassin. l. iii. c. 16.

GUL. Apul. l. ii.

Vita Nicolai. LEO Ostiens. l. iii. c. 13.

§ Vit. Pont. Rom. a Nicol. Card.

¶ SIGON. l. ix. p. 112.

Vit. Pont. Rom. a Nicol. Card.

* HERM. ad hunc an.

Cadalous bishop of Parma is appointed by the emperor, who takes the name of Honorius II. He goes to Rome with an army, but is defeated by Godfrey marquis of Tuscany.

A. D. 1062.

He again enters Rome, but is besieged in the castle of St. Angelo.

The emperor is taken from his mother, and the administration committed to the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen.

Anno archbishop of Cologne comes into Italy to put an end to the schism of the church of Rome.

A. D. 1064.

The people of Milan expel the married clergy.

Erlembaldus the prefect receives letters of excommunication from the pope against the archbishop.

A. D. 1065.

nominating a pope, proposed *Cadalous*, bishop of *Parma*, who was immediately chosen by the bishops of *Placenza* and *Vercelli* from *Italy*, and all the other bishops present in the assembly. Immediately after, being confirmed by the emperor, he assumed the pontifical habit, with the name of *Honorius II.* and engaging the *Lombards* to take arms to support his cause, he marched towards *Rome*, where he had a powerful party that favoured him. *Alexander* hearing of his approach, retired to *Tuscany*, while *Cadalous*, attended by the chancellor *Guibert*, and many bishops of *Lombardy*, arrived with his army, and encamped before the city^d, on the 12th of *April*. The people of *Rome*, who had hitherto favoured *Alexander*, immediately took arms, and having got possession of the gates, made a sally upon the enemy; but, attacking them without order, were repulsed with considerable loss. In the mean time, *Godfrey*, marquis of *Tuscany*, having assembled an army, marched to the relief of the city, and attacking *Cadalous*, entirely defeated him, and obliged him to return to *Parma*, where he still continued to assume the title of pope, and to endeavour to increase his party by the influence of his money. Having by this means procured the favour of a great many nobles of *Rome*, in the beginning of the spring he was again invited to the city, which he reached without being observed, by travelling during the night; and, having privately entered the *Leonine* city, so called from pope *Leo*, he endeavoured, by the help of his partisans, to get possession of the *Vatican*. The attack being made during the night, the *Romans*, at first, were in great confusion; but, by day-break, discovering the fraud, they repulsed *Cadalous* and his party, and obliged them to fly to the castle, where they were immediately besieged.

In the mean time the young emperor, having been taken by a stratagem from the hands of his mother, who, by several acts of her administration, had given offence to the nobles of *Germany*; his education, and the management of the affairs of the empire, were committed to *Anno*, or *Hanno*, archbishop of *Cologne*, and *Adelbert*, archbishop of *Bremen*, who immediately deprived *Guibert* of the office of chancellor, and conferred it upon *Gregory*, bishop of *Vercelli*. *Anno*, likewise desirous to put an end to the schism of the church, called an assembly of bishops at *Osborne*, or *Osber*, in *Saxony*, in which *Alexander* was declared duly elected; but hearing that *Cadalous* still disturbed *Italy* by keeping up his pretensions, he went himself into that kingdom; and, arriving at *Rome*, he represented to the pope, that, by his election, he had infringed the rights of the emperor, and therefore he ought to resign, or call a general council, to shew the justice of his cause. The pope received *Anno* with great civility, and consented to a general council, which was called at *Mantua*: and *Alexander*, in the presence of the *Italian*, *German*, and *Spanish* bishops, clearing himself, by an oath, of the crime of simony, of which he was accused, *Cadalous* was unanimously deposed, and the right of *Alexander* acknowledged. In the mean time *Cadalous*, finding his cause declining, bribed *Cincius*, a *Roman* citizen of great power, by whose means he escaped from the castle of *St. Angelo*, and returned to his church, where, though despised by every man, he still retained the pontifical habit till his death, which happened the year following.

DURING these disputes betwixt *Cadalous* and *Alexander*, the faction still continued at *Milan*, to the great disturbance of the peace of that city; for *Erlembaldus*, the prefect of the city, having received from *Alexander*, soon after his promotion, a decree, condemning the clergy who kept concubines, immediately expelled all the clergy who had families from the city, and threatened the archbishop, the captains and their vassals, with death, if they offered to make any opposition. He was assisted by one *Arialdus*, a deacon of noble birth, who, several years before, had gone to reside at *Milan*, to oppose what he reckoned a heresy among the clergy^e. *Erlembaldus*, after dismissing of the council at *Mantua*, waited upon *Alexander* at *Lucca*, where he obtained a new edict against the married clergy, and likewise letters of excommunication against the archbishop *Vido*, which he published upon his return to *Milan*. The archbishop being highly offended at this proceeding, on the *Sunday* of pen-tecost exclaimed against *Erlembaldus* from the pulpit; and a tumult arising, the different parties attacked one another in the church, and continuing the attack afterwards in the streets, a great many persons were slain. The citizens blaming *Ariald*, as the cause of this disturbance, he thought fit to leave the city: but, being seized near the *Lago Maggiore*, by the niece of the archbishop, he was cruelly put to death by her servant-maids^f. *Erlembaldus*, after the death of *Ariald*, continued quiet for some time; but, going the following year to *Rome*, he obtained a decree, that no person ought to be accounted a lawful bishop, though chosen by the clergy and people, unless approved of by the pope; and returning to *Milan*, obliged the clergy and people to give their assent to it by an oath.

^d Otho Frisingens. l. vi. c. 44. Vit. Pont. Rom. a Nicol. Card. Mediol. Histor. l. iii. c. 29. SYRUS in Vit. Ariald.

^e BARON. Annal.

^f LANDULPH.

- a VIDO, finding no end of the disturbances, at last resolved to abdicate his bishopric, and sent the pastoral rod and the ring to the emperor. *Godfrey*, a deacon of that church, having before made a private agreement with *Vido*, immediately went into *Germany*, and, by giving a large sum of money to the emperor, obtained from him the investiture of the archbishopric. *Godfrey* was equally unacceptable to both factions; and the pope having sent letters to *Milan*, condemning his election, *Erlembaldus* opposed his entrance into the city, and obliged him to retire, first to *Varisum*, and from thence to *Castellio*, where he was besieged for several months. While the inhabitants of *Milan* were employed in this siege, their city, by some unknown means, was set on fire, and the greatest part of it consumed, which calamity obliged the citizens to raise the siege of *Castellio*. But, upon their return to *Milan*, taking an oath never to admit *Godfrey*, *Erlembaldus* informed the pope of their resolution; and, having received the title of standard-bearer of the holy *Roman* church, he procured the election of one *Atto*, who was consecrated in the presence of the pope's legate, without the authority of the emperor. The other faction, highly displeased at this infringement of the emperor's right, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and broke into the palace, as the new archbishop and his friends were going to sit down to a grand entertainment. The guests immediately dispersed; but the rioters having found *Atto*, beat him in a cruel manner, and dragging him out from the palace, obliged him to abdicate his new dignity in the church of *St. Ambrose*. The pope being informed of this disturbance, excommunicated *Godfrey*, and confirmed the election of *Atto* by a new decree; while the emperor, thinking his prerogative infringed by the proceedings of the pope, assisted *Godfrey* to recover a part of the possessions of his bishopric, who, in the mean time, resided at *Brescia*, a small city on the frontiers of *Montferrat*. The pope being highly displeased that the emperor had opposed his decrees, made complaints to *Anno*, archbishop of *Cologne*, and *Herman*, bishop of *Bamberg*, who were then in *Italy* collecting the revenues of the empire; and the following year sent by them letters to the emperor, citing him to appear before his tribunal, to justify himself of the crime of simony, and giving the investiture of churches without the approbation of the see of *Rome*.

A. D. 1067.

Erlembaldus
procures the
election of *At-*
to a priest,
who is confirm-
ed without the
authority of
the emperor.
A. D. 1072.

1073.

^a ARNULPH. *Histor. Mediol.* l. iii. c. 23. *SICON.* l. ix. p. 217.

The history of the Popes.

- d ALEXANDER dying soon after, on the 20th of *April*, this citation had no effect; and his successor *Hildebrand*, who took the name of *Gregory VII.* having been elected in a precipitate and irregular manner, the day after the death of *Alexander* (K), thought proper, at first, not to irritate the emperor, but sent an embassy to him at *Augsburg*, declaring, that he had been elected against his will, and intreating him not to consent to his election, promised that he would not allow himself to be consecrated till he had received his determination. *Henry* was almost prevailed upon, by the persuasions of the nobles and bishops of *Germany*, to take *Gregory* at his word, and to refuse his consent; but, as it was his own opinion that *Gregory's* submission and humility were sincere, he sent count *Eberhard* to *Rome*, to enquire into his election. *Gregory* received the count with great respect, and soon satisfied him with regard to his election; which the emperor being informed of, he sent the bishop of *Vercelli*, his chancellor in *Italy*, to confirm his election, and to be present at his consecration. *Gregory*, having now got full possession of the apostolic see, soon discovered by his letters, that he was resolved, at any rate, to oblige the emperor to desist from conferring benefices: and likewise published a decree, forbidding the bishops to take the title of pope, which name he appropriated to himself alone. Before he was elected, he sent the cardinal *Hugh*, as his legate, into *Spain*, to reform the abuses in that kingdom; but principally to claim, for the apostolic see, all the conquests that had been lately made from the *Moors*, under pretence that the kingdom of *Spain*, before the invasion of those Infidels, was tributary to the *Roman* see. *Henry*, finding that *Gregory* began his pontificate with vigour, sent him a submissive

Death of
Alexander,
and election of
Gregory VII.

The emperor
confirms his
election;

and sends a
submissive

^b BARON. *Annal.* *Lambertus*, hoc anno.

(K) *Gregory* was born at *Soan* in *Tuscany*, of a low extraction, his father being a carpenter. He made early progress in literature, and being of an active and ambitious spirit, soon distinguished himself in life. He was sent by *Victor II.* as legate into *France*, and employed afterwards in several embassies. During the pontificate of *Alexander*, being created chancellor, he ruled the church with an absolute authority; and discovering an extraordinary zeal for extending the power of the

apostolic see, he was chosen by the cardinals to succeed him. He was of a low stature and ungraceful appearance, but an impetuous and domineering spirit. Not content with being the spiritual head of *Europe*, he arrogated to himself temporal authority, deposing princes, and conferring kingdoms; his extravagant ambition, which, in a more enlightened age, would have appeared chimerical, then meeting with success.

letter to him,
acknowledging
his errors.

Gregory re-
ceives the al-
legiance of the
dukes of Be-
nevento and
Capua.

He threatens
to excommuni-
cate the king
of France.
A. D. 1074.

Gregory sends
his legates into
Germany to
hold a council;

but, being pre-
vented by the
emperor, they
return to Italy.

A general
council at
Rome.

Gregory pro-
poses a crusade
against the
Saracens.

The Normans
obliged to quit
their conquests
in Campania.
A. D. 1075.

letter, acknowledging his former errors, which he attributed to his youth, and to bad coun- a
sellors, and desiring him to correct what was amiss in the church of *Milan*, promising to
assist him in every thing with his imperial authority ¹.

In the mean time the pope left *Rome*, and having visited *Paterno*, went to *Monte Cassino* :
from thence taking the abbot *Desiderius* along with him, he went to *Benevento*, where he
entered into an agreement with *Laudulphus*, by which the duke bound himself never to be
unfaithful to the holy *Roman* church, under the penalty of forfeiting his title. From *Bene-*
vento, Gregory went to *Capua*, where he received the oath of fidelity from duke *Richard*,
who, among other things, promised to assist the pope in defending the rights of *St.*
Peter, to resign all the churches of his dominions to the authority of the *Roman* see, and to
take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, when he should be desired by the pope or his b
successors. While he continued at *Capua*, he ordained *James*, archbishop of *Cagliari*, and
sent a letter to the governor of the island of *Sardinia*, informing him, that the dominion of
Sardinia belonged to the *Roman* see, and that the *Normans* and *Lombards* had formerly de-
sired leave to invade it, promising to resign one half of the island entirely to the see of
Rome, and to pay homage for the other half: but, if he continued in his obedience, he
would not allow any one to molest him. Before he returned to *Rome*, he wrote a letter to the
bishop of *Chalons*, threatening to excommunicate the king of *France*, and to absolve his sub-
jects from their allegiance, if he did not desist from conferring of benefices for money,
of which heresy he was then greatly accused.

THE good understanding betwixt the emperor and the pope was of very short continu- c
ance; for, the following year, he sent the empress *Agnes*, and four *Italian* bishops, as
his legates, to the emperor, to hold a council in *Germany*, in order to judge and con-
demn all the bishops and abbots who should be found guilty of simony. The emperor
received the legates with great civility, but, by the general advice of his clergy, would not
allow them to call a council in *Germany*; and ordered the bishop of *Bremen* to tell them, that
the archbishop of *Mentz* was declared the only vicar of the apostolic see in *Germany* by the
late pope *Alexander II.* The legates insisted that this grant ceased with the death of the pope;
but, not being able to obtain any thing of the emperor, they excommunicated the bishop of
Bremen, who pretended, that the privilege of vicar belonged to him as well as to the arch- d
bishop of *Mentz* ^k; after which they returned to *Rome* ^l.

In the mean time Gregory held a general council, at the *Lateran*, of the bishops and
abbots of *Italy*, in which were present the marchioness *Matilda*, and *Gisulphus* duke of *Sal-*
erno, besides *Guibert*, or *Gilbert*, the late chancellor, who had been created archbishop of
Ravenna by *Alexander*. In this council it was ordained, that if any one should take the in-
vestiture of a church from a layman, both he who gave, and he who received, the investiture
should be excommunicated ^m. The archbishops of *Ratisbon*, *Constans*, and *Lusanne*, with the
counts *Edward* and *Uldaric*, were likewise excommunicated, being accused of advising the
emperor to claim the privilege of conferring benefices. The council likewise decreed, that
all married priests should either dismiss their wives or be deposed; which decree, when it
was published in *Germany*, was opposed by all the clergy in that kingdom, who accused the
pope of contradicting a precept of *St. Paul*. Nevertheless, Gregory persisted in his purpose,
and renewed a decree of his predecessors, forbidding any one to hear mass performed by a
married priest. Gregory, having dismissed the council, wrote to the count of *Burgundy* for a
body of troops, designing an expedition against *Robert Guiscard*, duke of *Apulia*, who, tho'
excommunicated by the late council for invading *Campania*, still continued his hostilities, and
had made an alliance with the emperor *Henry* ⁿ. Besides this expedition against the *Normans*,

Gregory proposed a crusade against the *Saracens*, who were then threatening *Constantinople*;
for which purpose he wrote several letters to all Christians, exhorting them to lay down their
lives for their brethren; and having by this means levied 30,000 men, he wrote to the em- f
peror, desiring his council and assistance, informing him, that he designed likewise to re-
cover the *Armenians* to the true faith ^o. But *Henry* paying no regard to his letter, and the
emperor of *Constantinople* having gained some advantages over the *Saracens*, this expedition
of the pope was laid aside; however, the *Normans*, alarmed at these warlike preparations,
ceased their hostilities, and evacuated *Campania*; and *Robert* wrote to the pope, offering any
security for his future fidelity, on condition of being absolved from the sentence of excom-
munication. Gregory did not grant his request, but referred it to the consideration of a gene-
ral council, which was to be held at *Rome* the following year, during the time of *Lent*. The

¹ Epist. Henri. ap. BARON.

Arragon. ap. MURATOR. BLOND. Dec. ii. l. iii. LAMBERT, hoc an.

^k PETRUS Bibliothec. in Vit. Pontif. Rom.

^l Vit. Pontif. Rom. a Card.

NULPH. Hist. Mediol. l. iv. c. 7.

^m SIGON. l. ix. p. 217.

ⁿ AR-

^o GREG. l. i. epist. xlix. l. ii. epist. xxx, & xxxvii.

a council being assembled, threatened *Philip*, king of *France*, with excommunication, if he did not satisfy the nuncios of the pope; and they suspended the archbishop of *Bremen*, and the bishops of *Strasburgh*, *Spire*, and *Bamberg*, if they did not appear to give satisfaction before *Easter*. In *Lombardy* the bishop of *Pavia* was suspended, and the bishop of *Piacenza* deposed.

ABOUT this time *Gregory* wrote to *Sueno*, king of *Denmark*, desiring him to send deputies to *Rome*, to inform him of the state of affairs in his kingdom, and offering him a province of *Italy*, then possessed by the heretics, if he would assist the holy see against its enemies. These arbitrary proceedings of the pope gave new spirits to the faction of *Erlembaldus* at *Milan*. At the feast of *Easter*, *Erlembaldus* presenting a new chrism for the use of baptism, and the cardinals of the church refusing to consecrate it, one *Luitprandus*, a priest, usurped their office, and baptized all that presented themselves. The people, highly offended at this usurpation, left the city, and made an agreement, which they confirmed with an oath, to accept of no archbishop who was not confirmed by the emperor. Soon after, returning to the city, they slew *Erlembaldus* in a tumult, and seizing *Luitprandus*, cut off his nose and ears.^p *Erlembaldus killed at Milan.* *Henry* having been engaged in a war with the *Saxons* ever since the accession of *Gregory* to the pontificate, had hitherto behaved with respect and submission, not willing to increase the number of his enemies, and hoping that the pope would observe some measure in his conduct; but finding his usurpation exorbitant, he resolved to assert his own authority; and as the inhabitants of *Milan* refused to accept of *Godfrey*, and had sent an embassy to him, acquainting him with the death of *Erlembald*, and desiring an archbishop, he allowed them to choose whom they pleased promising to confirm him. The ambassadors fixing upon *Tedald* or *Theobald*, one of the king's chaplains, he received the investiture of the archbishopric, and at *Milan* was consecrated by the same persons who had formerly consecrated *Godfrey*. Thus at the same time there were three archbishops to the same see; *Theobald* residing at *Milan*, *Godfrey* at *Plebia* or *Brebia*, and *Atto* at *Rome*.^q *Three archbishops possess the see of Milan at the same time.*

HENRY likewise countenanced the bishop of *Bamberg*, and the other bishops suspended by the council of *Rome*; and the archbishop of *Mentz* went to *Italy* to intercede with the pope in their behalf; but he could obtain nothing from *Gregory*, but leave to assemble a council in *Germany*, in order to determine the dispute concerning the celibacy of the clergy. The assembly was accordingly held at *Mentz*, in the month of *October*; but the pope's legate, who had attended the archbishop into *Germany*, had no sooner proposed the question concerning celibacy, than the whole clergy who were present rose up in a tumultuous manner, and threatened the life of the archbishop and the legate. The assembly immediately dismissing, the archbishop wrote to the pope, referring all future determinations of that question to the see of *Rome*.

IN the mean time, *Gregory* having received an embassy from *Geysa*, king of *Hungary*, *Gregory* who, the year before, had expelled *Solomon*, he wrote a letter to him, informing him, that the kingdom of *Hungary* had been granted to the see of *Rome*, by *Stephen*, their first Christian king; therefore, if he would hold it as a fief of the holy see, he might expect his assistance against his competitor *Solomon*. He wrote likewise to *Demetrius*, king of *Russia*,^r who, being engaged in a war with his brother, had sent his son to *Rome*, offering to hold his kingdom as a fief of the apostolic see, on condition of having the investiture from the pope; wanting thereby to strengthen his authority against the party of his brother. *Gregory*, willingly embracing this opportunity of gratifying his ambition, together with the letter sent his nuncios into *Russia*, to strengthen the party of the king, and to receive his submission.

NOT long after he was attacked in *Rome*, by means of *Guibert*, or *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, who, being desirous of the pontificate for himself, had continued in the city after the dismissal of the council, and had entered into a conspiracy against the pope, with one *Cincius*, prefect of the city, a man of great wealth, but excommunicated on account of his profligate life.^s *Cincius*, having a great many troops always at his command, one *Christmas* eve seized the pope, while he was celebrating mass in the church of *St. Mary Major*, and stripping him of his pontifical robes, dragged him from thence, and shut him up in a strong tower. He met with no opposition in committing this violence, as the people had been expressly forbid to assemble in the churches that evening, on account of the heavy rains which had almost rendered the streets impassable; but the news of the pope's being seized spreading through the city, they assembled from all quarters, and being informed where he was detained, they attacked the tower with great violence. *Cincius*, finding that he should soon be forced to surrender, went and threw himself at *Gregory's* feet, and having obtained his promise of

^p ARNULPH. *Hist. Mediol.* l. iv. c. 9 & 10. SIGON. l. ix. p. 219.
senior. *Hist. Mediol.* l. iv. c. 2. ^r BARON. *Annal.* ad ann. 1075.

^q SIGON. ubi supra. LANDULPH.
^s *Acta Greg.* apud BOLL. tom.

pardon, set him at liberty; upon which he returned to the church, and finished the service, though greatly wounded in the forehead by a sword which was aimed at his neck. The protection of the pope saved *Cincius* from the fury of the populace; but, at the following *Easter*, he and all his accomplices were banished for ever from the city^a. *Gilbert*, seeing the bad success of the conspiracy, left *Rome*, and retired to *Ravenna*, where he entered into new designs against the pope, with *Theobald*, archbishop in *Milan*, and the other bishops of *Lombardy*.

In the mean time, *Gregory* having written several sharp letters to the emperor, accusing him of communicating with the excommunicated bishops (L), and of conferring the churches of *Fermo* and *Spoletto* on persons unknown to him, at last sent his legates into *Germany*, citing him to appear at the council of *Rome*, to answer to the crimes of which he was accused, and threatening him with immediate excommunication, if he neglected to appear^b. The emperor, highly offended at this summons, dismissed the legates with great contempt; and, finding that while *Gregory* held the pontificate he could not enjoy the empire in peace, he called an assembly of bishops and abbots at *Worms*, against the 23d of *January*, in order to depose the pope^c. The emperor came to *Worms*, on the day appointed, with a great many bishops and abbots; and the cardinal *Hugh*, surnamed *Candidus*, or *White*, having lately entered into the designs of the archbishop of *Ravenna*, came to the assembly, and, accusing the pope of simony, murder, atheism, and many other crimes, the greatest number of the bishops immediately declared, that *Hildebrand* could be no longer pope, nor have any power to bind or loose. The bishops of *Worms* and *Mentz* objected to the justness of this sentence, affirming, that it was not right to condemn a person absent, even without witnesses; but being at last brought to give their consent, one *Roland* was sent to *Rome* with a copy of the sentence against the pope. *Roland* made such dispatch, that he arrived at the city the day before the opening of the council, and, appearing next day at the assembly, delivered the letter from the council of *Worms*.

The pope appeared unconcerned at the sentence of deposition, and, at the next meeting of the assembly, proceeded to excommunicate the emperor, absolving likewise all his subjects in *Germany* and *Italy* from their oaths of allegiance (M). The assembly afterwards excommunicated the archbishop of *Mentz*, and many bishops of *Germany*, *Lombardy* and *France*, upon various accusations, and drew up several resolutions, under the title of *Dictatus papæ*^d (N), all tending to ascertain the despotic authority then usurped by the pope. The bishops of *Lombardy*, alarmed at the proceedings of the council of *Rome*, by the advice of *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, assembled at *Pavia*, after *Easter*, and, in imitation of the council of *Worms*, deposed *Gregory*, accusing him of the most horrid crimes. In the mean time, the bishops of *Germany*, repenting of what they had done at *Worms*, sent to the pope, acknowledging their error, and begging absolution of the censures they had incurred. *Gregory*, after some difficulties, was reconciled to them, and wrote general letters to all the bishops, nobles, and people in the empire, exhorting them to defend the *Roman* church, and justify his sentence against the emperor^e.

The *German* bishops having thus gone over to the party of the pope, *Henry* soon found himself deserted by the greatest part of his subjects, many of the nobles finding their personal

^a ARNULPH. Hist. Mediol. l. v. c. 6. Card. ARAGON. in vita Greg. a PANDULPH. PISAN. & aliis apud MURATOR. tom. iii. ^b LAMBERT. Schafn. ubi supra. SIGON. ubi supra. ^c See the History of the empire.

^d GREG. l. ii. epist. iv. ^e GREG. l. iv. epist. i.

(L) Excommunications in the first ages of the church were used with great reserve, and only for sacred matters; but in the 10th and 11th centuries they began to be thundered out for the slightest reasons, and to support temporal interests. An excommunicated person was deprived of the society of other Christians, even of his wife, children, and servants. He lost the protection of the laws, and all right to his property; likewise those that conversed with him were thereby excommunicated. Their great frequency, at last, obliged the popes to abate their rigour; and *Gregory* permitted the wife, children, domestics, and vassals of the excommunicated person to converse with him. He likewise allowed others to enter his territories, to buy and sell things necessary for life, and to receive presents from him (1).

(M) The popes had long presumed to arbitrate the differences of princes in an arbitrary manner, threatening them with excommunication if they did not submit to their sentence; which was, indeed, making themselves their superiors and judges in temporal matters; but, before *Gregory*, no one had ever dared to depose sovereigns. This was the first step made by the popes en-

tirely to shake off the yoke of the emperors, which independence they have ever since maintained, and from being subjects, first of the *Roman* and *Greek* emperors, and afterwards of *Charlemagne* and the *German* empire, they now claimed to be superiors of all the sovereigns on earth (2).

(N) The following are some of the most remarkable of these resolutions, viz, That the *Roman* pontiff alone can be called universal. That he alone can depose bishops. That his legates have a right to preside over all bishops at a council. That the pope can depose the absent. That he alone has a right to use imperial ornaments. That princes are bound to kiss his feet alone. That he has a right to depose emperors. That no synod or council, without his commission, can be called general. That no book can be reckoned canonical without his authority. That his sentence can be annulled by none; but that he may annul the decrees of all. That the *Roman* church has never erred, nor ever will err. That he is not a catholic that dissents from the *Roman* church. That subjects may be absolved from their allegiance to wicked princes (3).

(1) *Acta Concilii Romæ anno 1078, apud Baronium. l. ii. epist. iv.*

(2) *Ordo Frising. de gest. Fred. l. ii. c. 1.*

(3) *Greg.*

- ^a interest in depriving him of his crown, and others being piqued at disappointments in their Germany de-
 ambitious views. Having received a second letter from the pope, exhorting them to pre-^{sent the empe-}
 vail with the emperor to obey the apostolic see, and, in case of his refusal, to elect another,
 they assembled at *Tribur*, on the 16th of *October*, in order to restore the peace of
 the empire, *Gregory* having sent two legates to be present at the assembly, which was
 almost wholly composed of malecontents, the errors of the emperor's former life were
 recapitulated, and it was proposed, as the only means of saving the empire, to elect
 another prince, capable and willing to reform all abuses. In the mean time, *Henry*,
 with those of his party, came to *Oppenheim*, on the opposite side of the *Rhine*, and, being
 informed of the disposition of the diet, solicited the nobles, by frequent embassies, not to
 deprive him of his crown, promising any security for his future conduct. The nobles, at
^b first, instead of favouring him, proposed to pass the *Rhine*, and attack his army; but, on
 the last day of the diet, the *Suabians* and *Saxons* sent ambassadors to him, informing him,
 that they had determined to leave the whole affair to the determination of the pope, in the ^{and submit his}
 presence of a general diet, to be held at *Augsburg*, on the 2d of *February*: that, in the mean ^{cause to the}
 time, he should dismiss all excommunicated persons from his presence, disband his army, and ^{determination}
 retire to *Spire*, as a private person; but, if he was not absolved from the sentence of excom-
 munication before the twelve months were expired, they would, without any more regard to
 him, chuse another emperor. *Henry*, who was on the point of losing his kingdom, made no
 difficulty of accepting the condition; but soon after reflecting, that if he trusted the cause to
 the diet of *Augsburg*, the year might expire before he was absolved from the excommunica-
^c tion; he therefore left *Spire*, with the empress and his young son, attended with very few
 servants, designing to go for *Italy*, and, if possible, to obtain absolution from the pope.
Gregory had, at this time, set out for *Rome*, on his journey to *Augsburg*, attended by the
 countess *Matilda*, who, by the death of her mother *Beatrice*, had this year succeeded to
 vast possessions in *Italy*, and, from her aversion to the emperor, and opinion of the sanctity
 of the pope, had put herself wholly under his direction, so that they were accused by their
 enemies of a criminal intercourse.
- By his success in deposing the emperor, *Gregory* had greatly raised the reputation and au-
 thority of the holy see; and at the desire of the duke of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, who offered ^{Gregory con-}
^d to hold his dominions of *St. Peter*, he sent two legates into that country, who, having re-^{fers the title}
 ceived the submission of the duke, gave him the investiture of his dominions, and conferred ^{of king on the}
 upon him the title of king.^b *Gregory* likewise received an embassy from *Roger*, count of ^{duke of Dal-}
Sicily, who, having conquered almost all that kingdom, sent to the pope, desiring his blessing,
 the pardon of his sins, and the title of a son of the church; all which he obtained, on condition
 of performing a certain penance, and abstaining from any communication with his brother
Robert, duke of *Apulia*,^c who was then excommunicated. This year there likewise arrived
 at *Rome*, an embassy from *Anzir*, king of *Mauritania*, or *Morocco*, who sent all the Chri-
 stian captives in his dominions to the pope, desiring him to consecrate one *Servandus*, who
 had been chosen bishop of *Hippo* or *Bona*.
- ^e In the mean time the emperor, having celebrated his *Christmas* at *Besanson*, pursued his ^{The emperor}
 journey, though in the middle of a very severe winter, and having, by the help of guides, passed ^{arrives in}
^d *Mount Cenis*, arrived in *Italy* with a very few attendants. Upon the news of his arrival in ^{Italy, and is}
 that kingdom, he was immediately joined by *Theobald* and *Gilbert*, and the other bishops ^{joined by the}
 of *Lombardy*; and it being reported that he was come with a design to depose the pope, the ^{bishops and}
 counts joined him with their forces, so that in a few days he found himself at the head of ^{nobles of Lom-}
 a considerable army. *Gregory*, who had proceeded on his journey to *Augsburgh* as far as ^{A. D. 1077.}
Trento, hearing that the king was come into *Italy*, and was marching towards him with an ^{The pope, igno-}
 army, immediately suspecting some hostile intention, he returned with *Matilda* to the castle ^{rant of his de-}
 of *Canosa*. But he was soon undeceived by the excommunicated bishops from *Germany*, who ^{sign, retires to}
^f having likewise passed the *Alps*, came barefooted to *Canosa*, begging absolution, which, after
 some rigorous penance, was granted to them, on condition of not communicating with *Henry*,
 till he had satisfied the holy see. In the mean time, *Henry* having obtained a conference with
 the countess *Matilda*, prevailed with her to intercede for him with the pope, and upon her
 return sent along with her several of the chief nobles of *Italy*, who he believed had influence
 with his holiness. *Gregory* resisted the importunities of *Matilda* and the nobles a long time;
 at last, he said, *If Henry is truly penitent, let him deliver up his crown, and the other ensigns*
of his royalty, and declare himself unworthy to possess them. This sentence appearing too hard,
 he was at last prevailed with to allow him to come to *Canosa*.

HENRY accordingly leaving his army at *Vercelli*, appeared before the castle with a few at-
 tendants^d, and being admitted alone within the outermost of the three walls that surrounded
 the fort, he stood there barefooted, in a very vigorous season, for three whole days, waiting

^a LAMBERT. Schafn. ubi supra. SIGON. l. ix. p. 220. Card. ARAGON in vita Greg.

^b BARON. Ann. ad ann. 1076.

^c GREG. l. iii. epist. xi.

^d DONIZO in Vita

BLOND dec. ii. l. 3.

Henry is absolved by the pope.

Mathilda gives all her possessions to the holy see.

The Italians are offended with the emperor.

Henry is reconciled to the Italians.

He is deposed by the Germans, who give the empire to Rodolphus.

The pope is greatly embarrassed,

Henry opposes Rodolphus.

Gregory sends legates into Britain and other kingdoms.

He calls a synod at Rome,
A. D. 1708

the sentence of the pope. On the fourth day, being the 25th of *January*, Gregory admitted him to his presence, and, after much discourse, promised to absolve him, on condition that he answered to the accusation of the nobles of *Germany* in a general diet, and till then should use no imperial ornaments, or assume any part in the administration of government; that he should for ever renounce the society of those who had been his advisers in his former mal-administration; that he should continue always obedient to the *Roman* see; and that if ever he failed in these engagements, his absolution should be of no effect. Henry willingly agreed to these propositions, upon which he received absolution from the pope, who afterwards communicated with him, and, having entertained him at dinner, dismissed him to his friends, who waited for him without the walls^c. Gregory immediately wrote to the bishops and nobles in *Germany*, acquainting them with what he had done; and continuing some months longer in *Canosa*, received a grant of all the possessions of *Mathilda* for the use of the church^f, to the prejudice of the empire, to which they ought to have fallen upon her decease.

THE emperor, by this submission to the pope, quite alienated the minds of the *Italian* bishops and nobles, who exclaimed against him for submitting to a person who had been justly excommunicated by all the bishops of *Italy* for simony, murder, adultery, and other crimes; and as the emperor had deserted them, they resolved to depose him, and, after choosing another pope, to crown his son *Conrad*. Henry with great difficulty appeased the sedition, by pleading the necessity of his affairs, which compelled him to that submission; and being determined at any rate to regain the affection of the *Lombards*, publicly broke the treaty that he had made with the pope, and continued for some time near *Canosa*, with the design of seizing him and *Mathilda*^e; but they being informed of his purpose, and continuing within the fortress, he went to *Pavia*, where he was joined by the excommunicated bishops of *Germany*, and by many *Italian* nobles, who had forsaken him upon the news of his submission. In the mean time, the nobles of *Germany*, assembling at *Forcheim*, cited Henry to plead his cause, and, upon his not appearing, deposed him from the empire, and chose *Rodolphus*, duke of *Suabia*, whom they crowned at *Mentz* on the 20th of *March*. This proceeding of the *Germans* not only alarmed the emperor, but greatly disturbed the pope; who, having received a letter from *Rodolphus*, informing him of his election, and promising obedience to the holy see, was greatly embarrassed what course to take. He durst not absolutely declare against Henry, who was very powerful in *Italy*; and to abandon *Rodolphus* would have been ruining his own party in *Germany*. In the midst of this uncertainty, he published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, wherein he declared, that *Rodolphus* had been elected without his orders; and that if the bishops did not give a sufficient reason for their conduct, they should be deprived of their dignities, and *Rodolphus* deposed. At the same time he refused the request of the ambassadors of Henry, who solicited his assistance against *Rodolphus*; and he ordered his legates in *Germany* to confirm in the royal dignity that king who should be most obedient to the holy see^h. This wavering behaviour of the pope was greatly blamed by the nobles of *Germany*, who wrote to him, declaring their surprize that he still continued to name two kings of *Germany*, and did not openly oppose the enemy of the church.

IN the mean time, Henry, being disappointed in his expectations of assistance from the pope against *Rodolphus*, had returned to *Germany*, to oppose his competitor by armsⁱ; whereby he again lost the affections of the *Italians*, who finding themselves in a manner without a king, began to acknowledge the pope, and claim an independency, which was afterwards maintained by many of their cities^k. After the departure of Henry, Gregory returned to *Rome*; but before he arrived at the city, he sent three legates into *Britain*, to regulate the church affairs in that kingdom; and ordered them to call a synod at *Langres* in *France*, in which assembly he ordered a decree to be made against lay investitures^l. Soon after, he sent a legate to the *Venetians*, to absolve them from the excommunication which they had incurred, by communicating with excommunicated persons^m. He likewise sent two legates into *Spain*, with letters addressed to all the kings, princes, and counts in that kingdom, reminding them of the rights of *St. Peter* in those provinces before the conquests of the *Saracens*. Upon his return to the city, he sent *Landulphus*, bishop of *Pisa*, as his legate, into *Corfica*, with a letter addressed to all the inhabitants of that island, informing them, that their island belonged to no sovereign on earth, but was the property of the *Roman* church; and having thanked them for their ready submission to the holy see, offered them the assistance of some troops in *Tuscany*, if they had occasion for themⁿ.

THE following year Gregory appointed a synod to be held at *Rome*, to which he cited *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, with all his suffragans, and the bishops and abbots of *Lom-*

^c LAMBERT. ubi supra.
NIZO in Vita Mathild.
^h GREG. l. iv. epist. xxiii.
epist. xvi.—xv.

DONIZO in Vita Mathild. SIGON. l. ix. p. 223.
Chron. Cass. l. iii. c. 49.
ⁱ See the History of the Empire.
Id. l. iv. c. i. et. xxvi, xxvii.

^l LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 48. Do-
^m DONIZO in Vita Mathild. BLOND. dec. ii. l. iii.
ⁿ SIGON. l. ix. p. 225. ^o GREG. l. iv.
Id. l. v. epist. ii. & iv.

- a *brady*, and of the march of *Ancona* and *Camerino*. They neglecting to appear, the synod proceeded to excommunicate and depose *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, and *Theobald*, archbishop of *Milan*. *Arnulphus*, bishop of *Cremona*, and *Roland*, bishop of *Treviso*, were likewise deposed and excommunicated; the one for simony, and the other for promoting the schism betwixt the emperor and the church; the same sentence was given against cardinal *Hugh*, who was for ever rendered incapable of any priestly office in the church. *Cardinal Hugh and many bishops are deposed.*
- The synod likewise excommunicated all the *Normans* who should invade the territory of *St. Peter*, and those who were besieging *Benevento*, and suspended all those bishops who, having received a citation, did not appear at the synod, or send a canonical excuse. The ordinations given by excommunicated persons were declared null and of no effect; and those
- b who were bound by allegiance, or engaged by an oath to any who were excommunicated, were absolved from all obligation; those likewise who plundered persons suffering by shipwreck, or who detained any of their effects, were also excommunicated. The council being dismissed, *Gregory* wrote to the bishops and nobles of *Germany*, exhorting them to hold a diet, to terminate the dispute betwixt *Henry* and *Rodolphus*, for which purpose he sent his legates into *Germany*. The two parties, after some hostilities, agreed to a suspension of arms, and sent their ambassadors to the council held at *Rome* in the month of *November*. *Henry and Rodolphus agree to a suspension of arms.*
- The council referred the determination of the dispute to the legates in *Germany*: and taking an oath from the ambassadors that neither party should interrupt the proceedings of the legates, they afterwards excommunicated *Nicephorus*, emperor of *Constantinople*, who the
- c year before had usurped the throne, and confined the emperor *Michael* with his wife and son in a monastery. The *Normans* having lately made an attempt upon the monastery of *Monte Cassino*, were threatened with excommunication, if they should invade the territories of *St. Benedict*. The decree was likewise renewed against lay investitures: *Gilbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, still refusing to submit to the council, was at last deposed; and *Gregory* wrote to the people of *Ravenna*, informing them of the sentence against *Gilbert*, and forbidding them, under pain of excommunication, from yielding any obedience to him. He likewise wrote to the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, inviting them to send their young nobility to *Rome*, to be instructed in the truths of the Christian religion. *The emperor Nicephorus is excommunicated.*
- d THE following year he called another council at *Rome*, in the month of *February*: at this assembly appeared *Berengarius*, priest of *Tours*, then eighty years of age, and publicly abjured the opinion which he had for many years maintained concerning the eucharist, namely, that the bread and wine after consecration continued the same, and were only a substantial figure of the body and blood of *Christ*. *Berengarius abjures his heresy. A. D. 1079.* Ambassadors from *Henry* and *Rodolphus* were likewise present at the council, and swore, in the name of their masters, to submit to the determination of the legates of the pope. In the same assembly the archbishop of *Narbonne*, and *Theobald*, archbishop of *Milan*, *Sigefrid*, bishop of *Bologna*, and *Roland* of *Treviso*, were excommunicated, without hope of absolution, with all their followers, whether clergy or laity. The council being dismissed, *Gregory* sent his legates into *Germany*, with the patriarch of *Aquileia*, to assist at the diet of *Ratisbon*, in order to re-establish the tranquillity of the empire. But the methods they proposed being contrary to the dignity and prerogatives of the emperor, *Henry* refused to agree to them, and again had recourse to arms. In the mean time, *Gregory* wrote to the bishop of *Girona* in *Spain*, desiring him to reconcile the two sons of the king with their father *Berengarius*, and threatening them with excommunication if they continued rebellious. He likewise sent a letter to *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary*, commending him for his attachment to the holy see, and desiring him to recall the nobles that had been banished on account of the late troubles in that kingdom.
- Soon after he wrote to *Hubert*, his legate in *England*, to remonstrate to the king against his order for prohibiting the bishops to go to *Rome*, and to threaten him with excommunication if he refused to grant liberty to two bishops, out of each archbishopric, to come to *Rome* to the council. It appears from *Gregory's* letters, the following year, to the king, that he had agreed to the demand of the pope, and had sent ambassadors to *Rome*. But that he did not entirely satisfy the ambitious desires of *Gregory*, is evident from a letter of his to the pope, and from one expression in a letter from the pope to *Hubert*. *William*, in the letter that he sent to *Gregory*, refused to pay homage to the see of *Rome*, affirming that it never had been done by any of his predecessors; but as to the arrears of the tax of *St. Peter's* pence, he promised that they should be faithfully transmitted by *Lanfranc*, archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Gregory* wrote to *Hubert*, that he set no value upon the money without the submission. This same year he likewise claimed to be arbiter betwixt the king of *Dalmatia*, and one duke *Wezelin*, and wrote to the duke, that if he did not either cease hostilities, or
- f *Gregory threatens the king of England with excommunication.*

^a Acta Concilii apud BARON. ad. ann. 1078.

^r GREG. l. vi. epist. i.

^s Id. l. vii. epist. xxv.

^p GREG. l. v. epist. xv.

^q See the History of the Empire.

^t Epist. Guliel. apud BARON.

^u GREG. l. ix.

He excommu-
nicates the
king of Po-
land.

He refuses to
allow the Bo-
hemians to
worship in the
vulgar tongue.
A. D. 1080.

The emperor is
again excom-
municated.

The pope sends
a crown to
Rodolphus.

Gregory is
deposed.

He is reconciled
to the Nor-
mans,

exhorts the
Germans to
assist Rodol-
phus.

Rodolphus is
defeated and
slain.

refer the dispute to the decision of the holy see, he should be excommunicated. Soon after, a hearing that *Stanislaus*, bishop of *Cracow*, had been murdered in the church, while he was saying mass, by the connivance of the king, *Gregory* excommunicated *Boleslaus*, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and declared the sons of those who had been concerned in the murder incapable of enjoying any ecclesiastical preferments to the fourth generation.

In the beginning of the following year, he wrote to *Wratisslaus*, duke of *Bobemia*, re- proving him for communicating with excommunicated persons, but refused to grant him his request of performing divine service in the *Sclavonic* tongue, although he owned that the pri- mitive church had allowed divine worship to be performed in the vulgar tongues^w. The council soon after assembling at *Rome*, confirmed the former decrees concerning investitures, and the sentences of excommunication against the *Normans* and the archbishops of *Milan* and *Ravenna*, with the other excommunicated bishops. They likewise ordained, that a profession of penitence for any crime, without a real reformation, should not entitle the criminal to ab- solution; and with regard to the succession to churches, they decreed, that, upon the decease of any pastor, the clergy and people should assemble, and without any secular favour chuse a successor, who should be approved of by the apostolic see or metropolitan. Before the council broke up, *Gregory* caused *Henry* to be again excommunicated, having been informed of a victory that *Rodolphus* had obtained over him in the end of *January*. Before this defeat *Gregory* had acted with great caution towards both the competitors, exhorting them to refer their differences to the determination of a diet in the presence of his legates: he had even been suspected of privately favouring *Henry*; but now, believing his affairs quite ruined, he took c upon himself to decide the right of the competitors; and having deposed *Henry*, and con- demned him never to be successful in war, he gave the kingdom of *Germany* to *Rodolphus*, and granted the absolution of their sins to all who should assist him^x. Besides, to strengthen his right, he sent him a crown of gold, on which the following arrogant verse was engraved; *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho*. *Henry*, exasperated with this proceeding of the pope, called a council of thirty bishops and many nobles of *Germany* and *Italy*, at *Brixen* in *Tyrol*, which assembly deposed *Gregory*, and chose *Gilbert*, or, according to some, *Vuigbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, pope, by the name of *Clement III*. *Henry*, after having assisted at this assembly, returned to *Germany*, while the new pope continued in *Italy*, to strengthen the emperor's interest in that kingdom^y.

In the mean time, *Gregory*, considering that his difference with the emperor was now to be decided by force and not by negotiation, was reconciled to the *Normans*, whom he had excommunicated, and condescended to give the investiture of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, to *Robert*, allowing him to retain *Salerno*, *Amalphi*, and part of the march of *Fermo*, though at the same time he declared that they were unjustly seized; his arbitrary disposition being obliged to submit to the necessity of his affairs^z. He proposed immediately to make use of the assistance of the *Normans*; and having recommended to duke *Robert* to assist the emperor *Michael*, who had come into *Italy* to implore the aid of the pope against *Nicephorus*, he published a letter, threatening to invade *Ravenna*, the residence of the anti-pope, by the assistance of *Jordanus* prince of *Capua*. But, omitting this expedition, he wrote to all the faith- e ful in *Germany*, exhorting them to assist *Rodolphus*, and declaring, in a prophetic stile, that a false king would soon be cut off, and the enemies of the *Roman* church would perish^a. He likewise wrote to *William* king of *England*, desiring his assistance against the enemies of the church; but that king, though he was also solicited by the other party, refused to declare himself absolutely for either. *Gregory*, soon after, sent a legate into *Spain*, to justify his character to *Alphonfus*, and to threaten him with excommunication if he did not reject the *Gothic* office, and receive the *Roman*. It appears from a letter of *Gregory*, written the fol- lowing year to *Alphonfus*, that that prince was obedient to the holy see. In the mean time, *Henry* having assembled his troops, marched against *Rodolphus*, and a few days after the arrival of the pope's letter, the two armies engaging near *Mersburg*, *Rodolphus* was entirely f defeated, and mortally wounded in the action^b. *Gregory* at this time received an embassy from the patriarch of *Armenia*; and in the letter that he wrote to that bishop, he commends him for using unleavened bread in the eucharist, but condemns him for not mixing water with the wine, and for using butter instead of balsam in what is called the sacrament of unction^c. Soon after he sent his legate into *France*, to preside at the council of *Lyons*, in which the archbishop of *Rheims* was deposed for his disobedience to the apostolic see; in consequence of which sentence the pope wrote to the king of *France*, desiring him to refuse his pro- tection to the archbishop, and commanding him not to interfere with the election of his successor^d.

^w GREG. I. vii. epist. xi.

^z GREG. I. viii. post epist. i.
I. viii. epist. i.

^x Acta Concilii apud BARON.

^a Id. I. viii. epist. ix.

^d Id. ibid. epist. xxi.

^y GUIL. Biblioth. in Vita Greg.

^b See the History of the Empire.

^c GREG.

a In the beginning of the following year, the council, as usual, assembled at *Rome*, and A. D. 1081. confirmed the sentence of deposition against the archbishops of *Arles* and *Narbonne*, and the sentences of excommunication denounced by the legates. The emperor *Henry*, and the anti-pope *Clement*, were again excommunicated, with all their adherents; and some bishops were again excommunicated. *The emperor is again excommunicated.* suspended, who had neglected to appear at the council, either personally or by their nuncios. During the sitting of the council, *Gregory* wrote to the bishop of *Mentz*, confuting what he called the new heresy, that had appeared in *Germany*; many of the nobles and bishops in that kingdom denying that the pope had a power to depose kings: *Gregory's* chief argument rested upon the commission given by *Jesus Christ* to *Peter* to bind and loose; after reasoning upon which, he subjoined some extracts from those fathers who were of the same opinion with himself^a. He wrote likewise to the bishop of *Padua*, his legate in *Germany*, informing him, that he was urged by his friends to be reconciled to *Henry*, who threatened to invade *Italy* with an army. He pretended not to fear him on his own account, but, at the same time, pressed the legate to send *German* auxiliaries to join the army of *Matilda*, that was assembled in *Lombardy*, lest that princess should be obliged to submit to the emperor.

In the mean time, *Henry*, having left an army in *Saxony*, under the command of his son-in-law *Frederic Stauffen*, marched with another army into *Italy*, and, having obliged the troops of *Matilda* to retire, arrived at *Verona* about the beginning of *April*. Having granted the liberty of a standard, or *carrocia*, to the cities of *Padua* and *Cremona*^b, for their fidelity, he continued his march through *Tuscany*, and reduced the city of *Florence*, which ventured to shut its gates against him. While the emperor continued in those parts, *Gregory* being informed by the countess *Matilda* that *Henry* had entered into a negotiation with *Robert the Norman*, whereby it was proposed that the emperor's son should marry the duke's daughter, and that *Robert* should receive from *Henry* the investiture of the march of *Fermo*, he wrote to *Desiderius* abbot of *Cassino*, desiring him to inform himself of the truth of that news, and to hasten to *Rome*^c. He likewise wrote to *France* for the arrears of the tax of *St Peter* in that kingdom; and published a circular letter, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to rise up in defence of the persecuted church^d. The emperor, soon after, arriving at *Rome*, accompanied with the anti-pope *Clement*, encamped in the meadows of *Rome*. *Nero*, expecting to be admitted into the city. But the place being strongly garrisoned by the soldiers of *Matilda*, he was obliged to abandon the siege, and marched with his army to *Ravenna*^e. During these disturbances, *Gregory* wrote a very severe letter to *Lanfranc* archbishop of *Canterbury*, threatening him with suspension, if he neglected any longer to visit *Rome*: he likewise excommunicated *Jordanes* prince of *Capua*, who, notwithstanding his oath of allegiance to the apostolic see, had openly espoused the cause of the emperor^f. It appears from a letter of *Gregory* to the kings of the *Visigoths*, that this year they again allowed the Christian religion to be preached amongst them. The pope earnestly exhorts the kings to be obedient to the bishops, and appoint the tenths to be paid for sacred uses throughout all their kingdom^g. *Bertrand* count of *Provence* likewise came this year to *Gregory*, and, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, afterwards surrendered all his possessions to the holy see, for the remission of his own sins and those of his forefathers^h.

The following year *Gregory* was prevented from holding the synod at *Rome* by the emperor, who returned with his army, and besieged the city during the time of *Lent*. After *Easter*, *Henry* set fire to some houses near *St. Peter's* church, with design to assault the city, during the confusion occasioned by the flames; but being disappointed by the vigilance of the pope, he turned the siege into a kind of blockade, by putting garrisons into the castles round *Rome*; and leaving the command to the anti-pope, he went himself to *Lombardy*, hearing that *Herman*, whom the *Saxons* had chosen king, was marching towards *Italy*, to the relief of the pope. *Herman* having been defeated in passing through *Suabia*, *Henry* returned to *Rome*, and, in the beginning of the spring, renewed the siege; at the same time offering to enter into a negotiation with *Gregory*, and promising safe-conducts to the members of a general council to meet at *Rome* in the middle of *November*. *Henry* by this time had gained a great party among the *Romans* by his money; but the pope still continuing inflexible, and requiring an unreasonable submission, he ordered an assault to be given, and made himself master of the *Leonine* city and the capitol.

The pope immediately retired to the castle of *St. Angelo*, which *Henry* prepared to attack; but his army being seized with an epidemical sickness, on account of the heat, he retired with the greatest part of it to the mountains. In the mean time, having prevailed with the *Romans* to favour his cause, they insisted that *Gregory* should either crown the emperor, or they would elect another pope. *Gregory* consented, in some measure, to an accommodation,

^a GREG. I. viii. epist. xxi.^f SIGON. I. ix. p. 227.^g GREG. I. ix. epist. xii.^h GREG.

I. viii. epist. xxv. & I. ix. epist. xxi.

ⁱ SIGON. I. ix. p. 228. BLOND. dec. ii. l. iii.^k GREG. I. ix.

epist. xx—xxvi.

^l Id. epist. liv.^m BARONII Annal. ad hunc annum.

The Romans
greatly favour
the emperor,

and a council assembled in the month of *November*; but *Henry* by no means agreeing to a their resolutions, *Gregory* proposed to excommunicate him by name. The council interceded against the denouncing of this sentence; but as *Henry* had intercepted several bishops in their journey to *Rome*, *Gregory* excommunicated all those who had prevented any bishops from coming to the council. The *Romans* still insisting that they had promised by oath to procure the imperial crown to *Henry*, the pope offered to let it down to him by a rope from the castle of *St. Angelo*; but the emperor disdaining to accept of it in that manner, the *Romans* declared they were absolved from their oath, and continued, for some time, satisfied with the proceedings of the pope.

who at last
makes himself
master of
Rome.

A. D. 1084.
He is crowned
by the anti-
pope, but quits
Rome upon the
approach of
the Normans.

THE emperor, the following year, having got possession of the *Lateran* palace, caused *Guibert* to be consecrated by the bishops of *Modena* and *Rimini*, and the Sunday after, being b *Easter*, he was crowned by him in the *Lateran* church^a. During the festivities of that week he made himself master of *St. Peter's* church; but not being able to get possession of *St. Angelo*, he fortified himself in the *Aventine* mount. The pope being soon reduced to great difficulties, again solicited the assistance of the *Normans*. *Henry* being informed of their march, quitted *Rome*, and retired with his army towards *Lombardy*, leaving the greatest part of the *Romans* in his interest, who now blamed the pope for all the miseries that they had suffered for three years. *Robert*, upon his arrival, finding the gates of the city shut against him, set fire to some houses near the walls, and, during the confusion of the *Romans*, was c admitted into the city by the friends of *Gregory*^o, and, after several skirmishes in the streets, got possession of the capitol, from whence he marched to the castle of *St. Angelo*, and having destroyed the works raised by *Henry*, brought the pope safe to the palace of the *Lateran*. *Gregory* soon after held a council, and excommunicated *Henry* and the anti-pope, with all their adherents, and ordered the sentence to be published by his legates in *Germany* and *France*; but as the greatest part of the citizens were discontented with his government, and the imperial army still continued in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, he left the city, and retired to *Monte Cassino*, from whence, in a few days, he went to *Salerno*, where he continued till his death. The *Romans*, upon his departure, immediately recalled the emperor, who, after d having received their oaths of fidelity, left *Clement* with a strong garrison in *Rome*, and returned with the rest of his army to *Germany*^p. After his return, the *Lombards* assembled an army, and attacked the countess *Mathilda*; but the pope sending the bishop of *Lucca*, as his legate, with full power of absolving all those that should return to the church, and with indulgences to those who were zealous in its defence, *Mathilda* soon turned too powerful for her enemies; and, having defeated them in an engagement, and taken the bishop of *Parma* with several nobles prisoners, she obliged them to continue quiet^q.

Gregory re-
tires to Saler-
no.

He writes to
William king
of England, to
be reconciled to
his brother.

WHILE *Gregory* continued at *Salerno*, he wrote to *William* king of *England*, interceding for his brother *Odo* bishop of *Bayeux*, whom that prince had thrown into prison, on account of his maladministration and tyranny in *England*, while he himself was absent in *Normandy*. The pope did not succeed with the king of *England*; however, this year, he prevailed with *Robert* count of *Flanders* to pardon several of his nobles, who had entered into a conspiracy against him. In the mean time the *German* garrison, which had been left in *Rome*, being e almost entirely cut off by a malignant distemper, the *Romans* had expelled *Clement*, rejecting both him and *Gregory*.

The German
bishops excom-
municate the
anti-pope.
1085.

Soon after the emperor's return to *Germany*, an assembly met at *Quedlemburgh*, in the pre- f sence of *Herman* the competitor for the empire, and *Otho* the legate of the pope. The bishops and clergy who were present being wholly in the interest of *Gregory*, several decrees were made, tending to exalt the power of the holy see; and, having excommunicated the anti-pope, and several other bishops, with lighted candles, they made several regulations with regard to the church. They ordained, that no layman should touch sacred vessels; that presbyters, deacons, and sub-deacons, should continue in celibacy; that no layman should usurp the property of tythes; that during *Lent* no one should eat eggs or cheese, &c. In opposition to this council, *Henry* called a diet and synod at *Mentz*, in which *Gregory* was deposed, the election of *Gilbert* confirmed, and the bishops of the other party excommunicated. A few weeks after the celebrating of those councils in *Germany*, *Gregory* died at *Salerno*, on the 24th of *May*, having, three days before his death, desired the cardinals and bishops who were present to elect, as his successor, *Desiderius* abbot of *Cassino*, or *Hugh* archbishop of *Lyons*, or either of the bishops of *Lucca* and *Ostia*.

Gregory dies
at Salerno.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of *Gregory*, the cardinals and bishops proposed to elect *Desiderius*, but he refused to accept it, and returned to his monastery; at the same time writing to the *Normans* and *Lombards*, exhorting them to submit to the church, and to reject all communication with the anti-pope, who was then endeavouring to strengthen his party.

^a BERTHOLD. Hist. SIGON. l. ix. p. 228.
^q Afta Anselm. apud BARON.

^o LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 52.

^p SIGON. l. ix. p. 229.

a Upon the departure of *Desiderius*, the bishops consulted with *Jordanes* prince of *Capua*, in order to entice the abbot to *Rome*, and to compel him to accept of the dignity. A few months after, the excessive heats being abated, *Jordanes* set out for *Rome* with an army, attended by *Desiderius*, with the other cardinals and bishops. When they arrived at *Campania*, *Desiderius* suspecting their design, refused to go any further, unless they promised not to use compulsion with him, with regard to the election; and, upon their denying his request, he returned to his monastery, so that the election was deferred until the year following.

ABOUT *Easter*, many cardinals and bishops assembling at *Rome*, they wrote to *Desiderius* to come to them, with the bishops that were in those parts, to consult about settling the church. Upon the arrival of *Desiderius*, they renewed their intreaties with him to accept of the pontificate; but he obstinately denying for two days, they at last took him by force, and carried him to the church of *St. Lucia*, where he was unanimously elected, and got the name of *Victor III.* though he struggled, during the whole ceremony, that he might not be clothed in the pontifical dress; and, soon after, laying aside his ornaments, he returned to *Cassino*. Desiderius is chosen pope, by the name of Victor III.

THE following year, being present at the council held at *Capua* during *Lent*, at the intreaty of the bishops, he re-assumed the pontifical habit; and, after *Easter*, he went to *Rome* with the princes of *Capua* and *Apulia*. The *Capuans* having expelled the other faction from the church of *St. Peter*, the next day *Victor* was consecrated by the bishops of *Ostia*, *Albano*, and *Porta*, according to the canons, in the presence of a great many cardinals, bishops, and abbots. Eight days after, he returned to the monastery of *Cassino*; but the countess *Mathilda* coming to *Rome* to have a conference with him, he returned by sea, and soon after, by the assistance of her troops, made himself master of all that part of the city beyond the *Tyber*. On the eve of the feast of *St. Peter*, the *Romans*, in the interest of the antipope, recovered a great part of the city, and made an attempt to get possession of the church of *St. Peter*, but were repulsed by the soldiers of *Mathilda*. That countess soon after returning to *Lombardy*, *Clement*, only countenanced and supported by the imperialists, expelled the bishops from several churches, who were suspected to incline to *Victor*, and substituted others in their room, who procured that dignity from him by their money. He assumes the pontifical habit, and goes to Rome. A. D. 1087.

d In the mean time *Victor*, desiring to repress the insolence of the *Saracens*, who made frequent descents upon the coasts of *Italy*, and carried off a great many captives, he held a council with the bishops and cardinals, and by their advice assembled an army from all parts of *Italy*, which he sent over into *Africa* against the Infidels, giving them the standard of *St. Peter*, and remission of all their sins. The *Italians* were very successful in their expedition; for, after defeating 100,000 of the enemy, they made themselves masters of their principal city, and, what is remarkable, the victory was told in *Italy* the same day that it was obtained in *Africa*. He sends an army into Africa against the Saracens.

e In the month of *August* *Victor* went to *Benevento*, to hold a council with the bishops of *Apulia* and *Calabria*: after mentioning the intrusion of *Clement*, he pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against him; but nothing particular was determined with regard to the emperor. The assembly likewise ordained, that whoever should receive a bishopric or abbacy from the hand of a layman, should not be accounted a bishop or abbot, and should be rejected by the church; and whoever prayed with them, or heard them performing mass, should also be excommunicated; and that if any king, duke, count, or other secular person, should presume to give the investiture of ecclesiastical dignities, he should be comprehended in the same sentence. During the holding of the council, *Victor* being attacked with sickness, he dismissed the assembly, and returned to *Monte Cassino*, where, after several regulations with regard to the monastery, he appointed *Oderisius*, a sub-deacon of the *Roman* church, for their abbot. His sickness becoming dangerous, he called the bishops and cardinals who had attended him, and taking *Otho* bishop of *Ostia* by the hand, he presented him to the other bishops, and recommended him to them for his successor. He lived three days after this, and died on the 14th of *September*, not without the suspicion of poison having been given him in the chalice while he was celebrating mass. He holds a council at Benevento.

f UPON his death, messengers were immediately sent to the *Roman* clergy and laity, and likewise to other bishops, desiring them either to come themselves, or to send their nuncios to *Tarracina*, in the first week of *Lent*, to chuse a successor to the *Roman* see. Many bishops and abbots assembling at *Tarracina*, upon the appointed day, they unanimously chose *Otho*, bishop of *Ostia*, who being consecrated in the church of *St. Peter*, in that city, on the 12th of *March*, took the name of *Urban II.* *Otho* was formerly prior of *Cluny*, and being created bishop of *Ostia* by *Gregory*, became the most faithful confidant of that pope; and five years He returns to Monte Cassino, and dies.

* LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 65—67. Vita Victor III. apud MURATOR. tom. iii. * LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 69.
 † SIGON. l. ix. p. 230. LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 70. BERTHOLD. Hist. * Acta Concilii Benev. apud BARON.
 ‡ LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 71. * Vita Victor III. ex MSS. Bernard Guidon apud MURATOR, t. iii.

before, as his legate, had published in *Germany* the sentence of excommunication against the emperor and his adherents. The day after his consecration *Urban* published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, informing them of his election, and declaring, that he would follow in every thing the footsteps of *Gregory VII.*^r Going afterwards to *Cassino*, he was visited by *Boemond*, and *Roger* duke of *Apulia*, sons of *Robert Guiscard*, whom he reconciled, by making partition of their father's territories. This year he likewise created the archbishop of *Toledo* primate of all *Spain*, at the request of the king *Alphonfus* or *Ildephonsus*², who had distinguished himself against the *Saracens*. After he had continued some time in *Apulia*, he went to *Rome*; but being repulsed by the faction of *Clement*, he fled into the island of *Tyber*, called *Lycaonia*, where he was supported by some *Roman* matrons for several months³.

The archbishop of Toledo is created primate of all Spain.

Urban holds a general council at Rome.

THE following year he wrote a letter to *Gebehard*, bishop of *Conflans*, appointing him his legate and vicar in *Germany*; and having prevailed with the *Romans* to expel *Gilbert* the antipope, he held a synod of 115 bishops at *Rome*, in which *Henry* and the antipope were excommunicated in the first decree; and in the second decree were included all those who assisted them with arms, money, or counsel, or who received ecclesiastical preferments from them or their adherents^b. Towards autumn *Urban* went into *Apulia*, to recommit to the earth the body of *St. Nicolas*, which had been brought to *Bari*; and having consecrated the bishop of that place, he went to *Traja*, where he kept a council of seventy-five bishops and twelve abbots^c, in which some decrees were made relating to the degrees of consanguinity that were prohibited in contracts of marriage. Soon afterwards, hearing that the emperor was proposing to enter *Italy*, he prevailed with *Mathilda*, then in the forty-third year of her age, to marry *Guelph*, son of the duke of *Bavaria*, who had distinguished himself in *Germany* against the party of *Henry*^d, and from whom are descended the present dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*^e.

Mathilda marries Guelph, the son of the duke of Bavaria.

The emperor marches into Italy.

THE emperor, in order to recover his interest in *Italy*, marched in the beginning of the following year into that kingdom^f, and upon entering the territories of *Mathilda*, allowed his army to pillage the country. But duke *Guelph* marching against him, and passing the *Po*, defeated him in an engagement in the plain of *Sorbaria*, which obliged him for some time to act on the defensive; but soon after his troops resuming their courage, he marched against *Mantua*, which was then one of the strongest cities of *Italy*. In the mean time *Urban* sent his legates into *France*, who held a general council at *Thoulouse*, in which several decrees were made with regard to ecclesiastical discipline. He himself went afterwards to *Melpbis* in *Apulia*, where he held a general council, and gave *Roger*, the son of *Robert Guiscard*, the investiture of his father's duchy, upon his promising to become his liege subject^g. The canons made by this council chiefly regarded the celibacy of the clergy, which was strictly enjoined; lay investitures were condemned, and a decree was made against pretended penitents, in the number of whom were reckoned those who exercised traffic, or followed the law, it being declared impossible to follow these employments with a safe conscience^h.

His faction recall Clement to Rome.

A. D. 1091.

URBAN continuing for some time in *Apulia* and *Campania*, the party of the emperor at *Rome* took that opportunity of recalling *Guibert*, and making themselves masters of the castle of *St. Angelo*, which they endeavoured to destroy. In the mean time the emperor made himself master of *Mantua*, which, after maintaining a siege of eleven months, was at last obliged to surrender, on the 11th of *April*, being *Good Friday*ⁱ. The Imperialists, having left a garison in *Mantua*, afterwards marched to *Ferrara*, which immediately submitted. During these transactions in *Lombardy*, *Urban* went to *Benevento*, where he held a council, and renewed the excommunications against the emperor and the antipope; after which he returned to the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where he kept his *Christmas*, not daring to enter the city, which was held by the party of *Clement*.

Eric king of Denmark comes to Rome, and is absolved from the sentence of excommunication.

HAVING afterwards got possession of a part of the city, he was visited by *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, who, upon some false suspicions, had been excommunicated by the archbishop of *Hamburg*. The king, struck with the sentence, had appealed to the apostolic see; and having justified himself before *Urban*, not only was absolved from the sentence, but his kingdom was freed from subjection to a foreign archbishop; and the bishop of *Lundy* was created primate of *Denmark*, and also of *Sweden* and *Norway*^k. About this time *Urban* sent for *St. Bruno*, who six years before had instituted the sect of the *Carthusians*, and kept him with him, though against his inclination, three years, using his advice in the affairs of the church^l. In the mean time the hostilities still continued in *Lombardy* betwixt the emperor and *Mathilda*. The arms of *Henry* being every where victorious, *Mathilda*, by the advice of several bishops, proposed to negotiate a peace with him; but the conferences were soon broke off by means of one *John*, a hermit, who advised her to trust for success to the divine Pro-

^r BERTHOLD. Hist. ad hunc an.

^b BERTHOLD. hoc an.

^c Chron. Cassin. l. i. c. 8.

^d See also the History of the Electorate of Hanover.

^e Vita Mathild.

^f ROMUALD Salern. Chron. ad hunc an.

^g in Vita Mathild.

^h Sax. Gram. l. xii.

ⁱ Exemplar. Diplom. apud BARON.

^j BARON. Annal. ad hunc an.

^k SIGON. l. ix. p. 232.

^l Acta Concilii apud BARON.

^m BARON. Annal. ad an. 1092.

ⁿ SIGON. l. ix. p. 221.

^o SIGON.

^p DONIZO in

^q DONIZO

a vidence. *Henry*, irritated at this affront, sent one of his sons to besiege *Carpineto*; but the young prince being killed in an attack, the siege was raised, and *Henry* returned to *Verona*, accompanied with *Clement*, having withdrawn all his forces beyond the *Po*; upon which *Mathilda* recovered all that she had lost on the other side of that river^m. *Urban* finding the faction of the antipope prevailing at *Rome*, went the following *Lent* into *Apulia*, and held a general council at *Troja*.

MEAN while *Conrad*, the eldest son of the emperor, having received some unworthy treatment from his father, rebelled against him, and came over to the party of *Mathilda*. The countess and duke *Guelph* received him with great joy; and *Urban*, thinking the rebellion of a son no crime, immediately absolved him from excommunication; upon which he was crowned king of *Italy* by *Anselmo*, archbishop of *Milan*, and received the allegiance of a great many cities of *Lombardy*, strengthening his interest likewise by an alliance with the *Normans*, and marrying the daughter of *Roger*, count of *Sicily*. This revolt of *Conrad* obliged *Henry* to quit *Italy*, and to retire to the *Alps*, in expectation of new succours from *Germany*. The affairs of the Orthodox, as they called themselves, being now in a prosperous condition, *Urban* returned to *Rome*, and took possession of the city, the other party being obliged to retire into the castle of *St. Angelo*. The following year he ordered *Gebehard* his legate to call a general council at *Constance*, which accordingly assembled; where having made some canons relating to simony, and the celibacy of the clergy, they likewise heard the complaints of *Praxide* or *Adelaide*, against the emperor her husband. Soon after, *Hugh*, archbishop of *Lyons*, as pope's legate, called another synod in *France*, in which *Philip* the king was excommunicated, for having put away his queen, and married another woman during her life-time.

MEAN while *Urban* himself went to *Tuscany*, where he celebrated his *Christmas*; and the party of *Conrad* being now very strong in *Lombardy*, he proceeded to *Piacenza*, where, about the middle of *Lent*, he held a general council of the bishops of *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, and other provinces; the number assembled being so large that no church in that city could contain them, so that they were obliged to hold the council in a field without the walls. It being proved before the council, that the empress, during her imprisonment, had been ravished by several persons, sent in by orders of *Henry*, she was absolved from all penance, upon her public confession. The council likewise received an embassy from the emperor of *Constantinople*, and from *Philip* king of *France*: the emperor intreated assistance against the *Saracens*, who had approached almost to the walls of *Constantinople*; and *Philip* excused himself from appearing at the council, having been delayed by necessary reasons, after he was on his journey. The council likewise ordained, that no money should be exacted for unctions, baptisms, or burials; and before they broke up, denounced anathemas against the antipope, and several different heresiesⁿ. Having dismissed the council at *Placenza*, *Urban* went to *Cremona*, and on his journey was met by *Conrad*, who, upon the pope's entering the city, acted as groom, and afterwards took the oath of fidelity to the papal see. The pope received him as a son of the *Roman* church, and promised to assist him in obtaining the empire, on condition that he renounced all right to give investitures.

Soon afterwards he left *Italy*, and went by sea into *France*, where, in the beginning of *November*, he held a general council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, famous for the first commencement of the crusade. *Urban* having some time before received letters from the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, by *Peter* the hermit, representing the miserable state of the Christians in those parts, and intreating assistance against the *Saracens* their oppressors, he made several long and pathetic speeches to the council, exhorting them to encourage the people committed to their charge to undertake the holy warfare, for recovering the sepulchre of Christ from the Infidels. The council being moved by the addresses of the pope, made a decree, that whoever, out of devotion, and not for honour and money, went to the relief of the church of *Jerusalem*, that journey should serve instead of all penance, and during his absence all his possessions should continue safe. They afterwards excommunicated *Philip* king of *France*, who still refused to put away his concubine, and confirmed the decrees made at the councils of *Melpbis*, *Benevento*, *Troja*, and *Placenza*; they likewise made several new canons, that no clergyman should carry arms; that the sons of clergymen should be incapable of church preferments, unless they became monks; that it should not be lawful for clergymen to have women in their houses; that if any guilty person embraced a cross, either in the church or fields, he should be protected from harm^o.

THIS year a general council was likewise held in *England*, by *Anselm*, bishop of *Canterbury*, who wanted pope *Urban* to be acknowledged in that kingdom; but most of the bishops submitting to the edict of the king, which ordained, that no pope should be acknowledged in

A. D. 1093.
Conrad rebels against his father Henry, and is crowned king of Italy.

Urban goes to Lombardy, and holds a council at Placenza.
A. D. 1095.

He holds another council at Clermont in France, and proposes a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land.

The king of England favours the antipope.

^m SIGON. ubi supra BERTH. Hist. ad hunc ann.
^o Concil. General. t. x. p. 506. DONIZO ubi supra.

ⁿ DONIZO in Vita Mathild. BERTHOLD. Hist.

England but whom the king allowed of, great disputes arose in the assembly; and as it was known that the king favoured *Clement*, many of the bishops declared, that they would not yield any obedience to *Urban*^p. This year was likewise remarkable for the first institution of the knights hospitallers, by one *Gaston*, of the province of *Vienne* in *France*, who, with his son and eight others, began the order^q.

The crusade is
preached with
great success.
A. D. 1096.

AFTER the dismissing of the council of *Clermont*, *Urban* continued still in *France*, in order to promote the sacred expedition to the *Holy Land*. The bishops likewise, upon their return, went round the cities of their dioceses, and shewing the pope's letters, exhorted their people to the holy warfare; but the most active promoter of this expedition was *Peter* the hermit, who went through *France*, preaching to the people with great enthusiasm and zeal. The number of people who gave in their names for this holy expedition was so immense, that the priests were obliged to dissuade a great many, who, upon account of their age, sex, or weakness, were unfit for warfare; but still there remained behind an army greatly superior in number to any that had ever appeared in *Europe*. Instead of pay, they received a plenary indulgence for all their sins, and in lieu of an uniform, wore a cross made of red cloth upon their right shoulders, from whence the expedition got the name of a crusade.

THE first who put themselves on their march were *Guelter* or *Walter*, surnamed *Sans Avoir*, or *Lack-land*, and *Peter* the hermit, who, at the head of about 50,000 men, directed their route for *Germany*, where they were joined by *Godescald*, a monk, with 15,000 *Germans*, armed with clubs. These forces were soon after followed by *Godfrey de Bouillon*, duke of *Lorraine*, with many other dukes and counts, with a great body of troops. In *Italy* likewise great levies were made for the sacred expedition; the archbishop of *Milan* assembled 50,000 *Lombards*, 7000 of whom were from the city of *Milan*; while *Boemond*, brother of *Roger*, duke of *Sicily*, put himself at the head of the *Apulians* and *Calabrians*. The *Venetians*, *Pisans*, and *Genoese*, were ready with their fleets, and each city sent out a body of men, with a commander and standard, on which was painted a cross; the general device of those engaged in the expedition being *Dieu le vent*, or *It is the will of God*^r. Mean while *Urban*, having held a general council at *Tours*, and absolved the king of *France*, upon his humble submission, returned to *Lombardy*, and having had a conference with *Matilda*, proceeded to *Rome*, where he celebrated his *Christmas*; the castle of *St. Angelo* being still in the possession of the Imperialists.

Urban informs
the emperor of
Constantinople
of the ex-
pedition to the
Holy Land;
1097.

IN order to reconcile the *Greeks* to the crusade, he wrote a letter to *Alexius*, emperor of *Constantinople*, informing him of the design of the expedition, which, if it succeeded, would be of great advantage to his empire: he likewise appointed a council to be held at *Bari*, on the first of *October*, to which he invited the *Greek* bishops. In his way towards *Bari*, he went to *Capua*, which was then besieged by *Roger* count of *Sicily*, together with his nephew *Roger* duke of *Apulia*, in favour of *Richard* II. who had been expelled a few years before. The pope endeavoured to mediate a peace; but the *Capuans* rejecting the terms of accommodation, were, in a few days, obliged to surrender to the count, and to submit to *Richard*^s. After the reduction of *Capua*, the two princes repaired to *Salerno*, and were soon after visited by the pope, who granted a very large privilege to the count, allowing him, and his son who should succeed him, to act as legates of the apostolic see in *Sicily* (O).

and holds a
council at
Bari, composed
of Greek and
Latin bishops.

THE council assembling according to appointment at *Bari*, the pope repaired thither, with *Anselm*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who having had some difference with the king, had left *England*. The acts of this council are not extant; but there is mention of a great dispute betwixt the *Greek* and *Latin* bishops, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit; the *Greeks* affirming, that the Spirit proceeded only from the Father. Their arguments were entirely confuted by *Anselm*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, by his eloquence and strength of reasoning, gained great honour in the debate^t. In the mean time the *Croises*, who had begun their march to the *Holy Land*, being without money and without discipline, attacked the rich *Jews* in *Germany*, under pretence of zeal for the Christian religion, of which they were the professed soldiers. The cities of *Worms*, *Cologne*, *Mentz*, *Triers*, and several others, suffered greatly by their outrages. Those *Jews*, who would not consent to be baptized, were massacred, and their possessions seized. In *Bavaria* alone there were 12,000 put to death, and many thousands in the other provinces of *Germany*. *Coleman*, king of *Hungary*,

The Croises
murder the
Jews in Ger-
many.

^p GULIEL. MALMS. l. i. EDINER in Vita S. Anselm. apud Surm. t. ii.

Fulconis.

^q SIGON. l. ix. p. 235. Vita Pontif. Rom. apud MURATOR. t. iii. WILLEL. TYR. de bello

Sacro, l. i. c. 18. l. ii. c. 1.

^r EDINER. in Vita Anselm.

^s Histór. Antonian. HINCMAR.

^t ROMUALD SALERN. Chron. ad hunc an. GOUFRED. l. iv. c. 27. p. 29.

(O) This charter has been the occasion of great disputes betwixt the kings of *Sicily* and the church of *Rome*, it being maintained on one side, that, from this time following, the princes of *Sicily* have had the title of king, and have been hereditary legates of the popes

within their own dominions; whereas the advocates of the church affirm, that the charter limits the privilege of legate to *Roger*, and his immediate successor, and makes no mention of the title of king, which they say was afterwards conferred by an antipope.

^a being informed of these ravages, denied the *Croises* a passage through his kingdom; but his army being defeated in several encounters, he was at last obliged to consent to their passage. From *Hungary* they went through *Dacia*, *Mæcia*, and *Thrace*, to *Constantinople*, in order to be transported into *Asia* ^u.

THE pope, after dismissing the council of *Bari*, returned to *Rome*, where he called another council a few weeks after *Easter*. In opposition to this assembly, the bishops and cardinals in the interest of *Clement* likewise held a council at *Rome*, in which they composed a letter, addressed to all the faithful, declaring, that they had laboured for sixteen years to destroy the heresies introduced by *Hildebrand*, and summoning the authors of the schism to appear before them in the synod which they proposed to hold in *November* ^w. Mean while, news arriving ^x at *Rome* of the success of the *Croises* in *Asia*, *Urban* sent *Theobert*, archbishop of *Pisa*, as his legate to the Christian army, in order to restore the churches in those places that had been taken from the *Infidels*. But before his arrival, *Alexius* having deserted the party of the *Europeans*, the *Croises* were reduced to great difficulties, so that his embassy had no effect, till the army marched towards *Syria*, when they again met with success.

THE following year, which was the last of *Urban*'s life, he held a council at *Rome*, in which *Clement* and his adherents were excommunicated, and the faithful again exhorted to go to the assistance of their brethren in *Asia*. Many *Croises* giving in their names for the holy expedition, *Urban*, by their assistance, recovered the castle of *St. Angelo*, and having quieted the factions in the city, died on the 27th of *July*. The same month that the pope died, the *Croises* in *Asia*, after a siege of six weeks, made themselves masters of *Jerusalem* by storm. And *Robert*, duke of *Normandy*, refusing the dignity of king of *Jerusalem*, *Godfrey de Bouillon*, duke of *Lorraine*, was elected, and took the investiture of his new kingdom from *Theobert*, the pope's legate, who had been chosen patriarch of *Jerusalem* ^z.

AFTER the death of *Urban*, the clergy and nobles of *Rome* assembled in the church of *St. Clement*, to chuse a successor, and immediately pitched upon cardinal *Rainer* or *Ragnier*, abbot of the monastery of the saints *Lawrence* and *Stephen*, without the walls, who observing the disposition of the assembly, fled and hid himself; but being discovered and brought back, was obliged to accept of the dignity, the clergy calling out, pope *Paschal* is elected by *St. Peter*. He had no sooner taken possession of the papal chair, than he wrote to all the Catholic princes, informing them of his election; and in return received letters from many of them. The princes in the *Holy Land* particularly wrote a long letter, addressed to him and all the faithful, giving an account of their sufferings and late successes, and inviting their brethren to come to their assistance ^y. This letter being published in *Europe*, was the occasion of a second general crusade, the *Croises* going by sea from *Italy*. *Paschal* in the mean time being encouraged by the *Roman* clergy to act vigorously against the schismatics, and having received one thousand ounces of gold from *Roger* count of *Sicily*, employed that money against the antipope, whom he drove from *Albano*, and obliged to retire to *Citta-di-Castello*, where he died the year following ^z.

HE likewise sent two legates into *France*, who held a general council at *Poitiers*, in which *Philip* was again excommunicated, for having relapsed into adultery. The bishop of *Porta* was also sent as his legate into the *Holy Land*; soon after whose arrival, *Godfrey* king of *Jerusalem* died, and was succeeded by his brother *Baldwin*, who was immediately engaged in disputes with the patriarch. The contest between them was concerning the temporalities of the see: *Baldwin* claimed all the rights of his predecessor; but the patriarch insisted that *Godfrey* had left *Jerusalem* and *Joppa* to the church, in case he died without a male heir. To protect himself against *Baldwin*, he wrote to *Boemond*, prince of *Antioch*, exciting him to declare war against the king of *Jerusalem*, as an oppressor of the church ^a.

DURING these disturbances in the *Holy Land*, occasioned by the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, *Paschal* appointed *Gebehard*, bishop of *Constance*, his legate in *Germany*; and soon after received an embassy from *Henry* king of *England*, who insisted upon giving investitures of benefices, as a right inherent to his crown. But the pope, rendered confident by the success of his predecessors against the emperor, and by the mean submission of the other princes of *Europe*, denied the request of the ambassadors, and appointed the decrees of *Urban* with regard to investitures to be observed in *England* ^b. Ambassadors likewise arrived at *Rome* from the king of *France*, petitioning for the absolution of the sentence of excommunication against him. *Paschal* did not absolutely refuse the request, but sent two legates into *France*, to receive the satisfaction of the king, which being given, he was again admitted into the church. In the mean time, the emperor's party in *Italy* did their utmost to support their sinking interest in that kingdom: upon the death of *Guibert*, they elected one *Albert*, a German, who dy-

^u WILLEL. MALMS. l. i.^w BARONIUS, ad an 1098.^x WILLEL. TYR. de bell. Sac. l. viii.^y WILLEL. TYR. l. iii. c. 13, 14.^z DONIZO in Vita Mathild.

PETR. DIAC. in Chron.

Cassin. Vita Pontif Rom apud MURATOR, l. iii.

^a WIL. TYR. l. ix. c. ult. l. x. c. i.^b WIL. MALMS. l. i.

ing four months afterwards, they chose *Theodoric*, a *Lombard*. He survived his election a little more than three months, and was succeeded by one *Maginulph*, who was expelled from *Ravenna*, and died in exile.

A general council held at Rome.

A. D. 1102.

An oath of obedience to the holy see appointed to be taken by all the clergy.

PASCHAL being now too powerful to be disturbed by the weak efforts of these antipopes, held a general council at *Rome*, to which the emperor was invited, and upon his non-appearance, was again excommunicated. The council likewise composed an oath, which, under the title of a profession of faith, the archbishops, bishops, and all whom the pope required, were obliged to swear. By the oath, they abjured all heresy, they promised obedience to the pope and his successors, and to affirm what the holy and universal church affirms, and to condemn what she condemns. This new usurpation of the papal see alarmed several nations in *Europe*, but chiefly the king of *Poland*, and the princes of *Sicily*; and the archbishops of *Poland* and *Palermo* refused for some time to take the oath, alleging, that it was not enjoined by any former council. The pope wrote to them both, and insisted, that no council could prescribe a law to the *Roman* church ^c.

1103.

WHILE the pope's authority was called in question in *Poland* and *Sicily*, it was confirmed by *Anselm* in the synod of *London*, where several decrees were made against lay investitures, and the concubinage of the clergy. His party was likewise strengthened by *Otho*, bishop of *Wamberg*, who having received his bishopric from the emperor, wrote to the pope for his confirmation ^d; and *Matilda* having had a difference with her husband this year, renewed the grant of her possessions in favour of the holy see ^e. The proceedings of *Anselm* having offended the king of *England*, he ordered him to depart the kingdom, and sent an ambassador to the pope to determine the controversy, declaring, that he would rather lose his kingdom than part with his right to give investitures. *Paschal*, far from complying with the desire of the king, declared to the ambassador, in as peremptory a manner, that he would rather lose his salvation than suffer him to enjoy that right without censure ^f.

The pope sends a legate to Poland.

1104.

ABOUT this time *Gallo*, bishop of *Paris*, having come to *Rome* upon account of some difference with the king of *France*, *Paschal* sent him as his legate into *Poland*, to correct the abuses in that kingdom. He likewise sent cardinal *Richard*, bishop of *Albano*, as his legate into *France*, who held a council at *Troyes*. In the mean time, the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and *Boemond* prince of *Antioch*, arrived in *Italy*. *Boemond* proceeded to *France*, to marry the daughter of *Philip*; but the patriarch went to *Rome*, and complained to the pope of the injuries he had received from *Baldwin*, who had substituted one *Ebremarius* in his place. He likewise accused the king of having divorced his wife without any formal sentence of the church. Upon hearing these complaints, *Paschal* detained the patriarch with him, and wrote in his behalf to *Jerusalem*, desiring those who had any thing to accuse him of to appear at *Rome*. At length, no accusers having appeared, he was judged innocent by the apostolic see, and restored to his former dignity.

The emperor is dethroned by his son Henry.

1105.

MEAN while a great revolution happened in *Germany*, the emperor being imprisoned and dethroned by his youngest son *Henry*, whom a few years before he had associated with himself in the empire. In the beginning of the revolt, *Henry* wrote a letter to *Paschal*, proposing an accommodation with him, on terms that were consistent with his honour ^g. The pope paid no regard to this letter, persuaded that the emperor's submission proceeded more from the bad state of his affairs, than from the purity of his intentions; and the young *Henry* professing all obedience to the apostolic see, he ordered his legates to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication, and to assist him with their advice. Soon after, in a general diet held at *Mentz*, *Henry*, who was then imprisoned by the treachery of his son in the castle of *Bingenheim*, was excommunicated by the pope's legates; and the assembly having likewise deposed him, the young *Henry* was acknowledged as king, and his former election at *Aix la Chapelle* confirmed.

The pope's legate refuses to absolve him.

1106.

THE new emperor, that he might give some appearance of justice to his rebellion, assembled another diet at *Ingelheim*, where his father is said to have been prevailed upon to make a voluntary resignation of his crown to his son, and to have thrown himself at the feet of the legate, praying to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication; but his request was refused, the legate declaring, that he could only be absolved by the pope, or a general council. The party of the pope being now victorious in *Germany*, the schismatic bishops, namely, those that had received their investiture from the emperor, were expelled from their sees, and new bishops appointed by the catholic party. The bodies likewise of those bishops, who had been accused of schism, were ordered to be dug out of their graves; in consequence of which order, the body of *Clement* the antipope was exposed at *Ravenna* in an ignominious manner, and thrown into the river, his followers having alleged, that a great many miracles had been performed at his tomb ^h.

^c BARON. ad an. 1102.
Annal. hoc anno. WILLEL. de reg. Angl. l. v.
Annal. Abbas URSPERG.

^d Vita Othon, l. i. c. iii.

^e MURATOR. de reb. Ital. t. v.
^f Epist. Henrici apud Urstil. p. 392.

^g ROGER
^h BARON.

- a** In the mean time the emperor fled from *Ingelheim*, and retired to *Cologne*, and from thence *He escapes from his confinement to Liege, and raises an army.* Being received honourably in this city, he wrote a long letter to the king of *France*, which he published in form of a manifesto, declaring the injuries he had received, and asking assistance against his rebel son. Many of his friends upon this letter came to *Liege*; so that in a short time he formed a considerable army, which encouraged his party in *Italy* again to make some efforts in his favour: accordingly, having raised some troops, and got a part of the *Romans* to favour them, they took the opportunity of the absence of the pope, and chose an antipope at *Rome*, under the name of *Sylvester*, who was soon after expelled by the catholics. During these transactions in *Italy*, the young emperor besieged *Cologne*, which held for his father; but after continuing a month before the place, he was
- b** obliged to raise the siege with some loss. *Henry* at the same time writing to the bishops and lords of the empire, complaining of the injustice that had been done him, and offering to submit to the holy see, a negotiation was in some manner agreed to; but while they debated about a prior cessation of hostilities, the emperor died at *Liege*; and was interred with great pomp by the bishop of that see. For this kindness to the deceased, the bishop was excommunicated, and, as a condition of being absolved, he was ordered to dig up the corpse ^{*He dies soon after at Liege.*}
- c** POPE *Paschal* having been invited to come into *Germany* by the diet at *Mentz*, was on his journey when he heard of the death of the emperor. Upon receiving this news, he stopt at *Florence* to enquire into a prophecy of the immediate coming of *Antichrist*, published by some eminent men in that city. Being convinced of the absurdity of the prophecy, he proceeded to *Guastalla*, where he held a general council, at which were present the ambassadors of the new emperor, who desired the pope to confirm to their master the privileges belonging to his dignity ^{*Pope Paschal holds a council at Guastalla.*}. Among other decrees, the council ordained, that all the cities in *Emilia*, namely, *Placenza, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, Bologna*, should no longer be subject to the metropolitan of *Ravenna*. They likewise prohibited any layman from giving investitures, under pain of excommunication.
- d** THIS last decree highly offended the emperor *Henry V.* who finding himself established in the throne, refused to abate any thing of his right of investitures, or of the manner of giving them (P). The pope, upon his arrival at *Verona*, being informed of the emperor's resolution with regard to these points, altered his design of going into *Germany*, and went through *Burgundy* into *France*, where, about *Whitsuntide*, he held a council at *Troyes*. Before the assembling of the council, the emperor sent ambassadors to the pope, at *Chalons* upon the *Marne*, to shew his holiness that his claim of investitures was an antient right belonging to the emperors; but the pope refusing his consent, the ambassadors departed in an abrupt manner, declaring that they would determine the controversy at *Rome* with their swords ^{*He goes into France and holds a council at Troyes.*}. The pope proceeded afterwards to *Troyes*, and in the council ordained, that the investiture of benefices belonged only to the sovereign pontiff; but before the publication of the decree, ambassadors arrived from the emperor, who represented to the council, that the power of appointing bishops had been granted to *Charlemagne* by the apostolic see; and as *Henry* was his lawful successor, he expected to enjoy the same privilege. As the emperor had approached with a considerable army to the confines of *France*, the council deferred the consideration of that question, under pretence that they were in a foreign kingdom, and indulged the emperor with the delay of a year, that he might come himself to *Rome* to plead his cause in a general council.
- e**

¹ URSBERG Abbas hoc anno. Vita Ludov. c. 9.

^k Concil. Gener. t. x. p. 748. DONIZO in Vita Mathild.

^m SUGER

(P) Ever since the time of *Charlemagne*, princes had been in possession of the right to give investitures of great benefices. The first pope that undertook to deprive them of that right was *Gregory VII.* though he himself, after his election to the papal see, refused to be consecrated till he had the approbation of the emperor. It must be acknowledged, that the princes, by their frequent abuses of that prerogative, gave too great occasion to the popes to call the lawfulness of it in question. For under pretence that the bishops and abbots could not enter into the possession of their benefices till they had received the investiture of them, the princes openly sold them to the highest bidder. Elections indeed were then in use; but it was the investiture that gave the right to the temporalities, which the princes might refuse to grant, if they were not satisfied with the person elected; so that the whole power of providing to benefices was in their hands, for none chose to be elected, unless they were sure of having the consent of the prince.

Besides the simoniacal use of this right, which the

popes condemned, the manner of giving investitures was another subject of dispute. As they were given by a pastoral staff and a ring, the popes seemed to think that the princes pretended to confer a spiritual jurisdiction, which was an encroachment upon their authority, reckoned by them to be divine. It appears, that this form of giving the investiture was the chief occasion of the disputes betwixt the sovereign princes and the popes; for the kings of *England* and *France* having afterwards agreed to alter the form, were no more disturbed by the popes with regard to investitures. But during the disputes of the emperor *Henry IV.* with the papal see, the difference betwixt the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction of a bishop was not attended to, both parties carrying their pretensions beyond their just bounds, the popes especially advancing theirs to an extravagant degree, absolutely forbidding all ecclesiastics to receive any investiture from laymen, or even to take the oath of allegiance to them.

He returns to
Italy, and ac-
commodates the
difference
with the king
of England.

A. D. 1108.

He threatens
the king of
Arragon with
excommuni-
cation, for mar-
rying his
cousin.

1109.

The emperor
marches with
a formidable
army into
Italy.

1110.

He is crowned
king of Italy
at Milan.

1111.

A treaty con-
cluded betwixt
the emperor
and the pope
at Sutri.

Henry enters
Rome, and is
conducted to
the church of
St. Peter.

PASCHAL having dismissed the council of *Troyes*, returned in autumn to *Italy*, and made an accommodation with the ambassadors of the king of *England*, with regard to the dispute about investitures, it being agreed that the king should receive the homage of the new elected bishops and abbots; but that he should invest none by the ring and staffⁿ. Having thus put an end to that controversy, he sent *Gibelin*, bishop of *Arles*, as his legate to *Jerusalem*, who held a council in that city, of the bishops of the country, in which *Ebremerius*, who had intruded into the patriarchate, was deposed, and *Gibelin* chosen to that dignity. The following year *Paschal* was engaged against *Ptolemy* count of *Tusculum*, and *Peter de Columna*, who had invaded some territories of the church: having reduced them by the assistance of *Leo Frangipani*, he went to *Benevento*, where he held a council, in which an anathema was denounced against lay investitures, and the clergy were prohibited from wearing secular or splendid apparel^o. Before he went to *Benevento*, he wrote to *Baldwin* king of *Jerusalem*, allowing him to add all the cities he should conquer from the Infidels to the see of *Jerusalem*, which grant greatly offended the patriarch of *Antioch*. *Paschal* being soon after informed that *Alphonfus*, king of *Arragon*, had married *Uraca*, the daughter of the late king of *Castile*, related to him in the third degree, he wrote to the bishop of *Compostella*, ordering him to cause the incestuous marriage to be dissolved, threatening the king with excommunication and deposition if he did not comply. *Alphonfus* paid no regard to the threats of the pope, but was killed soon after in his wars with the *Moors*.

In the mean time the emperor having concluded a peace with the *Poles*, and made an alliance with the king of *England*, whose daughter he had married, assembled a formidable army, and marched for *Italy*, in order to determine the dispute concerning investitures, and receive the imperial crown from the pope^p. *Paschal* being informed of his march, and judging by his great preparations that he intended rather to give the law to him, than to receive it from the council, sent to *France* to solicit the assistance of *Lewis*, and went himself to *Apulia*, and assembling the *Norman* princes and counts of that country, obtained the promise of assistance from them against the emperor, if there should be occasion. Upon his return to the city, he took an oath from the nobles of *Rome* to the same purpose^q. *Henry* had by this time passed the *Alps*, and arrived at *Ivrea*, where he was received with great respect, and his army supplied with refreshments. Having afterwards taken and burnt *Novara*, for offering to resist him, he marched to *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Italy* by the archbishop *Chrysolaus*; and having crossed the *Appenine* mountains during the month of *December*, he stopped at *Florence*, where he kept his *Christmas*^r.

WHILST he continued at *Florence*, he sent one *David*, a *Scotchman*, president of the schools of *Wirtzburg*, and other learned persons, as his deputies to the pope, who having admitted them to several audiences, agreed to the following convention. "That the emperor should publicly and by writing renounce his right of investitures on the day of his coronation; that he should put the holy see in possession of all the territories formerly granted to it by *Charlemagne*, and other emperors; and that he should not, by himself or another, deprive pope *Paschal* of the pontificate, or take from him his life, liberty, or any of his members: That the pope, on the other side, should order the bishops to deliver up to the emperor their fiefs, and the lands of their bishopricks which held of the empire, that is, all the temporalities of their benefices, and should deliver a bull in good form, forbidding, under pain of excommunication, all bishops ever to pretend to those temporalities^s."

DURING the negotiations of his deputies with the pope, the emperor advanced by slow marches towards *Rome*. Upon his arrival at *Arezzo*, being denied access to the town, he took it by force, and treated it in the same manner as he had done *Novara*. Advancing afterwards to *Sutri*, he was there met by his deputies, with others from the pope, who came from *Rome* with a copy of the convention, which the emperor agreed to, and gave hostages for the security of the performance of it on his part; but to the copy which he signed, he added the following clause: "On condition that the exchange of right of investitures, for the possessions which the bishops held of the empire, was approved of and solemnly ratified by the bishops and nobles of *Germany*^t". The pope, either not attending to this clause, or believing that he had authority enough with the *German* bishops to make them consent to it, made no complaint of that article, but published that an honourable peace was concluded with the emperor. The people rejoiced at this news, and received *Henry* into the city with extraordinary honours, going before him to the church of *St. Peter* with palms and branches of trees. Being received by the pope on the top of the steps, he was conducted into the church, and seated in a magnificent desk, while his holiness began the mass. After having performed

ⁿ EDINER. Vita Anselm.

^o Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 24, & 35.

^p SIGON. l. x. p. 244.

^q Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 25, 37. SIGON. ubi supra.

^r DONIZO in Vita Mathild.

^s Chron.

Cassin. l. iv. c. 37, 38, 39. Exemp. Ser. Cod. Vatican. apud BARON, Annal. an. 1111.

^t URSPERG.

Abbas. BARON. Annal. ad an. 1110.

a what is called the offertory, the pope, about to proceed to the coronation, demanded of the emperor aloud, if he was willing to renounce his right of investitures in exchange for the fiefs of the bishops. The emperor replied in the affirmative^u; but the bishops absolutely refused to part with their fiefs, declaring that they had the same right to them that the pope had to the possessions of his see.

THE pope, finding that he could not prevail with the bishops, declared that he would not crown the emperor, since he did not execute the treaty; and rising from his seat, went to the altar to finish the mass; which behaviour of the pope offending the emperor, he ordered his guards to surround the altar, and made his holiness, and all the cardinals and other ecclesiastics that were assisting him, prisoners. Upon the news of this violence, the Romans immediately assembled, and attacking the Germans, killed a great many of them; but the emperor having the second day after received a reinforcement from his camp, repulsed the Romans with great slaughter, and taking the pope and the other prisoners with him, he marched with his army towards *Soracte*, ravaging the country round *Rome*, in hopes of prevailing with the pope to agree to his coronation upon his own terms. *Paschal* continued a long time inflexible; but being disappointed in his succours from the Normans, by the death of duke *Roger*, who died during his confinement^v, and fearing likewise a schism in the church, he was at last prevailed with to renew the treaty, by the intreaties of his fellow prisoners, who were threatened with immediate death in his presence, if he did not consent^x.

He accordingly granted to the emperor, by a bull in due form, the right of investitures by the ring and crosier, without any limitations; upon which *Henry* promised to restore to the church all the possessions granted by former emperors. Matters being thus settled, the pope was conducted back to the city, and conferred the imperial crown on the emperor, on the *Sunday* after *Easter*, besides the usual ceremonies, being obliged to present him with a new bull, confirming the privilege of investitures^y. Having then celebrated mass, he divided the host, and presenting one half to the emperor, and reserving the other to himself, he pronounced a curse against the party who should break the present treaty. The ceremony being finished, the emperor left *Rome* about an hour after, and being accompanied with the pope and several cardinals, set out on his return for *Germany*.

d *PASCHAL* having taken leave of the emperor in *Lombardy*, returned to *Rome*, where he was again involved in new troubles, which seemed to him even of more dangerous consequence than the former; for the cardinals and prelates, who continued at *Rome* during his confinement, being greatly offended at his concession to the emperor, publicly condemned his proceeding, and affirmed, that he could not conclude that treaty without the consent of the sacred college; some even talked of deposing him as a heretic, who had contradicted the decrees of his predecessors^z. *Paschal* pleaded in his excuse the necessity to which he was reduced, and that what he had done was not from any consideration of his own danger, but merely to free the city and the whole church from the threatening calamity. The prelates did not acquiesce in this apology; but upon the absence of the pope at *Tarracina*, assembled of themselves at *Rome*, and annulling what *Paschal* had done in the late treaty with the emperor, they confirmed the decrees of *Gregory VII.* *Victor III.* and *Urban II.* against lay investitures. The pope wrote them a very moderate letter, blaming their conduct, and declaring, that he would endeavour, as soon as possible, to reform what was amiss in the late treaty. Notwithstanding this letter, many cardinals still continued to censure the conduct of the pope; and *Bruno*, bishop of *Segui* and abbot of *Cassino*, a man of a warm temper, wrote a letter to the bishop of *Porta*, in which he accused *Paschal* of heresy^a.

f THE pope, offended with the liberty of *Bruno*, deprived him of his abbacy, and returning immediately to *Rome*, appointed a general council to be held in the *Lateran* church, to determine concerning the treaty. In the mean time he wrote to his legates in the other kingdoms of *Europe*, informing them how he had been forced to grant the treaty to *Henry*, and declared, that he annulled what was therein contained, and confirmed the decrees of his predecessors^b. The council having assembled on the 28th of *March*, *Paschal* informed them how the bull of privileges had been extorted from him: he acknowledged that he had done amiss, and begged to be corrected; but as he had sworn never to disturb the emperor with regard to investitures, he desired them to elect another pope, to provide for the good of the church. The assembly refused to receive his demission; and the following day having appointed the bishop of *Angouleme* as their president, they made a decree, annulling and condemning the false privilege extorted from pope *Paschal* by the violence of *Henry V.*

^u SIGON. l. x. p. 246.

^v ROMUALD. Chron. hoc anno.

^x Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 41 & 42.

^y Acta ipsa ex PETR. DIAC. l. iv. c. 42.

^z Epist. Pasch. apud BARON.

^a Epist. Brun. apud eund.

^b Epist. Pasch. apud eund.

^c Vita Pasch. a Nicol. Aragon. apud MURATOR.

The emperor is excommunicated in the councils of Vienne and Jerusalem.

THE behaviour of the pope in this council was far from satisfying all the ecclesiastics; ^a he was blamed particularly by *Guido*, archbishop of *Vienne*, his legate in *France*, who held a council at *Vienne*, in which, to maintain the lawfulness of lay investitures was judged a heresy, the above-mentioned bull of privileges was likewise condemned and annulled, and the emperor himself excommunicated. *Guido*, in the name of the council, wrote to the pope, informing him, that they had condemned the bull extorted from his simplicity, and desiring him to confirm their decrees with his apostolic sanction, especially the sentence of excommunication against the emperor ^d. *Henry* had been excommunicated the year before by *Cono*, bishop of *Pilastrina*, in a council held by him in *Jerusalem*, and likewise in five other councils, which he held in *Greece*, *Hungary*, *Saxony*, *Lorrain*, and *France*^e; however, the pope, for what reason is uncertain, refused to give his consent. ^b

The emperor Alexius offers to receive his crown from the hands of the pope.

IN the mean time, an embassy arrived at *Rome* from *Alexius*, emperor of *Constantinople*, who expressed his sorrow for the bad treatment the pope had received from *Henry*, and offering to come himself, or to send his son *John*, to receive the imperial crown from the hands of *Paschal*. This embassy was very acceptable to the *Romans*, who, according to *Petrus Diaconus*, sent 600 men of note to the coasts of *Italy*, to conduct the emperor to *Rome*^f. Some of the chief of them went with the abbot of *Cassino* to *Constantinople*; but *Alexius* being engaged with other affairs, thought no more of his journey to *Italy*, so that the ambassadors returned disappointed. While *Paschal* was in expectation of a visit from *Alexius*, he received a complaint against *Heriman*, who had intruded into the see of *Augsburgh*, and debauched the wives of several citizens; having formerly received an accusation against him, in the council of *Guaftalla*, he now wrote to the archbishop of *Mentz* to proceed against him in a canonical manner. ^c

The pope holds a council at Benevento.

THE following year *Paschal* went to *Benevento*, where he held a council, in which were decided some provincial questions, and appointed *Landulphus* to govern the city under the title of comestable^g. Soon after he held another synod at *Ceperano*, on the *Garigliano*, where he restored the archbishop of *Casanza* to his see, who had been expelled by *Roger* count of *Sicily*, and forced to take the habit of a monk at *Cassino*^h. In the mean time *Landulphus*, governor of *Benevento*, having by his incursions drawn the power of the *Normans* against him, had thereby exposed his city to their ravages. The citizens, not being able to repel the invaders, sent their archbishop to the pope; who, having received a power to treat with the *Normans*, returned to *Benevento*; but, instead of executing his commission, he assembled some troops, and attacked the comestable, whom he compelled to abdicate his dignity. Complaints of the archbishop's conduct being laid before the council at *Ceperano*, he was unanimously deposed; and *William*, the son of duke *Roger*, having come to do homage to the pope, he received from his holiness the investiture of his possessions, with the title of duke of *Calabria* and *Apulia*. After dismissing the council, the pope, at the intreaty of *Ivo*, bishop of *Chartres*, granted the pallium to *Rodolphus*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, without requiring him to come for it to *Rome* according to the established customⁱ. ^d

The countess Mathilda dies.

1115.

THE following year the countess *Mathilda* died, in the 69th year of her age; but whether the church of *Rome* immediately obtained possession of her estates is uncertain; for an author of those times mentions, that, immediately upon the death of *Mathilda*, messengers came to the emperor from *Italy*, inviting him to come and take possession of the estates of his cousin^k (Q). *Paschal*, in the mean while, went into *Apulia*, and held a council at *Troja*, in which the truce of God (R) was established for three years^l. Upon his return to *Rome*, he held a general council in the *Lateran* church during the time of *Lent*, in which assembly he again acknowledged his fault in granting the bull of privileges to the emperor, which he condemned and declared of no effect, denouncing an anathema against the giver and receiver of a lay investiture. And the bishop of *Pilastrina*, notwithstanding the opposition of several of the emperor's friends who were present, urging the pope to ratify what he had done as his legate, *Paschal* at last declared, that he approved and confirmed all his proceedings: the bishop thereupon informed the assembly, that he had excommunicated the emperor in six councils. The pope likewise confirmed the decrees of *Guido*, made in the council of *Vienne*; so that although he did not excommunicate the emperor himself, he confirmed the excommunications of others^m. ^e

The pope confirms the excommunication of the emperor in the Lateran.

1116.

^d BARON. Annal. ad an. 1112 l. iv. c. 48.

^e URSPERG. Abbas ad an. 1116.

^f PETR. DIAC. Chron. Cassin.

^g FALC. Benevent. Chron. apud MURATOR. t. v. p. 83.

^h PETR. DIAC. Chron. Cassin.

ⁱ IVON. Epist. 252.

^k URSPERG. Abbas. BARON. Annal. ad an. 1115.

^l FAL-

CON. Benevent. Chron. apud MURATOR. t. v. p. 89. 90. SIGON. l. x. p. 250.

^m URSPERG. Abbas hoc

anno. Card. Arragon. in vita Pasch.

(Q) *Beatrice* the wife of *Boniface*, marquis of *Tuscany*, and mother of *Mathilda*, was the sister of *Henry III.* the grandfather of the emperor.

(R) By the truce of God is meant, a decree pro-

hibiting the taking private revenge on Sundays and holidays, or attacking any person when they were going to church.

a HENRY by this time had advanced with his army as far as *Mantua*, and, hearing of the determinations of the council, sent ambassadors to the pope, complaining of the injustice of his proceeding. *Paschal* replied, that he had kept his oath, and had not excommunicated him himself; but as he was excommunicated by a council, he could only be absolved by the same. The emperor finding himself deceived by the pope, resolved, as soon as he had settled the affairs of *Lombardy*, to march to *Rome*. *Paschal*, remembering his former expedition, proposed to the *Romans* to prepare for making a vigorous defence against the Imperialists; but finding that *Ptolemy*, count of *Tusculum*, the prefect of the city, and many of the nobles, were in the interest of the emperor, he left the city, and went the following A. D. 1117, spring to *Cassino*, and taking the abbot along with him, proceeded to *Benevento*, where he held a council, and restored *Landulphus* the archbishop to his see^a.

b WHILE he continued in this city, he received messengers from *Rodolphus*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Heribert*, bishop of *Norwich*, who had come as far as *Rome*, as ambassadors from the king of *England*, and the clergy of that kingdom, complaining of the rapaciousness of his legate, and insisted upon the privilege granted by St. Gregory to the archbishop of *Canterbury*, of being perpetual legate of the holy see in *England*. The pope wrote to the bishops and king of *England*, professing, that he had no intention to violate the privileges of the archbishop of *Canterbury*; but as the apostolic see had for a long time sent legates into *England*, he desired to see the bull of the privileges granted by St. Gregory. The ambassadors having received this letter from the pope, returned to *England*, without any redress of the grievances complained of^b.

c IN the mean time the emperor having received the homage of several cities that had belonged to *Mathilda*, and taken some places in the territory of *St. Peter*, that had held for the pope, entered *Rome* in a magnificent manner; and having given his daughter to the son of *Ptolemy*, and confirmed to him whatever his grandfather *Gregory*, and his other ancestors possessed, he secured the affection of the other nobles by his great liberalities^c. But not being able to prevail with any of the clergy of *Rome* to consent to his coronation, which ceremony he desired again to be performed, *Macericius Burdinus*, archbishop of *Braga* in *Portugal* (S), who had attended him in his expedition, crowned him in the church of *St. Peter*, with great solemnity^d; immediately after which, he returned with his army towards *Tuscany*, upon account of the heats. *Paschal*, during his residence in (T) *Apulia*, had assembled an army of *Normans*, and thinking himself strong enough to oppose the Imperialists, in the beginning of autumn set out for *Rome*; but not being able to bear the violent heats, he fell dangerously sick at *Anagni*. However, he recovered in some degree, and went to *Pilastrina*, where he dedicated the church of *St. Agapetus*, and from thence returned about the middle of *January* with the *Norman* army to *Rome*; but died the second day after his arrival^e.

d THE cardinals and bishops who were then in *Rome*, thinking it of the utmost consequence to elect a successor as soon as possible, immediately sent to *Cassino* for cardinal *Cajetan*, and, upon his arrival, unanimously elected him pope, by the name of *Gelasius II.* (U). The election was quickly disturbed by *Lincius Frangipani*, one of the wealthiest nobles of *Rome*, entirely attached to the emperor, who, enraged that the cardinals had not elected a person recommended by himself^f, broke in with an armed force into the monastery where they were assembled, and taking *Gelasius* by the throat, pulled him from his seat; and, after kicking him, carried him prisoner to his castle in the neighbourhood. Many of the cardinals, who

^a FALC. Benevent. Chron. p. 90. ROMUALD Salern. Chron. p. 180.

RON. Annal. ad an. 1117.

MURATOR. tom. iii.

^b Vita Pasch. ubi supra.

^c Vita Pasch. ubi supra.

^d Vita Pasch. ubi supra.

^e Vita Pasch. ubi supra.

^f Vita Pasch. ubi supra.

^a WILLEL. MALMS. l. i. BA.

^b SIGON. l. x p. 252. Vita Pasch. apud

^c Vita Gelas. apud FLATINAM. SIGON. l. x. p. 252.

(S) *Burdinus* was born in the province of *Limofin* in *France*. He was of an ambitious, fawning, and interested temper; and having gained the friendship of the archbishop of *Toledo*, he obtained to be archdeacon of that church, and was afterwards declared metropolitan of *Conimbria*. He made a voyage to the *Holy Land* in 1108, and upon his return, procured the archbishopric of *Braga*, with the privilege of the pallium; which occasioning some disputes between him and the archbishop of *Toledo*, he was obliged to come to *Rome* in 1115, to implore the assistance of the pope, who, observing his capacity for negotiation, made him his legate to treat with the emperor. Having neglected to follow the instructions of the court of *Rome*, his commission was soon after re-

voked; upon which disgrace, he addicted himself wholly to the service of the emperor.

(T) By *Apulia*, the authors of those times frequently meant all that part of *Italy* that lay south from the *Tyber*.

(U) *Gelasius* was born at *Gaeta*, of a noble and illustrious family, many of his ancestors having been dukes of *Gaeta*, and also of *Naples* and *Sorrento*. He early took the habit of a monk at *Cassino*, and distinguished himself for his attachment to *Urban II.* and *Paschal II.* by the first of whom he was created chancellor and cardinal deacon, and by the last cardinal archdeacon and librarian (1).

(1) *Comment. Constantin. Cajetan. apud Murator. t. iii.*

He is obliged
to leave
Rome.

He is conse-
crated at
Gaeta.

The emperor
declares his
election void,
and appoints
Gregory
VIII.

Gelasius goes
to France.

The emperor is
excommuni-
cated.

A. D. 1119.
Death of Ge-
lasius.

were endeavouring to mount their mules to make their escape, were likewise seized and shut up with the pope^a. The news of this outrage spreading through the city, the *Normans*, together with the *Romans*, immediately took arms, and besieged the house of *Frangipani*, who seeing himself likely to be overpowered, asked pardon of the pope, and delivered him up to his friends. *Gelasius* was then set upon a white horse, and conducted amidst the acclamations of the people to the *Lateran* palace; but before his consecration, he was alarmed with the news that the emperor had arrived with his army at the portico of *St. Peter*; upon which information, he immediately went with his attendants on board two small vessels in the river *Tyber*, with a design to escape by sea; but when he came to *Ostia*, the weather was so tempestuous, that it was impossible to proceed farther. The *German* soldiers, who had followed the vessels on the bank of the river, making preparations to seize the pope, he landed during the night, and was carried on the shoulders of cardinal *Hugh* to *Ardea*; and a few days after, the weather turning more favourable, he returned to *Ostia*, and sailed from thence to his native city *Gaeta*, where, being attended by a great many cardinals and bishops, he was ordained priest, and afterwards consecrated in the presence of *William* duke of *Apulia*, *Robert* prince of *Capua*, and several other *Norman* nobles, who took the oath of fidelity to him, and received from him the investiture of their estates (W). After this he restored *Leetus* to the archbishopric of *St. Albans*, and went to *Capua*, where he celebrated the feast of *Easter*. b

He had no sooner arrived at *Capua*, than he was informed that the emperor had declared his election void, and having assembled in the *Vatican* all the clergy attached to his interests, had caused *Burdinus* to be elected by them under the name of *Gregory VIII*. The messenger added likewise, that he had advanced with his army into the territory of *Anagni*, and was besieging *Turricolo*. Upon this news, the pope immediately asked the assistance of the *Norman* princes, and, holding a council in *Capua*, excommunicated the emperor and the antipope^c. The *Norman* princes having soon after assembled with their forces at *St. Germain*, advanced with the pope towards *Rome*; which *Henry* being informed of, he raised the siege of *Turricolo*, and leaving the antipope with some forces at *Rome*, he marched with the rest of his army to *Germany*. Upon the departure of the emperor, *Gelasius* dismissed the *Normans*, and returned in a private manner to *Rome*; but the party of the antipope being more powerful than he expected, he lived secretly in the house of *Wartbman* and *Pandulphus*, two *Corfican* nobles. d

Soon after, upon the feast of *St. Praxidis*, going to church to celebrate mass, he was assaulted by the *Frangipani*, with a body of armed men; but his friends making a resolute defence for several hours, he found means of escaping, and fled to the fields, in the neighbourhood of *St. Paul's*. *Gelasius*, finding that the party of the antipope was too powerful in *Rome*, resolved to go into *France*, and appointed the bishop of *Porta* as his vicar in the city. He likewise gave the command of the city to *Peter Leo*, as prefect, and appointed *Stephen* the *Norman* as standard-bearer and protector of the church. Before he embarked for *France*, he sent the pallium to *Walter*, lately elected archbishop of *Ravenna*; and, as that church had deserted the party of the emperor, he restored to its jurisdiction the churches which *Paschal* had taken from it in the council of *Guastalla*^e. The ships being now ready, he sailed for *Pisa* on the second of *September*, and continuing some days in that city, he again put to sea, and arrived at *Provence*, where he was received with great respect^f.

WHILE he continued in *France*, he sent a diploma to the archbishop of *Toledo*, confirming to him the primacy of all *Spain*; and being informed that the emperor every-where represented his retreat from *Rome* as an abdication of the pontificate, he sent the famous *Cono*, bishop of *Pilastrina*, as his legate into *Germany*, who held a council at *Cologne*, and another at *Fritzlar*, in both which the emperor and the antipope were excommunicated^g. During these disturbances in *Rome* and *Italy*, the order of the knights *Templars* was founded at *Jerusalem*, their profession being to protect the pilgrims from robbers on their journey to that city. For the first nine years they were only nine in number; and as they had no house appropriated for themselves, the king, for a time, granted them a part of his palace, next to the church, or temple, of our Saviour, from whence they got the name of *Templars*^h. The following year *Gelasius* held a council at *Vienne*, and a few days after falling sick of a pleurisy,

^a Vita Gelas. ex. MSS. PANDULPH Pisan. ^u Concil. Gener. p. 823. Abbas URSPERG. SIGON. l. x. p. 253.
^v Epist. Gelas. apud BARON. Comment. in Vit. Gelas. apud MURAT. t. iii. ^x FALCO Benevent.
Chron. ad hunc ann. ^y URSPERG Abbas hoc anno. ^z WILLEL. TYR. bello sacro. l. xii. c. 7.

(W) *Romualdus* archbishop of *Salerno*, in his *Chronicon*, mentions the form which the pope used in giving the investiture to *William*, "As pope *Gregory* gave the "duchy of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to *Robert Guiscard* your "grand-father, and as pope *Urban* gave the same duchy

"to your father *Roger*, and as pope *Paschal* gave the "same first to your father *Roger*, and afterwards to "yourself, so I give to you the same lands, with the "honour of dukedom, by the same gift, and under "the same agreement."

a he died in the monastery of *Cluny*, on the 28th of *January*. Before his death he recommended his legate *Cono* as his successor, who had returned from *Germany*; but he refusing to accept of the dignity, the cardinals present unanimously agreed to elect *Guido*, or *Guy*, archbishop of *Vienne*, who arrived at *Cluny* a few days after the death of *Gelasius*. The fixing upon a successor before the death of the pope was contrary to custom; but then authorized by the schism occasioned by *Burminus*^a.

GELASIUS being buried in the monastery of *Cluny*, the cardinals immediately elected *Guido* Election of Calixtus II. (X), by the name of *Calixtus II.* but he absolutely refused to assume the pontifical ornaments; till the election was ratified by the cardinals and clergy at *Rome*. Having at last received the approbation of the cardinals, bishops, and nobles in that city, he was consecrated on the 14th of *October*, by *Lambert* bishop of *Ostia*^b. A few days after he held a general council at *Rheims*, at which were present 426 bishops and abbots, from the different nations of *Europe*, besides a great number of other ecclesiastics and nobles^c. The emperor, in the mean time, giving some hopes of an accommodation, and desiring a conference with the pope, *Calixtus* left the council, and went to *Mousson*, in order to settle the dispute about investitures with the emperor. *Henry* had advanced to *Troyes* with an army of 30,000 men: and, though he had agreed, a few weeks before, with the deputies of the pope, to renounce the giving of investitures with the ring and pastoral staff, on condition of being absolved from excommunication, and allowed the privilege of investing with the sceptre, yet he now refused to determine any thing without the advice of a general dyet; upon which the pope returned to the council, and, having renewed the decree against lay investitures, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the emperor and the antipope^d. The emperor is excommunicated by the council of Rheims.

AFTER dismissing the council, *Calixtus* went to *Gisors* in *Normandy*, where he had a conference with *Henry* king of *England*, who, being offended with *Turstan*, archbishop of *York*, for allowing himself to be consecrated at *Rheims* without his knowledge, had sworn never to suffer him to enter his dominions. The pope confirmed to *Henry* all the prerogatives which his ancestors had enjoyed in *Normandy* and *England*, and chiefly that no person should be allowed to act as legate in *England*, unless desired by the king. He then offered to absolve *Henry* from the oath he had sworn with regard to *Turstan*, which the king consented to, on condition that the archbishop should pay the same subjection to the see of *Canterbury* as his predecessors had done; which *Turstan* refused to agree to. However, the pope afterwards writing a letter to the king and archbishop of *Canterbury*, interdicting all divine service in the dioceses of *Canterbury* and *York*, unless *Turstan* was admitted to his benefice without any limitation, *Henry* at last allowed him to enter the kingdom, and enjoy his archbishopric^e. A conference between the pope and the king of England.

CALIXTUS, having settled the affairs of the *Gallican* church, proposed to set out for *Italy*; but, before he left *France*, he enlarged the privileges of the archbishopric of *Vienne*, by a new bull, dated at *Valentia* upon the *Rhosne*, on the 24th of *February*^f. Setting out for *Rome*, *Valentia*, he passed the *Alps*, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by all the cities of *Italy* through which he passed. At *Pisa* he dedicated the great church to the *Virgin Mary*, and arrived at last at *Rome*, on the ninth of *June*, where he was received with the greatest respect; upon which the antipope quitted the city, and retired to *Sutri*, which was garrisoned by imperialists^g. The pope, finding that he would need an army to reduce the place, went in the beginning of autumn to *Benevento*, where he received the allegiance of the *Norman* princes, and gave the investiture of *Apulia* to duke *William*^h. While he continued in this city, he decreed several usurped territories to be again restored to the monastery of *Monte Cassino*; but the abbess of the nunnery of *St. Mary* at *Capua*, thinking herself injured by the sentence, refused to give obedience, although she was excommunicated, and her nunnery laid under an interdict. The dispute was terminated by the intercession of count *Rainulphus*, who satisfied the demands of the monastery of *Cassino*. *Calixtus* afterwards received an embassy from *Lewis* king of *France*, by *Suger*, abbot of *St. Dennis*, who wrote the life of that king, and, having dismissed the embassy, he went to *Troja*, to solicit the assistance of the *Normans* against the antipope. Calixtus arrives at Rome. A. D. 1120. He receives an embassy from the king of France.

HAVING raised a considerable army, he returned to *Rome*, and the following spring marched against *Sutri*; but he had no sooner brought his machines to play against the walls, than the inhabitants capitulated, and delivered up *Gregory*, who was cloathed with raw goats Burminus taken prisoner.

^a Comment. in. Vit. Gelas. apud MURATOR. t. iii. Abbas.

^c ROGER. in Annal Anglic. Aët. Concil. p. 478. Diplom. ap BARON.

^{70.} ROMUALD. Chron. ad hunc an.

^b FALC. Benevent Chron. hoc Anno.

^e ROGER, ubi sup.

^c URSPERG

^f Exemplar

^h Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. c.

(X) *Guido* was the son of *William*, surnamed *Tête Hardie*, or *Strong-head*, duke of *Burgundy*, and consequently related to the blood-royal of *France*. *Adelaide*, the wife of *Lewis le Gros*, was his niece; and the emperor *Henry* his cousin-german (1).

(1) *Suger* in Ludov. vit. Pontif. Platin.

skins, and set upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and in that manner led to the city, ^a and, being conducted through the principal streets, was afterwards shut up in the monastery of *Cava* for life ¹. Having reduced *Sutri*, and taken *Burminus*, *Calixtus* destroyed some of the castles of the opposite party in *Rome*, and quelled those counts who had invaded the territories of the church. The peace of the city being thus established, he appointed *Adelbert*, archbishop of *Mentz*, as his legate in *Germany*, who was the emperor's professed enemy, and had raised a powerful league against him in *Saxony*. But both the emperor and the states of *Germany* being weary of the long and destructive wars, which, for more than forty years, had desolated their country, *Adelbert* was prevented from embroiling the kingdom by their moderation; for a dyet being held at *Wurtzburg*, preliminaries of a peace were settled, and *Bruno*, bishop of *Spire*, and *Arnold*, abbot of *Fulde*, were sent as deputies to the pope, ^b praying him to call a general council, to terminate all differences betwixt the empire and the church ^k.

Calixtus receives an embassy from Germany.
A. D. 1122.

CALIXTUS received this embassy with great joy, and accordingly held a general council in the *Lateran* church, during *Lent*, before which the *German* ambassadors declared, that the emperor was willing to renounce the right of investiture of benefices, and desired the council to send an embassy to *Germany*, to receive the renunciation from the emperor, and, in the name of the apostolic see, to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication. The council, with great readiness, complied with their desire, and appointed *Lambert* bishop of *Ostia*, and two other cardinals, as legates of the holy see in *Germany*. They likewise made some canons, annulling all the proceedings of *Burminus*, and threatening excommunication ^c against those who should break the truce of God, coin false money, or attack the city of *Benvenuto*. It was ordained also, that persons excommunicated by their own bishop could not be absolved by any other bishop or abbot ¹.

The affair of investitures determined.

1123.

UPON the arrival of the legates in *Germany*, a dyet was appointed to be held at *Wurtzburg*; but they having consecrated *Roger* bishop of that city, although the emperor had appointed one *Gebehard*, the accommodation was interrupted; for the emperor did not appear at the assembly, which broke up without transacting any business. The legates still continuing in *Germany*, *Henry* sent an excuse to them for not appearing at *Wurtzburg*, and appointed another dyet, to be held in the month of *September*, at *Worms*, where he and all his party received a general absolution: he promised, by the bishop of *Ostia*, to renounce ^d investiture by the ring and crozier, to restore all possessions that had been usurped from the church, and to allow the vacancies of benefices to be supplied by a free election and consecration. Upon receiving the above concession, attested by the golden seal of the emperor, and the subscriptions of the nobles, who were present, the pope reciprocally promised to allow the elections of *German* bishops and abbots to be made in the presence of the emperor, or his commissaries; and if any disputes should happen, they should be determined by the metropolitan, with the consent of the emperor; that the person elected should receive the investiture of the regalia (Y) by the sceptre, and should pay homage for them only; and, lastly, that the subjects of the empire, out of *Germany*, should be allowed six months for receiving the investiture of the regalia. ^e

THE peace being ratified on both sides, the emperor sent ambassadors along with the legates to *Rome*, with rich presents for the pope, who wrote to the emperor, confirming what had been done by his legates, and testifying his joy upon the happy event. *Calixtus* having thus obtained, in a peaceable manner, from the emperor, what his predecessors had in vain struggled for by violent means, he went to the monastery of *Cassino*, in order to put a stop to the irruptions of the *Norman* princes, who had invaded some part of his territories ^a. Upon his return to *Rome*, he created the bishop of *Compostella* a metropolitan, from his devotion to the apostle *James*, whose body is said to be buried in that city (Z).

The pope gives a commission to the bishop of Bamberg to convert the Pomeranians.

Death of Calixtus II.

THE following year he gave a commission to *Otho* bishop of *Bamberg*, who had formerly been chancellor to the emperor *Henry IV.* to preach the gospel, in quality of an apostle, to ^f the *Pomeranians*, who had been lately conquered by the king of *Poland*. In consideration likewise of his piety, he granted large privileges to the church of *Bamberg*, and to fifteen monasteries, which *Otho* had founded at his own charge ^o. Towards the end of the year he made a large ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons; after which, being seized with a fever, he died on the 15th of *December*, and was buried in the *Lateran* church. His

¹ ROMUALD. Chron. URSPERG. Abbas. SUGER in Vit. Ludov. Concil. ap. BARON.

^m Abbas URSPERG.

ⁿ Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 42 & 44.

^k URSPERG. Abbas.

^o URSPERG. Abbas.

¹ Acta

(Y) By the regalia is understood the fiefs, and the royal rights pertaining to them; such as the privileges of judging upon life and death; of coining money; of laying duties upon merchandizes; and other rights granted by the emperors to several churches in the empire.

(Z) *Calixtus*, besides his letters and decrees, wrote a book of the miracles of *St. James* the apostle (2).

a memory was very dear to the *Romans*, on account of his putting an end to the dispute with the emperor about investitures, on terms so advantageous to the papal see, and for several public works which he executed, especially the conducting of water into the city from the antient *Formill*^p.

CALIXTUS being dead, the cardinals, the next day, assembled to chuse a successor, and the greatest part of them fixing upon one *Theobald*, a cardinal priest, he was called *Celestine*, ^{Election of} and *Te Deum* immediately sung. But *Theobald* absolutely refusing to accept of the dignity, ^{Honorius II.} *Robert Frangipani*, with his followers, called out, "*Lambert* bishop of *Ostia* is pope;" upon which there arose a great confusion in the assembly; but *Theobald* still refusing to consent to his own election, and *Lambert* being clothed in the pontifical dress, he was at last acknowledged as pope, by the name of *Honorius II.* Seven days after *Honorius*, reflecting that his election was not canonical, resigned his mitre, and other papal ornaments; but, the other cardinals being satisfied with his election, obliged him to resume the ornaments, and again declared him pope. During these transactions at *Rome*, the church of *Ireland* was again restored to the communion of the *Roman* see, by *St. Malachi*, a monk, who obtained the bishopric of *Connor*, after it had been possessed by one family for fifteen generations^q.

HONORIUS, soon after his promotion, went to the monastery of *Cassino*, and reproved the abbot *Oderisius* for his profusion, accusing him of being more like a soldier than an abbot. From thence he went to *Benevento*, where he continued several months; but that city being shaken by a terrible earthquake, he returned again to *Rome*, and receiving a complaint against the abbot *Oderisius*, he summoned him to appear at *Rome*. The abbot neglecting the summons, *Honorius* deposed him; but *Oderisius* paying no regard to that sentence, he was at length excommunicated. The monks immediately assembled, and chose one *Nicholas* for their abbot; but *Honorius* sent a legate to *Cassino*, desiring them to elect *Senioritus*, chief of the monastery at *Capua*, which they complied with, but not without murmuring that their privileges were infringed^r (A).

ABOUT the same time he condemned one *Pontius*, who, some years before, had been abbot of *Cluny*; but, disagreeing with his monks, had, with the leave of *Calixtus*, resigned that charge, and gone into the *Holy Land*, where he continued three years; and returning to *France*, had insisted upon resuming his former dignity, to the prejudice of *Peter* the present abbot^s. This same year *St. Norbert* (B) received from *Honorius* the confirmation of his new order of *Premonstratensians*, which he had instituted a few years before.

In the mean time *William* duke of *Apulia* dying without issue, *Roger* count of *Sicily* took possession of his estates as his heir, according to an agreement made with him at *Messina*, and assuming the title of duke, returned to *Sicily*. *Honorius*, offended that *Roger* had assumed the title of duke, and taken possession of *Apulia*, without first asking the investiture from him, went to *Capua*, and formed an association with many *Norman* nobles, to deprive the duke of the estates which he possessed in that part of *Italy*. *Roger*, the year before, hearing that the pope was offended at his taking possession without his leave, had desired to become his vassal, and had offered a large sum of money to receive the investiture from him; which *Honorius* rejecting, *Roger* committed some hostilities in the neighbourhood of *Benevento*. The pope, in his speech at *Capua*, magnifying these injuries he had received from *Roger*, by that means prevailed with the *Normans* to raise a powerful army to protect the rights of the church^t.

WHILE *Honorius* was employed with the affairs of *Apulia*, he sent *Matthew*, bishop of *Albano*, as his legate into *France*, who held a council at *Troyes*, which confirmed the order of knights *Templars* that had been instituted at *Jerusalem* nine years before. He likewise appointed *William* archbishop of *Canterbury* as his legate in *England*, who held a national council at *Winchester*. At the same time cardinal *Gerard* was sent as legate into *Germany*, who consecrated *St. Norbert*, then elected to the see of *Magdeburgh*. Mean while *Lotharius*, who, three years before, had been elected emperor upon the death of *Henry V.* being engaged in

^p PANDULPH. Pisan. in Vit. Calixt.

^q BARON. Annal. ad. an. 1126.

^r BERNARD in Vit. S. Malach. c. 5.

^s ROMUALD. Chron. FALCON. Benevent. Chron.

^t Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 91, 95.

^u Idem ibid.

(A) *Honorius*, in this affair of *Oderisius*, seems to have been actuated by private resentment. For when he succeeded to *Leo* as bishop of *Ostia*, having asked leave of the abbot to lodge in the monastery of *Pallaria*, as his predecessor had done, he received a denial from *Oderisius*, who was afraid lest the bishops of *Ostia* should claim that monastery by prescription; whereas *Leo* had been indulged with the privilege of residing there, on account of his great services to the monastery of *Cassino*, of which he was a brother (3).

(3) Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 81.

(B) *Norbert* was the son of the count of *Genève*, in the duchy of *Clèves*, and had spent the greatest part of his life at the court of the emperor *Henry V.* in elegance and splendor, without engaging in the vices of the court. Influenced by the conversation of *Cuno*, abbot of *Siburgh*, he embraced an ecclesiastical life, sold his patrimony, and instituted a new order of monks at *Premonstre*, in the diocese of *Laon* (4).

(4) Vit. S. Norberti.

who is excommunicated.
A. D. 1128.

opposing *Conrad*, the nephew of the late emperor, who, pretending to the crown, had entered *Italy*, prevailed with the pope to excommunicate him, and the archbishop of *Milan*, who had crowned him at *Monza*. *Honorius* then went into *Apulia*, and having excommunicated *Roger* for having assumed the title of duke without leave of the holy see, and had hindered the bishops of *Sicily* from coming to *Rome*, he went against him with a powerful army of *Normans*. *Roger*, judging that the princes would not long continue unanimous, declined coming to an action, and, by continuing on the defensive for several months, so fatigued his enemy, that many of the princes refused to continue any longer in the field, and retired with their troops to their own territories.

Honorius is reconciled to *Roger*.
1129.

THE pope, finding himself thus deserted, returned to *Benevento*, and sent his chancellor *Americus* and *Cencius Frangipani* to *Roger*, offering him the investiture of *Apulia*, on the condition of his allegiance, and promising not to invade *Capua* or *Benevento*. *Roger*, upon receiving this embassy, immediately advanced with his army to *Benevento*, and at the bridge upon the river *Sabbato*, without the city, swore allegiance to *Honorius*, and received from him the investiture of *Apulia*, with the title of duke^w, after which ceremony *Honorius* returned to *Rome*; but upon his departure, the *Beneventans* having murdered *William* their governor, he went the following year to that city, and having consecrated *Franco* abbot of the monastery of *St. Sophia*, he desired the citizens to recall the friends of *William*, who had been banished, and to punish his murderers. The *Beneventans* refusing to comply with his desire, he left the city, and inviting duke *Roger* to ravage their territories, he returned to *Rome*, where he died on the 14th of *February*, in the sixth year of his pontificate^x.

Death of *Honorius*.

Two popes elected.

HONORIUS was succeeded the same day by *Gregory* cardinal of *St. Angelo*, who was elected by the other cardinals before the death of his predecessor was published among the people^y, and took the name of *Innocent II*. Another party of the clergy and people of *Rome* assembled likewise the same day, and chose the son of *Peter Leo*, a cardinal priest, as successor to *Honorius*, by the name of *Anaclete*, who, according to the abbot *Suger*, an author of great reputation in those times, had the unanimous consent of many *Roman* nobles, bishops, and cardinals^z. He was likewise, on account of the wealth of his family, universally favoured by the people, who went in a body to seize *Innocent*, at the house of the *Frangipani*; but being repulsed, *Anaclete* led them to the church of *St. Peter*, and having by this means made himself master of it, he plundered it of its wealth.

Innocent, who was first elected, quits *Rome*.

INNOCENT, finding his adversary wholly supported by the people, went with his friends on board two galleys in the river *Tyber*, and sailed to *Pisa*^a, from thence to *Genoa*, and afterwards to *St. Gille* in *Provence*. In the mean time the bishop of *Porta*, who had consecrated *Anaclete*, wrote to the bishops who favoured *Innocent*, accusing them of causing a schism in the church, and affirming, that their clandestine meeting could not be called an election; at the same time denying the charge of pillaging the churches, which the other party accused them of. This letter having no effect upon the bishops, the following *Easter* *Anaclete* excommunicated pope *Innocent*, with all his adherents, and created new cardinals in the room of those of the opposite party^b. He likewise wrote to the emperor *Lotharius*, informing him of his election, and that he was supported by all the clergy and nobility, had ordained cardinals, and consecrated bishops; whereas those of the opposite party had been obliged to fly, in the night, from the house of *Leo Frangipani*, their principal protector^c. Besides this letter, there was another sent to the emperor in favour of *Anaclete*, signed by twenty-one cardinals, and many abbots and suffragans of *Rome*. *Anaclete* at the same time wrote to other Christian princes, and particularly to the king of *France*, desiring him to give no assistance to *Innocent* or his adherents. But *Innocent* having sent *Matthew*, bishop of *Albano*, as his legate into *France*, he, with the assistance of *St. Bernard*, prevailed upon the king and the bishops of that kingdom to acknowledge *Innocent*; which the emperor being informed of, he paid no regard to the letters of *Anaclete*, and his party, but called a dyet at *Wurtzburg*, in which *Innocent* was acknowledged as pope, and invited into *Germany* in the name of the *Germanic* nation.

Anaclete informs the emperor of his election.

He writes to the king of *France*.

He is acknowledged by *Roger*, whom he creates king of *Sicily*.

MEAN while *Anaclete*, finding that his cause was not espoused by the emperor or king of *France*, went to *Benevento*, and from thence to *Abellino*, where he had a conference with *Roger* duke of *Apulia*, and agreed to give him the title of king, on condition of assisting him against *Innocent* and his party^d. Accordingly *Roger* returned to *Sicily*, and was crowned on *Christmas-day*, in the city of *Palermo*, by cardinal *Comes*; and *Anaclete*, being acknowledged by the abbots and monks of *Cassino*, returned to *Rome*^e.

^w Ibidem ibid. in Vit. Ludov. Annal.
^e Ibidem ibid.

^x Ibidem ibid. PANDULPHUS in Vit. Hon.
^a Ex Cod. Vat. apud BARON.
^c Epist. Anac. ap. BARON.

^y FALCON. Chron.
BERNARD. Abbas in Vit. S. Bernard.
^d Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 112, & seq. Chron. FALCON.

^z SUGER
^b BARON.

- a** THE following year *Innocent* celebrated his *Easter* at *Paris*, and afterwards held a council at *Innocent is received at Paris; A. D. 1131. and acknowledged by the emperor.* *Rheims*, in which *Anaclete* and his adherents were excommunicated. After dismissing the council, he proceeded to *Liege*, where he was received with great respect by the emperor, who, nevertheless, considering the necessity of the pope's affairs, demanded a restitution of the right of investitures. This proposition greatly embarrassed *Innocent*; but *St. Bernard*, strenuously asserting the rights of the church, the emperor gave up the point of investitures, on condition of enjoying the possession of the estates of *Matilda* for his life, and the life of his son-in-law the duke of *Bavaria*, upon paying yearly to the pope 100 pounds of silver^f. After this accommodation, *Innocent* crowned the emperor and the empress, and returning to *France*, visited the monastery of *St. Bernard* at *Bonevalle*, and then set out for *Italy*; *He returns to Italy. 1132.*
- b** having received a large sum of money from the *Gallican* church, for the expences of his journey^g.
- ARRIVING at *Placentia* after *Easter*, he held a council in that city, of the bishops of *Lombardy* and *Ravenna*; and the emperor *Lotharius*, soon after, entering *Italy* with an army, he had a conference with him at *Roncalia*, from whence he set out for *Pisa*, and continuing there several months, enlarged the privileges of that church, subjecting to its diocese the island of *Sardinia*, and three bishops of *Corfica*. *Lotharius* having settled the affairs of *Lombardy*, in the best manner he could, marched the following spring to *Rome*, with a small army of only 2000 men, and having entered part of the city, was crowned emperor by the pope in the *Lateran* church, *Anaclete* and his party being still in possession of the church of *St. Peter*, and many other places of strength in the city. *Lotharius* not being able to prevail with *Anaclete* to renounce his pretensions to the pontificate, and not having troops sufficient to oppose *Roger*, left *Rome* and returned to *Germany*. *Innocent*, upon the departure of the emperor, was soon after forced, by the party of *Anaclete*, to quit *Rome*, and reflecting upon the kindness of the *Pisans*, he again returned to that city, where he held a general council, about *Easter*, and excommunicated *Anaclete* and his adherents^h. After the dismissing of the council he sent *St. Bernard* as his legate to *Milan*, who prevailed with the inhabitants of that city to forsake the party of *Conrad*, the competitor for the empire, and to acknowledge the emperor *Lotharius*, who at last prevailing on *Conrad* to drop his pretensions, raised a formidable army, and, the following year, entered *Italy* about the beginning of autumn, accompanied with the empress, *Henry the Proud* duke of *Bavaria*, *Conrad* duke of *Suabia*, and many other nobles. *The emperor enters Italy with an army. 1136.* Having reduced several cities in *Lombardy* that ventured to oppose him, he gave them to his son-in-law, and, after holding a council in the plain of *Roncalia*, marched with his army to *Ravenna*, where he deliberated on the operations of the following campaign. In the mean time *Guarin*, the chancellor of the king of *Sicily*, being left by *Roger* in *Apulia*, employed himself in strengthening the cities in that duchy; and hearing that the abbot of *Cassino* was inclining to favour *Innocent*, he made an attempt to take possession of that monastery, but was disappointed by the vigilance of the abbot, who died soon after. Upon his decease the monks disagreed in their choice of a successor, and two abbots being elected, the one embraced the party of *Anaclete* and *Roger*, while the other solicited the protection of the emperor.
- c** *LOTHARIUS* had at this time arrived with his army at *Viterbo*, and having had a conference with the pope, sent *Henry* his son-in-law, with 3000 horse, into *Campania*, who quickly reduced *Cassino*; and, having restored *Robert* to his principality of *Capua*, made himself master of *Benevento*. The emperor, in the mean while, had reduced *Romagna*; the march of *Ancona*, and *Umbria*, without opposition, and, advancing into *Apulia*, besieged *Bari*, which he took after a siege of forty days. Proceeding from thence to *Salerno*, he quickly made himself master of that city, by the assistance of the *Venetian* and *Pisan* fleets; and, having completed the conquest of *Apulia*, he marched to *Benevento*, where he had a great dispute with the pope about the property of the conquered provinces. As they both pretended to the superiority of *Apulia*, after thirty days disputation, it was at length agreed, that they should both give the investiture at the same time. Accordingly one count *Renaud*, or *Rainulph*, received the investiture of *Apulia* from the emperor and *Innocent* in the presence of the whole armyⁱ. *Benevento* and all the other possessions taken from the church of *Rome* were restored by the emperor, who then proceeded to *Cassino* with the pope; and *Innocent*, having deposed the abbot who had been ordained by *Anaclete*, and ordered a new election, afterwards advanced to *Rome* with *Lotharius*. The emperor having settled the affairs of that city, set out on his return for *Germany*; but dying in a village of the *Alps*, he sent the imperial ensigns to *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, who had married his only daughter^k. *He expels Roger from Apulia 1137.* *Death of the emperor Lotharius.*
- d**
- e**
- f**

^f Not. in Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 97. apud MURATOR.
BENEVAL. in Vit. S. Bernard.
Cassin. OTHO Frisingenf.

^g PETR. Cluniacens. l. iii.
ⁱ FALCO. Benevent. Chron. ROMUALD. Salern. Chron.

^h BERNARD
^k Chron.

Roger enters
Italy with an
army.

Is defeated by
Rainulph.

A. D. 1138.
Death of Ana-
clete.

Another anti-
pope elected,
but is reconcil-
ed to the pope.

A general
council at
Rome.
1139.

Rainulphus
duke of Apulia
dies.

Innocent con-
fers on Roger
the title of
king. 1140.

THE emperor had no sooner entered *Lombardy*, than *Roger* returned to *Italy* with an army; and many of the cities of *Apulia* again revolting to him, he marched to *Capua*, which he took and plundered, allowing the soldiers even to pillage the churches. The *Beneventans*, afraid of the same fate, immediately sent ambassadors to *Roger*, with offers of submission, and, abjuring *Innocent*, again acknowledged *Anaclete*. In the mean time *Rainulph*, having assembled a small army to defend his new acquired duchy, ventured an engagement with *Roger*, who being entirely defeated, had recourse to negotiation, and proposed a conference at *Salerno* of three cardinals of either party, in order to examine into the merits of the election of *Innocent* and *Anaclete*^m. The disputation being finished, *Roger*, to gain time to establish his affairs, proposed that it should be put in writing, and that one cardinal of each party should go with him to *Sicily*, to lay it before the bishops of that kingdom, which was accordingly agreed to, but soon rendered needless by the death of *Anaclete*, who died in the beginning of *January*ⁿ. During these transactions, *St. Malachi*, archbishop of *Armagh*, arrived at *Rome*, to have the sanction of the apostolic see for his ministry in *Ireland*, and to obtain a pallium for himself and the other metropolitan. *Innocent* received him with great humanity, and appointed him his legate in that kingdom; but denied his request of the pallium, telling him, that, as it was a solemn matter, he must first call a national council of the clergy and nobles, and have his request seconded by them^o.

ROGER being informed of the death of *Anaclete*, by his brothers and the cardinals of his party, gave his consent to their electing another pope. One *Gregory*, a cardinal priest, was accordingly elected by them, and took the name of *Victor*; but, a few days after, the brothers of *Anaclete* having made their peace with *Innocent*, *Victor* renounced his mitre and ornaments, and was likewise reconciled to the pope, upon which his whole party acknowledged their error, and were reunited to the *Roman* church. In the mean time *Innocent* sent *Theodwin*, a cardinal bishop, as his legate into *Germany*, who was present at an assembly of the nobles of that kingdom, held about the middle of *Lent*, at *Coblentz*, where *Conrad*, the late competitor for the empire, was declared emperor (C).

DURING the disturbances in *Germany*, occasioned by this election, *Innocent* assembled a general council at *Rome*, at which were present 1000 bishops. This council excommunicated *Roger* king of *Sicily*, and made thirty canons, chiefly relating to matters determined in former councils. It was decreed that all ordinations by *Anaclete*, and other schismatics, should be void; that the nuns and monks should not sing in the same choir; that none, under the pain of excommunication, should claim a benefice as hereditary; that no clergyman or monk should follow the profession of the law or physic for gain; that no benefice should continue vacant above three months; and an anathema was denounced against usurers, wilful incendiaries, and those soldiers who assembled on holidays to try feats of strength^p. The council likewise condemning *Arnold*, or *Arnulph*, a reader of the church of *Brescia*, who was accused of publishing a new heresy, he having publicly affirmed, since his return from his studies, under *Peter Abelard* in *France*, that the gospel did not allow clergymen to be possessed of any settled revenues, but appropriated for them only the tythes, and the free gifts of their hearers^q.

WHILE the council was held at *Rome*, *Rainulph* duke of *Apulia* died; which *Roger* being informed of, immediately landed an army at *Salerno*, and reduced all *Apulia*, except *Troja* and *Bari*: *Innocent*, alarmed at his quick progress, and desiring to assist the rebels, assembled some forces, and marched to *St. Germano*; but a few days after he had arrived in those parts, he was surprised by *Roger's* son, with 1000 horse, and carried a prisoner to the king^r. *Roger* treated the pope with great respect, but refused to grant him his liberty till he had absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, and concluded a peace. Accordingly *Innocent* having granted him and his party absolution, conferred upon him the title of king of *Sicily*, duke of *Apulia*, and prince of *Capua*, on condition of paying homage for these territories to

^m FALCO. Benevent. Chron.

ⁿ Idem ibid. BERNARD Abbas.
^p Acta Concil. apud BARON.
de gest. Fred. I. l. iii.

^q OTHO Frising. l. ii. c. 20.
^r FALCON. Benevent. Chron.

^o St. BERNARD, in Vit. S. Malachi.
GUNTER. Ligur. Poema.

(C) What determined the pope to countenance this irregular meeting is uncertain. That the assembly was not a diet of the empire, is declared by *Otho* bishop of *Frisingen*, who narrates, that *Conrad*, fearing that *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, who was left in possession of the imperial ornaments, would have too great an influence at the diet to be held at *Mentz* in *Whitsuntide*, privately assembled the nobles of his party on the 22d of *February*, and being countenanced by the pope's legate, was declared emperor, and crowned by him at *Aix la Chapelle*.

It is probable *Innocent* was afraid of the haughty disposition of *Henry*, and of his great power, as he possessed all *Saxony*, except *Misnia* and *Thuringia*, likewise the duchy of *Bavaria*, the principalities of *Spoletto* and *Verona*, with all the estates of *Matilda*; so that, as he boasted himself, he was lord from the *Baltic* to the *Mediterranean*. If the imperial dignity had been added, he would have been so independent and powerful as to have vindicated the rights of the empire from the usurpations of the papal see.

a the see of *Rome*, and a yearly tribute of 600 (D) scyates*. A reconciliation being thus effected, *Innocent* returned to *Rome*, where he was in vain solicited to break the peace he had but lately concluded†.

Soon after his arrival at the city, he received a complaint against *Peter Abelard*, the master of *Arnold* of *Brescia*, who was accused of heresy by the synod of *France*, and the abbot *St. Bernard*. *Abelard* had long taught philosophy with great reputation, and had published several books, in which he maintained some doctrines that were contrary to the faith professed by the *Roman* church. The pope's legate in *France* had ordered those books to be burnt; nevertheless a second edition of them appeared, and *Abelard* undertook to defend publicly the doctrines contained in them. Upon which the archbishop of *Sens*, the metropolitan, invited *St. Bernard* to impugn his errors, and appointed a day for the disputation. *Abelard*, struck with the appearance of the assembly, at which the king and a great many bishops, abbots, and other persons of learning, were present, was not able to dispute, but appealed to the apostolic see. *Innocent* being informed of these proceedings by the bishops and the abbot *St. Bernard*, condemned *Abelard* to perpetual silence, as a heretic, and excommunicated all those who followed his doctrines. The prosecution went no farther; for, at the intercession of *Peter* abbot of *Cluny*, the pope absolved him from all censure, and allowed him to reside in that monastery, where he spent the rest of his days in great piety and humility. *Abelard professor of philosophy in France is silenced as a heretic.*

WHILE *Innocent* was engaged in putting a stop to the doctrines of *Abelard*, he was alarmed at the revolt of the *Tiburtins*, who, imitating many other cities in *Italy*, wanted to assert their own independency; and, having defeated the *Romans* in several engagements, struck a terror into the city. *Innocent*, having excommunicated them, marched against the place with a considerable army, and after a long siege obliged them to surrender; but restraining the *Romans* from plundering the city, a sedition arose in his own army, who proposed to restore the ancient republic; and taking possession of the *Capitol*, nominated a senatorian order, and renewed the war with the *Tiburtins*. These commotions were in some measure quelled by *Innocent*, who laid the *Romans* under an interdict, and deprived them of the privilege of having any part in the election of future popes*. The following year he sent *Ivo*, a cardinal priest, as his legate into *France*, to inquire into the conduct of *Radulphus*, count of *Vermandois*, who had unjustly obtained a divorce from his wife, and married *Petronilla* the queen's sister. *Ivo*, finding the reasons alleged for the divorce unlawful, suspended the bishops who had given the sentence, excommunicated *Radulphus*, and laid the kingdom under an interdict. This severe proceeding created a great disturbance in *France*, the bishops and people in that kingdom murmuring against the pope, and threatening to renounce his authority. *Innocent* being greatly affected with their disobedience, and with the seditions that still continued in *Rome*, fell into a languishing illness, and died the year following, on the 24th of September†. *The Tiburtins revolt, but are subdued. A. D. 1141. The Romans endeavour to revive the ancient republic, and appoint a senate. 1142. Death of Innocent. 1143.*

THE day after the death of *Innocent* the cardinals assembled to chuse a successor, and being in great terror from the republican party, who turned daily more powerful, they unanimously elected *Guido* of *Castello*, a cardinal priest, who took the name of *Celestine II*. Soon after his election he was reconciled to the king of *France*, and took off the interdict from that kingdom, but upon what conditions is unknown. Having ordained several bishops, priests, and deacons, he died about the beginning of *March*, and was buried in the *Lateran* church. *He is succeeded by Celestine II. 1144.*

HE was succeeded two days after by *Gerard*, a cardinal priest, with the title of the holy cross in *Jerusalem*, who took the name of *Lucius II*. In the mean time the seditious *Romans*, having settled a form of government, conferred the dignity of patrician upon *Jordanes*, one of the sons of *Peter Leo*; and having embraced the doctrines of *Arnold* of *Brescia*, from whence they were called *Arnoldists*, they made themselves masters of all the strong places in the city, and sent to the pope, demanding him to resign to their senate the administration of all temporal concerns, and to content himself with the care of spiritual matters, and the tythes and offerings of the faithful, in imitation of the primitive followers of *St. Peter*. They did not even wait for the pope's compliance with this demand, but assumed the civil jurisdiction, turned out the officers commissioned by him, and appropriated the revenues of the city and church patrimony to their own use. *Lucius*, having concluded a truce with the king of *Sicily*, who at this time invaded the church territories in *Campania*, wrote a submissive letter to the emperor, desiring his assistance against the seditious *Romans*. *Conrad* likewise received a letter from the republican party, informing him, that what they had done was for his honour, and from their fidelity to him. They invited him also to come to the city; telling him that they *The Romans assume the civil jurisdiction. 1144. Death of Celestine, who is succeeded by Lucius II.*

* Exemplar. Diplom. apud BARON.
† FALCON. Chron.
NARD, Epist. 187, 189, 190. PET. Clun. l. v. Epist. ad Eloisam.
Vita S. Bernard, l. iii. c. 5. BER-
si genf. l. vii. c. 27. * Vita Innocent ex Card. Arrag. OTHO Frising. ubi sup.
w SIGON. l. ii. p. 276. OTHO Fri-

(D) A gold coin, having the figure of a cup stamped upon it.

A.D. 1145.
Lucius is
killed.
He is succeeded
by Eugenius
III.

who quits
Rome, and
retires to Vi-
terbo.

The Romans
sue for peace.

The pope oblig-
ed to quit the
city.
1146.

The emperor
and king of
France under-
take an expe-
dition into the
Holy Land.

1147.
The pope goes
into France.

He opposes the
heresies in
that kingdom.

had rebuilt the *Milvian* bridge, to facilitate his access: and concluded with wishing that he might enjoy the empire in the same manner that *Justinian* and *Constantine* had done. Mean while *Lucius*, resolving, if possible, to put a stop to the revolt, assembled a considerable body of troops, and besieged the senators in the *Capitol*; but being wounded by a stone from the be- sieged, he died a few days after^y.

Upon the death of *Lucius*, the cardinals, not agreeing upon any one of their own number, chose *Bernard*, abbot of the monastery of *St. Anastasius*, who took the name of *Eugenius* III. As he was informed the republicans were determined to oppose his consecration in the church of *St. Peter*, unless he would confirm their new established senate, he fled out of the city, and was consecrated at the monastery of *Farfara*, in the *Sabine* territory. In the mean time, *Arnold* of *Brescia*, arriving at *Rome*, encouraged the *Romans* in their revolt, who, by his advice, repaired the *Capitol*, and revived the antient equestrian order. They likewise fortified the church of *St. Peter*, and pillaged and destroyed the houses of the cardinals and those nobles who favoured the pope. *Eugenius*, not being able to oppose their outrages, went to *Viterbo*, where he received an embassy from the king of *England*. Another embassy likewise arrived from the bishops and metropolitan of *Armenia*, who, having had some disputes with the *Greek* church, about the manner of celebrating the eucharist, desired to be informed of the manner observed by the church of *Rome*. At the same time a bishop arrived from *Syria*, desiring the confirmation of the apostolic see, for the tythes of those countries conquered from the Infidels, and intreating the assistance of the *European* princes, as the Christians in *Asia* had lately suffered a great defeat, and lost the city of *Edeffa*. *Eugenius*, moved by his account, gave liberty to *St. Bernard* to preach up a croisade, and wrote a long letter, addressed to the king of *France* and his subjects, exhorting them to the sacred expedition, by offering them a full remission of all their sins^z. Having likewise sent *Peter*, abbot of *Cluny*, to mediate a peace between the cities of *Pisa* and *Lucca*, he solicited the assistance of the *Tiburtins*, and other people of *Latium*, against the rebellious *Romans*, whom he quickly obliged to sue for peace, which was accordingly concluded, on condition that they abolished the patrician dignity, restored the prefect of the city, expelled *Arnold*, and obliged the senators to take the oath of allegiance to the pope^a.

THE sedition being thus, in appearance, quelled, *Eugenius* returned to *Rome*; but, soon after *Christmas*, the *Arnoldists* again began to mutiny, and insisted upon the intire destruction of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*. Their request being denied, they turned so outrageous, that the pope quitted the city, and retired beyond the *Tibur*, to the castle of *St. Angelo*, where he was informed by the letters of *St. Bernard*, that, in consequence of his preaching the crusade, a national council of the bishops and nobles of *France* had assembled at *Chartres*, and unanimously conferred the chief command of the whole expedition upon himself. The pope did not allow *Bernard* to undertake that commission; however, soon after, at another council held in *France*, the abbot put the cross upon *Lewis* the king, who, with great chearfulness, undertook the expedition, and was followed by the greatest part of the nobility of his kingdom^b. *St. Bernard* having met with such great success in preaching the crusade in *France*, went into *Germany* many for the same purpose; but one *Rodolphus* a monk, having, without the pope's authority, assembled a body of croises, and attacked the *Jews* in *Germany*, he wrote to the archbishop of *Mentz*, condemning his proceedings, and having procured him to be silenced, and shut up in a monastery, he went to the general diet held at *Spire*, where he prevailed upon the emperor *Conrad*, and many of the nobles of *Germany*, to assume the cross^c, not only against the infidels in *Asia*, but likewise against the Pagans in the north of *Saxony*.

THE levies being completed in *Germany*, the emperor, at the head of a numerous army, set out for the *Holy Land* after *Easter*, accompanied by the pope's legate, and *Adam* abbot of *York*. The king of *France* was detained some time by the arrival of *Eugenius* in his kingdom, who having been still harrassed by the seditious *Romans*, was obliged to quit *Italy*. *Lewis*, after having received the pope at *Paris*, and appointed the historian *Suger* abbot of *St. Denis*, administrator of the kingdom during his absence, began his march on the second week after *Whitsuntide*, and, towards the end of the year, joined *Conrad* in *Asia*^d. In the mean time *Eugenius* held a council at *Paris*, to examine the doctrines of *Gilbert* bishop of *Poitiers*, who had been accused of heresy, in asserting that the Divine Essence was not God; that the properties of the Persons were not the Persons themselves; that the Divine Nature was not incarnate; and some other propositions that were said to be less important. The assembly decided nothing in the affair; but, by the advice of *Eugenius*, referred it to the consideration of a general council. Other heresies at this time being said to be prevailing in

^y Idem, l. vii. c. 31. BARONII Annal. ad ann. 1144, 1145.

Frising. l. i. c. 37. SIGON. l. xi. p. 278.

Frising. ubi sup.

^z Epist. Eugen. apud BARON.

^b BERNARD. Epist. 322. BARON. Annales.

^d SUGER Abbas in Vit. Lud. OTHO Frising. ubi sup.

^a OTHO

^c OTHO

France,

a *France*, *Eugenius* sent the bishop of *Ostia* as his legate to the province of *Tbdoulouse*, against one *Henry*, who asserted, that it was needless to build churches; that baptism was of no service; that it was in vain to pray for the dead; that the cross ought not to be honoured or worshipped; that singing the service was mocking of God; and that the body of *Christ* was not present in the sacrament of the eucharist. *St. Bernard* having accompanied the legate, wrote to the count of *St. Gill*, in whose territory *Henry* resided, and exerted himself so vigorously, that the people renounced the doctrines of *Henry*, and delivered him up bound to the abbot^e. During these transactions in *France*, the croises had arrived in *Syria*; but, having suffered greatly by the fatigues of their march, and the treachery of the *Greek* emperor, very few of them remained alive, and not being able to undertake any enterprize, they resolved to

A.D. 1148.

b return to *Europe*.

EUGENIUS still continuing in *France*, held a general council at *Rheims*, about the middle of *Lent*, to determine the affair of the bishop of *Poitiers*; and having drawn up a confession of faith, in opposition to the heretical articles, the bishop renounced his opinion, and declared his assent to them. Having dismissed the council, *Eugenius* went to *Triers*, where being convinced of the truth of the prophecies of *St. Hildegardis* a nun, he wrote to her, and gave her liberty to publish whatever should be revealed to her by divine inspiration^f. From *Triers* he proceeded to the monastery of *Clairvaux* (E), where he determined the dispute betwixt the archbishop of *Canterbury* and the bishop of *St. David's*, who pretended to be metropolitan of *Wales*. Having decided in favour of the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and sent cardinal *Nicolas* as his legate into *Denmark*, he returned to the neighbourhood of *Rome*, not being able to enter the city, which was still possessed by the faction of the *Arnoldists*. The emperor *Conrad*, being returned from his expedition, *Eugenius* wrote to him, and, to comfort him for his bad success, gave him the titles of Catholic prince, and defender of the *Roman* church.

A general council at Rheims.

The pope returns to Italy;

He likewise wrote to *France*, to encourage another crusade to *Jerusalem*; but the *Cistercian* monks opposed this second expedition, as the bad success of the former had drawn upon *St. Bernard* the indignation and censure of the people of *Germany* and *France*, who accused him of being a false prophet, and the murderer of their friends, by sending them into a distant country, to perish in the midst of deserts (F). The following year, the *Arnoldists* being still in possession of *Rome*, *Eugenius* went to *Ferentino*; but, towards the end of the year, returning to the city, he had a visit from the abbot of *Cluny*, who came to complain of a certain nobleman that had built a castle overlooking his monastery. Soon after the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Mentz* arrived at *Rome* to plead their cause, the archbishop of *Cologne* having been accused of defaming his brother of *Mentz*. The pope absolved the archbishop of *Cologne* as innocent, and referred the trial of the archbishop of *Mentz* to his legates in *Germany*. He then sent two legates into *Germany*, who dissolved the marriage of *Frederic* duke of *Suabia* with his wife, upon account of consanguinity. Another legate was likewise at this time sent into *Ireland*, who divided that kingdom into four metropolitan provinces, and carried the pallium with him for the archbishops of *Armagh*, *Cashel*, *Dublin*, and *Connaught*^g.

1149. and encourages a crusade in France.

1150.

In the mean time *Frederic* duke of *Suabia*, having succeeded to the empire upon the decease of his uncle *Conrad*, sent an embassy to the pope, and concluded a treaty with him, the substance of which is as follows; That the emperor should not conclude a peace or truce with the *Romans*, or *Roger* king of *Sicily*, without the consent of the pope or his successors; that he should endeavour to reduce the *Romans* to the obedience of the pope, and should not grant any lands to the *Greek* emperor on that side of the sea. On the other side, the pope promised to give the imperial crown to *Frederic*; to study the honour and enlargement of the empire, and not to grant any lands to the *Greek* emperor on his side the sea.

The emperor concludes a treaty with the pope; 1152.

This good correspondence between the emperor and the pope was of very short continuance; for, a few months afterwards, *Frederic* having conferred the metropolitan church of *Magdeburgh* upon *Guicman* bishop of *Zeitz*, *Eugenius* wrote to the bishops of *Germany*, charging them to desire the emperor to desist from that unnecessary translation, and insisting that the emperor had no authority to translate from one bishopric to another, without leave

and translates Guicman to the see of Magdeburgh;

* GOFRID. in Vit. S. Bernard, l. iii. c. 5. BERNARD Epist. 242. RONII Annales ad an. 1151.

^f Apud SURIUM, tom. v.

^g BA-

(E) *Bernard* abbot of *Bonevalle* relates, that when *Eugenius* continued in the monastery of *Clairvaux*, he lived in the same austerity as the monks; that he wore no shirt, and though he had purple curtains to his bed, yet the bed itself was nothing but straw (5).

(F) *St. Bernard*, to recover his character, which was greatly lessened in the opinion of the people of *France* and *Germany*, two years afterwards wrote an apology for his conduct, which he dedicated to the pope.

(5) *Vita St. Bern.* l. ii. c. 8.

which offends
the pope.

A.D. 1153.

Death of Eu-
genius.

He is succeeded
by Anastasius
IV.

1154.

who confirms
the bishop of
Magdeburgh.

He dies at
Rome, and is
succeeded by
Hadrian IV.

The emperor
enters Italy
with an army.

The Romans
murder a car-
dinal.

1155.

The emperor
goes to Rome;

from the apostolic seeⁱ. This letter had not the effect *Eugenius* desired; however, he did not push the affair any farther at that time, but the following year sent two legates into *Germany*, to judge the archbishop of *Mentz*, who, being of a peaceable and mild disposition, had been accused of a slothful negligence of his charge. The legates having been corrupted by *Arnold*, the archbishop's greatest confidant, and who had been lately preferred by him, would not hear any defence, but deposed him from his archbishopric, and substituted *Arnold* in his place. The archbishop, scorning to appeal to the papal see, appealed to the judgment of *Christ*, and retired to the monastery of the *Cisterians*, where he died, greatly lamented, two years after^k. During these transactions in *Germany*, *Eugenius* died at *Tivoli*, and was buried with great pomp in the church of *St. Peter* (G).

THE next day after the death of *Eugenius*, the cardinals unanimously elected *Conrad*, a cardinal, and bishop of *Sabino*, as his successor, who took upon him the name of *Anastasius IV.* and sent cardinal *Gerard* as his legate into *Germany*, to judge the cause of the bishop of *Magdeburgh*, who had been lately translated by the emperor. *Gerard* arriving at *Magdeburgh*, began to exert his apostolic authority in deciding of the cause; but the emperor, who was then celebrating his *Christmas* in that city, checked him so severely, that, finding he could not proceed in the affair, he set out on his return to *Rome*, but died of grief on his journey. However, the emperor, willing to conclude the affair without coming to a rupture with the pope, sent an embassy to *Rome*, together with the archbishop elect, which had such an influence with *Anastasius*, that *Guicman* was not only confirmed, but received the pallium, not without great scandal to many people, who had heard the court of *Rome* declare that *Guicman* should never be confirmed^l. Soon after *Anastasius*, having been accused of too great condescension, and a neglect of the rights of the see of *Rome*, died, and was buried in the *Lateral* church.

Two days after the death of *Anastasius*, *Nicolas* bishop of *Albano* was chosen pope by the name of *Hadrian IV.* (H), who, immediately after his election, sent a legate to *William* king of *Sicily*. The pope having only stiled him *Lord of Sicily*, *William* would not admit the legate to an audience, but ordered him to return to *Rome*^m. Mean while the emperor *Frederic* having settled the affairs of *Germany*, and being invited by several cities in *Lombardy* to protect them from the usurpations of their neighbours; had entered *Italy* with a powerful army, and having received the crown of *Italy* from the archbishop of *Milan*, held a general assembly of the states in the plain of *Roncalia*. After dismissing the assembly, he marched with his army against *Milan*, and having defeated some troops that had marched out against him, he put his army into winter quarters in *Lombardy*ⁿ.

DURING these transactions great disturbances happened at *Rome*; for *Hadrian* refusing to comply with the request of the people, who desired the civil power to be committed to the senators, they attacked one cardinal *Vido*, by some called *Gerard*, as he was going to the pope, and wounded him in such a manner that he died. As a punishment for this murder, the pope laid the city under an interdict, which continuing several weeks, the senators were at last compelled by the clergy to submit to the pope; and, having sworn to him upon the gospels to expel *Arnold* and his adherents from the city, the interdict was taken off in the following *Easter* week. This accommodation was of very short continuance, for the republican party soon becoming again seditious, the pope was obliged to quit the city, and retire to *Viterbo*, where he excommunicated *William*, surnamed the *Bad*, king of *Sicily*, who attacked *Benevento*, and invaded the territories of *Campania*, where they burnt several towns.

IN the mean time the emperor *Frederic*, having drawn his troops from their winter quarters, had reduced several towns in *Lombardy*, and was marching directly for *Rome*. The pope, who was then at *Viterbo*, alarmed with the quickness of his march, retired to *Citta di Castello*, a place of great strength, and sent three cardinals to the emperor, to negotiate a treaty (I) with him before he proceeded farther. *Frederic* at the same time had sent an embassy to the

ⁱ OTHO Frising. l. ii. c. 9.

^m ROMUALD. Chron.

^k CONRAD Episcop. Chron. Mogun.

ⁿ SIGON. l. xii. p. 287.

^l OTHO Frising. l. ii. c. 10.

(G) A few months after the death of *Eugenius*, died *St. Bernard*, after having founded 160 monasteries, and spent his whole life as a zealous champion for the advancement of the power of the *Roman* church.

(H) *Nicholas* was born in *England*, at *St. Alban's* in *Hertfordshire*. His parents are said to have been beggars. He himself, when a boy, left his native country, and travelling into *France*, was admitted as a poor clerk, in the church of *St. James* in *Melgor*, and making a progress in learning, took the habit of a monk, in the monastery of *St. Rufus* in *Dauphiny*; where, in process of time, he became prior, and afterwards abbot. After obtaining this promotion, he went to *Rome* about the affairs of his monastery, and was so acceptable to pope

Eugenius, that he detained him with him, and created him bishop of *Albano*. That pope soon after sent him as his legate into *Denmark*, some say *Norway*, where he distinguished himself for several years in that capacity, and returned to *Rome* a little before the death of *Anastasius*.

(I) *Arnold* of *Brescia*, having lately fallen into the emperor's hands, by the means of the counts of *Campania*, who had taken him from cardinal *Gerard*, the pope's deputies demanded him to be delivered up. The emperor acquiescing in their demand, *Arnold* was carried to *Rome*, where he was condemned, and burnt as a heretic, and his ashes thrown into the *Tyber*, lest his followers should honour his relics as those of a martyr.

- a pope, and, after some difficulties, it was agreed that the pope should give him the imperial crown, *Frederic* having sworn not to hurt the pope in his life or members. The treaty being concluded, the emperor advanced with his army to *Sutri*, where he received the pope and cardinals with great respect, and conducted his holiness to his tent; but having neglected to hold the stirrup when the pope alighted, the cardinals, imagining that the emperor had some hostile intention, immediately fled back to *Citta di Castello*; and *Hadrian*, offended at his oversight, refused to admit him to the kiss of peace. The emperor alleged that it was not his duty; but, after two days disputing, being at last convinced that former emperors had performed that ceremony, he likewise condescended to do the same. All differences being thus accommodated with the pope, he received an embassy from the senate and people of *Rome*; but they addressing him in the stile of a master, he dismissed them abruptly, and that same evening he sent cardinal *Octavianus*, with 1000 horse, who took possession of the *Leonine* part of the city, and fortified the *Ælian* bridge, to prevent any surprize from the *Romans*.

HAVING taken this precaution, the emperor advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of the city, and received the imperial crown from the pope in the church of *St. Peter*, where he is crowned by this pope. But he had no sooner returned to his camp, than the *Romans*, enraged that their embassy had been rejected; and the coronation performed without consulting them, passed the *Tyber*, and attacking the church of *St. Peter*, killed several bishops of the party of the emperor. *Frederic* immediately returned to the assistance of the pope, and, after a desperate engagement of four hours, repulsed the *Romans*, killing 1000 of them, and taking 200 prisoners, with the loss of only one *German* killed and another a prisoner. At the intreaty of the pope he restored the *Roman* prisoners, but the *Romans* refusing him provisions for his army, he marched up the *Tiber*, to *Ponte Lucano*, where he received the submission of the *Tiburtins*; but the pope claiming that city as part of the *Roman* territory, the emperor ceded it to *Hadrian*, and, his army being attacked with sickness, he set out on his return to *Germany*. He returns to Germany.

AFTER his departure the pope went to *St. Germans*, where he received the homage of *Robert* prince of *Capua*, and of other counts and barons of *Apulia*, whom he had excited to rebel against the king of *Sicily*. While he continued in that city, the *Greek* emperor wrote to him; offering to drive *William* from *Apulia* and *Sicily*, on condition of being allowed three sea coast towns in *Italy*. This news alarming the king of *Sicily*, he sent some of his nobles to the pope, desiring to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, offering to restore all the possessions of the church, and to assist the pope with arms and money to reduce the rebellious *Romans*. *Hadrian* was prevented by the cardinals in the emperor's interest from hearkening to these proposals of *William*; and retiring to *Ferentino*, heard the complaints of the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who, though near one hundred years of age, had come to *Italy*, to complain of the knights *Hospitallers*, who refused to pay the tythes, as they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the patriarch by a privilege of the pope. *Hadrian* heard both parties, but dropped the affair at that time, without any decision; and passing through *Campania*, went to *Benevento*, where, a few months after, being besieged by *William*, he consented to a peace, the articles of which were dictated by the king, who absolutely refused to allow any legates to enter *Sicily*, or any appeals from the churches in that kingdom to the apostolic see. These terms, however disagreeable, were confirmed by the pope, who likewise gave the investiture of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Capua*, with all their dependencies, to *William*, upon his swearing allegiance to the holy see. This accommodation with the king of *Sicily* occasioned great factions among the cardinals, which continued several years; but those of the emperor's party dissembling their resentment at that time, they went with *Hadrian* to *Orvieto*, which never having been honoured with the presence of a pope, had revolted from its subjection to the see of *Rome*. Upon *Hadrian's* approaching to the city, he was received with great honours by the inhabitants; and having continued there some time, towards the beginning of winter he returned to *Rome*. The pope goes to St. Germans. The king of Sicily besieges the pope in Benevento, and obliges him to conclude a peace. A. D. 1156.

BEING soon after informed that the archbishop of *Lunden*, in his return to *Denmark* (K), had been robbed in *Germany*, and was detained a prisoner till he should pay a large sum for his ransom, he sent two legates into that kingdom, with a letter to the emperor, who was at *Besançon*, attended by a great many nobles. The pope in his letter expressed his astonishment that the emperor had suffered such an outrage to be committed in his kingdom, without punishing the authors, especially as, two years before, he had been so kindly received by the *Roman* see, from whom he had obtained the favour of the crown. At these last words the nobles who were present were greatly enraged; but while they were exclaiming against the

^o OTHO Frising.
apud BARON.

^p WILLEL. Tyr. l. xviii. c. 8. Exemp. Diplom. apud BARON.

^q Acta Vatic.

(K) *Baranius* calls him an *Englisch* bishop, being probably led into a mistake by a similarity of names.

arrogance of the pope, one of the legates called out, "Of whom then doth the emperor hold a the crown, if not from the holy see?" At this question the count *Palatine* immediately drew his sword to attack the legate, but was prevented by the emperor, who ordered the legates immediately to quit *Germany*, and soon after published a letter addressed to all his subjects, justifying his proceeding. The pope, offended at the little respect that had been paid to his legates, wrote to the bishops of *Germany*, exhorting them to admonish the emperor to turn away his evil counsellors, and to be submissive to the church.

The pope advised to a reconciliation.

A. D. 1158.

THE bishops, in their answer, acknowledged their submission to the holy see; but at the same time declared to his holiness, that all *Germany* was offended with an expression in his letter to the emperor (L), which was ambiguous, and without precedent; that they reckoned their emperor held his crown only by the divine favour; that the first offence had been given b by a picture (M), but that the empire was greatly alarmed to find the unprecedented claim authorized by writing; therefore they advised his holiness to appease the emperor by a second letter in more moderate terms. *Hadrian*, finding that even the bishops of *Germany* were tenacious of the honour of their crown, and that the emperor had assembled an army upon the *Lech*, near *Augsburgh*, with an intention of entering *Italy*, sent two legates to him, who being admitted into his camp, presented the pope's letter in a submissive manner. In this letter the pope addressed the emperor in terms of affection and respect, and told him, that at Rome, *Beneficium* was never taken in the sense of a fief, but in the proper meaning of the word as a good deed, and hoped that if he had taken any umbrage at the see of *Rome*, he would have acquainted him by letters or messengers, and he would have taken care, that his honour c should have received no injury. The emperor being appeased by this letter, settled with the legates other points that might give occasion for future disputes, and, when they took their leave, loaded them with rich presents. *Hadrian* sent the cardinals *Arditi* and *Otho* as his legates into *Lombardy*, to endeavour to reconcile the inhabitants of *Milan* to those of *Lodi*, and other cities in their neighbourhood, which they oppressed.

Hadrian writes a submissive letter to the emperor;

who enters Italy with an army.

MEAN while the emperor, having held a diet at *Augsburgh*, marched with a formidable army into *Italy*, and being joined by the *Italian* barons, with their troops, after a long siege, obliged the city of *Milan* to surrender at discretion, and deprived it of a great many of its privileges. The other cities being struck at the fate of *Milan*, quickly surrendered, and the emperor having reduced all *Lombardy*, marched to the plain of *Roncalia*, and, with the advice d of the doctors of the law in the school of *Bologna*, and the deputies of the other cities, he determined the regalia, or prerogatives of the emperor in *Italy*, which being reduced to writing, the bishops, nobles, and deputies of the cities, swore to observe them in every article. *Frederic* having then redressed the grievances of the cities, and enacted several new laws, dismissed the assembly, and putting his troops into winter quarters, repaired *Albezola*, in *Liguria*, where he kept his *Christmas*, having sent commissaries into *Tuscany* and the territory of *Rome*, to provide magazines for his march in the spring.

New disputes between him and the pope. 1159.

HADRIAN, offended at the behaviour of the commissaries, and dissatisfied with the emperor, because at *Roncalia* he had obliged the bishops to pay homage for their fiefs, wrote him a disrespectful letter, complaining of the infringement of the ecclesiastical rights. The e emperor answered this letter, and justified what he had done; but the pope still continuing his complaints, and refusing to consecrate *Guido*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, although a cardinal had assisted at his election, several other letters passed between him and the emperor, which would soon have occasioned a rupture, if cardinal *Henry*, on the one part, and the bishop of *Bamberg* on the other, had not acted as mediators. At last *Hadrian* consented to send two cardinals, with two other cardinal deacons, to negotiate an accommodation with the emperor; but their terms were so high, that nothing was concluded upon. It was then proposed that six cardinals should be chosen on the part of the pope, and six bishops on the part of the emperor, to terminate all differences; but *Hadrian* rejected this proposition, and insisted on renewing the peace formerly made by *Eugenius III*. The dis- f

† RODERICUS Canonicus in Fred. l. i. c. 8, 10, 15, 16, 17. GUNTHER Ligur. Poem. l. i. c. 21, 22, 23.

* RADEVIC.

(L) The expression here referred to in the pope's letter, was the two words *Beneficium Coronæ*, which, as *Beneficium* in those days signified a fief, implied that *Frederic* held the empire as a fief of the see of *Rome*.

(M) This was a picture hung up in the *Lateran* church, representing the emperor *Lotharius* upon his knees, with his hands between the hands of the pope, after the manner of vassals when receiving the investiture of fiefs. Underneath the picture were written the two following lines:

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam.*

That is, "The king swears at the gate to maintain the honour of *Rome*, and becomes the vassal of the pope, from whom he receives the crown." *Frederic*, when he was at *Rome*, complained of this picture, upon which complaint *Hadrian* had promised to cause it to be taken down.

a pute was at last in some measure terminated by the death of *Hadrian*, who died at *Anagni*, *Hadrian dies.*
on the first of *September* (N).

A FEW days after the death of *Hadrian*, the cardinals assembled to chuse a successor, and after deliberating three days, fixed upon cardinal *Roland*, born at *Sienna* in *Tuscany*, who took the name of *Alexander III.* but two cardinals named *John* and *Guido*, immediately after declared one cardinal *Octavian* pope, by the name of *Victor IV.* who observing the other competitor with the papal robe, run to him and snatched it from his shoulders; but a senator taking it from him, he called to his chaplain, who had brought a robe on purpose, and taking that robe, he hastily put it over himself with the fore part of it behind. The doors of the church being then opened, a body of armed men rushed in to his assistance.

b The other party being afraid lest they should be obliged by force to acknowledge *Victor* retired to the castle of *St. Angelo*, where they were besieged for nine days by the *Romans*, whom *Victor* had corrupted. But the citizens being at last undeceived; *Alexander* and his party were released from their confinement, and retired to *Nymphæ*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where he was consecrated by the bishop of *Ostia*, and immediately after excommunicated *Victor* and his adherents. *Victor* being likewise consecrated by some bishops that had joined him, excommunicated *Alexander*, and wrote to the emperor, informing him of his election. *Frederic* had likewise received a letter to the same purpose from *Alexander*; but he having distinguished himself in the late disputes by his attachment to the rights of the church, and being a known friend to the king of *Sicily*, the emperor inclined rather to favour

c *Victor*. However, that he might seem to act impartially, he appointed a council of bishops to assemble at *Pavia*, about the middle of *January*, and told the two competitors; that, as he could not determine which of them had the best right, he had referred their cause to the decision of a general council, and that he would acknowledge and protect him whom the council should declare to have the best right. *Alexander*, conscious of the validity of his election, refused to acknowledge a council not convoked by himself, and in the mean time sent legates into the different kingdoms of *Europe* and the east, informing them of his promotion to the *Roman* see, and of the intrusion of *Victor*.

A schism in the church.

Alexander III. is elected.

The emperor favours the antipope Victor;

THE council assembling at *Pavia*, on the 2d of *February*, *Victor* appeared, and referring his cause to their determination, after consulting seven days, declared him pope, and conducted him from *St. Salvator's* church, without the city, where he lodged, to the diocesan church, where the emperor received him; and, having held the stirrup of his horse while he alighted, led him to the altar, and kissed his feet. The next day the council again assembled; and, with lighted candles, excommunicated *Alexander* and his adherents. In the mean time *Alexander* held a council of the bishops and cardinals of his party, at *Anagni*, in which he denounced a sentence of excommunication against the emperor, if he continued to acknowledge the antipope. He likewise wrote to *Arnulph*, bishop of *Lisieux* in *Normandy*, acquainting him with his election, and the proceedings of the council of *Pavia*; upon which *Arnulph* wrote a letter, addressed to all the archbishops and bishops in *France*, exhorting them to adhere to *Alexander*, who being acknowledged by his master the king of *England*, the following year received an embassy from him concerning the canonization of king *Edward*, who had been dead almost 100 years. The pope, in consideration of the many miracles wrought by him during his life and since his death, granted a bull, allowing him to be numbered among the holy confessors, and exhorting the *English* to be very fervent in worshipping his body.

who is declared pope by the council of Pavia.

A. D. 1160.

Alexander III. canonizes Edward formerly king of England.

A. D. 1161.

Soon after *Peter*, archbishop of *Tarantaise*, who had distinguished himself in *France* by his attachment to *Alexander*, arrived in *Italy*, and after having defended the cause of *Alexander* in the cities of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, he was sent as his legate into *France*, the pope designing himself to sail for that kingdom, as he could not live in safety in *Rome*, upon account of the party of the emperor, who had now possessed all the territory of *St. Peter*, except *Orvieto* and *Anagni*. Upon *Peter's* arrival in *France*, the kings of *France* and *England*, having lately concluded a peace, held a council, each in his own dominions, and examining the pretensions of the two competitors, acknowledged *Alexander* as pope. In the mean time *Victor* held a council at *Lodi*, which confirmed what had been ordained the former year at *Pavia*, and received letters from the kings of *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, and from many archbishops and bishops in those kingdoms, who acknowledged *Victor* as pope. This council likewise excommunicated the archbishop and consuls of *Milan*,

And is acknowledged by the kings of France and England.

* Idem ibid. WILLEL. Tyr. l. xviii. c. 19. RONII Annal.

□ Exemplar. Diplom. apud SUR. tom. iii.

W BA-

(N) *Hadrian* granted a bull to *Henry II.* of *England*, but in what year of his pontificate is uncertain; allowing that king to make a conquest of *Ireland*, provided he

paid a penny to *St. Peter* for every house in that kingdom, and suffered the church to enjoy all its privileges.

with the bishops and consuls of *Placenza* and *Brescia*, and also all those who had been concerned in the murder of *Arnold* archbishop of *Mentz*.

He is forced
to quit Italy.

A. D. 1162. THE party of the emperor growing every day more powerful in *Italy*, *Alexander* left that kingdom, and on the first of *January* sailed for *France*, where he was received with great respect. The emperor finding that *Alexander's* cause was espoused by the kings of *France* and *England*, and being afraid that he should not be able to establish *Victor*, he proposed to the king of *France* to have a conference at *Avignon*, and that a council should be assembled in that city, of the *German*, *French*, and *Italian* bishops, to determine the cause of the popes, and that the two competitors should appear personally to justify their pretensions.

And refuses to
submit to a
council called
by the emperor.

A. D. 1163.

The king of *France* agreed to this proposal, which was mentioned by the emperor only with a design to lay both the competitors aside; but *Alexander* absolutely refusing to appear, and the emperor wanting provisions for his army, he was obliged to retire, and the council broke up without coming to any conclusion^x. In the mean time *Alexander* proceeded to *Tours*, where he continued several months, and celebrated his *Christmas*. About the beginning of *Lent* he went to *Paris*, where he had a conference with the king of *France*; and having celebrated his *Easter* in that city, he again set out for *Tours*, where he had appointed a council to be held about the beginning of *May*.

A council held
at *Tours*.

THE council, being assembled, consisted of seventeen cardinals, one hundred and twenty-four bishops, and a great number of inferior clergy. Among the dignified clergy was *Thomas Becket*, who the year before had succeeded to the see of *Canterbury*. The pope received him with singular respect, having ordered all the cardinals, except two, to meet him without the gates, and conduct him into the city. After a long discourse made by *Arnulphus*, bishop of *Lisieux*, the council excommunicated *Victor* and his adherents; and made several canons, condemning usury in the clergy, and prohibiting them to practise law or physic. They likewise annulled all the ordinations made by *Octavianus* and the schismatics, and prohibited the hiring of annual curates, as contrary to the decrees of the fathers. The council being dismissed, *Alexander* retired to the city of *Sens*, which he made the place of his abode while he continued in *France*; and hearing that *Thomas Becket* had incurred the displeasure of the king of *England* for refusing to deliver up a priest that had killed a man, and for not consenting to swear to observe the king's prerogatives, he wrote to encourage him to be steadfast in the defence of the rights of the church^y. Mean while *Octavianus*, with those of his party, arriving at *Lodi*, assisted in transporting the body of *St. Bassianus* from the old to the new city, in the presence of the emperor and empress, with the patriarch of *Aquileia*, and many bishops and abbots^z.

A difference
between him
and the king
of *England*.

A. D. 1164.

THE following year *Alexander*, being informed that the archbishop of *Canterbury* had been compelled, by the threats of the king and nobles of *England*, to swear faithfully to observe the royal customs, he wrote to him, absolving him of his oath: which the king being informed of, he sent an embassy to the pope, desiring him to confirm the decree of the states, obliging ecclesiastics to swear to observe the royal customs; and likewise intreating him to appoint the archbishop of *York* as his legate in *England*. The pope, by the necessity of his affairs, not daring wholly to disoblige the king, appointed the archbishop of *York* as his legate, but would not confirm the decree of the states, and even restrained the jurisdiction of the legate to his own see. The king, not satisfied with the pope, ordered the bull, appointing the archbishop of *York* as legate, to be returned; and cited the archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon an accusation of misdemeanours during his chancellorship; but *Thomas* refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, appealed to the see of *Rome*; and soon after quitting the kingdom, wrote to *Alexander*, informing him of the persecution he had suffered, and imploring his protection; in consequence of which letter he received another from the pope, annulling all that had been done against him in *England*.

The emperor
acknowledges
the antipope's
successor.

DURING these transactions the antipope *Victor* dying at *Lucca*, his party, despairing of a reconciliation with *Alexander*, elected cardinal *Guido* of *Crema* as his successor; who took the name of *Paschal III.* and was acknowledged by the emperor. In the mean time the archbishop of *York*, and the bishops of *London* and *Chester*, arrived at *Sens*; and having accused the archbishop of *Canterbury* to the pope, desired his holiness to send a legate *a latere* into *England*, to determine the dispute betwixt the king and the archbishop. The pope refused to grant their request, but sent for *Thomas* to his court, to judge him himself, and desired the *English* ambassadors to be present at his trial; but they refused, and immediately departed without the apostolical benediction. *Thomas*, upon his arrival at *Sens*, was received with great affection by the pope; and having informed him of his opposition to the king of *England*, which, he alleged, proceeded from his zeal for the honour of the church, he presented to his holiness a copy of the customs of the kingdom, consisting of sixteen articles, which he had sworn to observe. The pope having read the paper, condemned ten of the

^x NEWBRIGENS. tom. ii. c. 14.
in *Laudensi Chron.*

^y EXEMP. Epist. Alex. apud BARONIUM.

^z OTHO MORENA,

^a articles; and having confirmed *Thomas* in his archbishopric, he sent him to the monastery of *Pontiniac*, where he took the habit of a monk, and lived according to their rules^a.

WHILE these things were doing in *England* and *France*, some cities of *Lombardy*, driven to despair by the exactions of the emperor's officers, entered into an association against him, with the republic of *Venice*; and *Frederic* being unsuccessful in his attempt to reduce them, cardinal *John*, who had lately succeeded *Julius* as pope's vicar in *Rome*, prevailed with the *Romans* to join the confederacy, and to invite pope *Alexander* to return to his own see. In the mean time *Alexander* was endeavouring to effect a reconciliation betwixt the king of *England* and the archbishop of *Canterbury*. A conference was proposed between the pope and *Henry*^b; but the king refusing to allow the archbishop to be present, *Thomas* dissuaded his holiness from meeting the king; so that the hopes of a reconciliation at that time vanished. *Alexander* having canonized *Helena*, a widow of great sanctity among the *Visigoths*, and *Canute* the father of *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, set out on his return for *Rome*, after celebrating his *Easter* at *Sens*. The archbishop of *Canterbury* accompanied his holiness as far as *Berry*, where *Alexander* dismissed him with his apostolic benediction, and then proceeded to *Montpellier*, from whence he sailed to *Messina* in *Sicily*. Upon the news of his arrival, *William* king of *Sicily* sent him magnificent presents, and ordered five galleys to conduct him to *Rome*, for which city he sailed in the month of *November*; and entering *Ostia*, was received next day by the senators and nobles, with a great body of the clergy and people, who conducted him with branches of olive trees to the *Lateran* palace^c.

^c THE emperor hearing of the pope's departure for *Italy*, endeavoured to seize him at sea, by the assistance of the *Pisan* fleet; but being disappointed in his design, he held a diet at *Wurtzburgh*, at which were present the deputies of the king of *England*, who, together with the emperor; and many of the nobles and bishops of *Germany*, swore never to acknowledge pope *Alexander* or his successor, and to protect and defend *Paschal* III. and his successors. The king of *England* refused his approbation to this proceeding of his deputies; but the emperor published an edict, ordering all his subjects to take the same oath within six weeks, and that pope *Paschal* should be prayed for through all the empire. He likewise sent the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Mentz*, with a considerable army, into *Italy*; and soon after following himself with another army, he was joined in *Lombardy* by the *Italian* auxiliaries, and directed his march to *Lodi*, where he held an assembly of the *Italian* and *German* nobles, and heard the complaints of many of the cities of *Lombardy* against the grievous exactions of his commissaries. From *Lodi* he marched against *Ancona*, which the *Greeks* had taken possession of; and while he was engaged in the siege of that place, he ordered the two archbishops to march towards *Tusculum*, to assist the antipope to take possession of *Rome*^d.

HAVING in three weeks obliged the city of *Ancona* to surrender, he marched with his army towards *Rome*, and joined the antipope *Paschal* at *Viterbo*, the two archbishops with the other army having lately returned to that city, after a signal victory which they had obtained over the *Romans*. From *Viterbo* *Frederic* marched to *Rome*, and after a vigorous attack, made himself master of the *Leonine* city and *St. Peter's* church, where the emperor and empress *Beatrice* were crowned by the antipope *Paschal*^e. *William* king of *Sicily*, who the year before had succeeded his father, hearing of the danger to which the pope was exposed, sent two galleys, with a large sum of money, to his assistance. The pope sent back the galleys, but accepted of the money, which he distributed among the *Romans*, to encourage them in his defence. But they pressing him to agree to the proposal of the emperor, who offered to prevail with *Paschal* to resign, on condition that *Alexander* should abdicate the pontificate, the pope, to avoid the solicitations of the people on that point, fled from the city in the habit of a pilgrim, and retired to *Benevento*^f. A few days after the departure of the pope, after some heavy rains, the sun appeared with so violent a heat, as occasioned a sudden mortality amongst the emperor's troops. Several of the chief officers dying, and likewise great numbers of the common men, he immediately quitted the city, and leaving the antipope at *Viterbo*, marched with all speed for *Pavia*, having on his road lost 2000 men by the distemper, the whole army also continuing sickly and infirm during the whole winter^g.

DURING these transactions the king of *England* wrote to the college of cardinals, disclaiming the proceedings of his deputies at the diet of *Wurtzburgh*; but at the same time he refused to recall the archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he had not expelled him the kingdom: however, if he pleased to return, and satisfy legally the charges that were laid against him, he promised that he should enjoy his archbishopric in peace. The pope wrote to the bishop

An association is formed against the emperor.
A. D. 1165.

The pope returns to Rome.

1166.

The emperor swears never to acknowledge Alexander.

1167.

He enters Italy with an army.

And is crowned at Rome.

He retires with great loss to Lombardy.

The king of England refuses to recall the archbishop of Canterbury.

^a Vita S. Thom. ALANUS in quadripartit.

MURATOR. tom. iii.

MUALD. Chron. Salern.

MURATOR. tom. vi. p. 1153. 1155.

^b Idem ibid.

^c SIGON. l. xiv. p. 321.

^d Idem ibid.

^e Vita Alex. ex Card. Aragon. apud

Otho Morena de gestis Fred.

^f Ro-

^g Idem ibid. Otho Morena de gestis Fred. apud

of *London*, desiring him and his brethren to advise the king to recall the archbishop; and not to oppress the church: in answer to which letter the bishops wrote to *Alexander*, that the king offered to give all reasonable indulgence to the clergy, but obstinately refused to recall the archbishop. The bishops likewise in their letter, far from alleging with the archbishop, that the church was aggrieved, declared that the king seemed to justify his cause, and advised his holiness not to proceed to an interdict or excommunication, but rather to soften the king by mildness, as a breach with the holy see was desired by a great many in the kingdom.

who is created
pope's legate in
England; and
excommuni-
cates those who
observed the
royal customs.

This letter had not the desired effect with the pope; who, to shew his approbation of the behaviour of the archbishop, soon after created him his legate *a latere* in *England*.

THE new legate immediately annulled the articles composed under the title of Royal Customs, and excommunicated the authors and observers of them. He also excommunicated several persons by name, and wrote to the pope, informing him, that he proposed likewise to excommunicate the king, if he did not give satisfaction. This proceeding greatly irritated the people of *England*; and *Thomas* still continuing in *France*, his suffragan bishops wrote to him, that they had appealed from his sentence to the apostolic see; and that by denouncing a sentence of excommunication before he had judged any one, he had discovered more heat of passion than respect for justice. *Thomas*, in his justification of himself, wrote a long letter to the bishops, in a haughty and overbearing stile, and from a warm confidence of being himself in the right, insisted strongly on those topics that seemed to condemn his adversaries. Soon after, the bishops neglecting to appear at *Benevento*, on a day mentioned in their appeal, the pope confirmed the decrees of *Thomas*, and wrote to the bishops of *England*, enjoining them obedience at their peril. The king, who was then in *Normandy*, finding that the protection of the pope rendered the archbishop more confident, sent an embassy to *Benevento*, desiring his holiness to appoint cardinal *William* of *Pavia* as his legate in *England*, who was the king's intimate friend. The pope being deceived by the promises of the king's ambassador, who was likewise liberal in dispensing his gold, appointed cardinal *William* as his legate in *England*; but, as a check upon him, named *Otho*, a cardinal deacon, as his colleague. This news greatly afflicted the archbishop of *Canterbury*, who declared, that he would not submit his cause to the decision of cardinal *William*, who sought his life.

Two legates
are appointed
to decide the
difference be-
twixt him and
the king of
England.

A. D. 1168.

THE two legates arriving in *France*, in their way to *England*, wrote to *Thomas*, informing him of their commission; but they received very different answers from the archbishop. To cardinal *William* he had wrote a letter, which *John* of *Salisbury* advised him to suppress, as being full of bitterness and rancour; he therefore wrote another in a more moderate stile. To the other legate he wrote in very affectionate terms, declaring his confidence in his virtue and integrity. In the mean time *Alexander*, finding that he had been imposed upon by the king of *England*'s ambassadors, wrote to his legates, prohibiting them from entering *England* till they had composed the difference betwixt the king and the archbishop, and not allowing them to act in a judiciary manner, but by way of mediation. He also wrote to the archbishop, not to be difficult to be reconciled to the king, but to humble himself, and to agree to such terms as could then be obtained, in hopes of better afterwards. Nothing was effected at the first conference, which was held on the borders of *Normandy* on the 18th of *November*; but the king of *England* having obtained from the holy see a suspension of the archbishop's authority, *Thomas* wrote in very bitter terms both to the pope and college of cardinals, and also sent a letter to his nuncio at *Rome*, desiring him to use his utmost endeavours to have the legates recalled. The pope, not satisfied with their proceedings, immediately ordered them to return to *Italy*, and revoked their commission; so that nothing further was transacted in the dispute at that time^a.

The pope re-
vokes their
commission.

The emperor
flies into
Germany.

MEAN while the emperor, upon his disgraceful retreat from *Rome*, having been excommunicated by the pope, and finding himself unable with the remains of his army to oppose the confederate cities of *Lombardy*, pretended to incline to a reconciliation with *Alexander*. But the count of *Moriene* allowing him a passage through his territories, he escaped with the wreck of his army into *Burgundy*, not without considerable loss, the *Italians* pursuing him and harrassing his march¹. While the emperor was reduced to these extremities, the anti-pope *Paschal* was besieged in *Rome*, having been received by the senators into the *Leonine* city on the north of the *Tyber*, on condition of restoring the hostages whom they had been obliged to deliver to the emperor. The senators were either not able or not willing to procure him the favour of the *Romans*; for soon after his entering the city, he was besieged by them in the tower of *Stephen Theobald*.

Alexander
protects the
city of Tus-
culum from
the fury of
the Romans.

THOUGH they refused to acknowledge *Paschal*, yet they would not admit *Alexander*, who had advanced to *Tusculum*, to protect that city from their violence, they having resolved to burn it, as they had done *Alba*, in revenge for the assistance those cities had given to the imperial army under the command of the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*. The *Romans* at-

^a Epist. Joan, Sarisburiens. et aliorum, apud BARON.

¹ See the History of the German Empire.

a tacked the city for some time without success; upon which they pretended to be reconciled to the pope, and promised to admit him into their city, on condition that he would order the fortifications of *Tusculum* to be destroyed. *Alexander*, trusting to their promises, caused the walls to be razed; but the *Romans* still refusing to admit him into their city, he repaired the fortifications of *Tusculum*, and leaving a strong garrison in that city, retired with his court to *Anagni*, where he continued a considerable time^k. He there received an embassy from the king of *England*, who, having had an unsuccessful conference with the archbishop of *Canterbury* in the presence of the king of *France*, had sent to desire his holiness to transport him to some other benefice; but, though he had bribed the inhabitants of *Parma*, *Cremona*, and *Milan*, and the king of *Sicily*, to solicit in his behalf, and had offered 10,000 marks to the see of *Rome*, the pope would only consent to send two nuncios to mediate a peace, and limited the time of their commission to the term of *Michaelmas*.

b AFTER several conferences with the nuncios, the king, at last, declared, that, for the sake of his lord the pope, he would allow the archbishop, and all those who were banished on his account, to return to *England*, saving, nevertheless, the dignity of the kingdom. This last clause, which the nuncios would by no means agree to, prevented the peace from being concluded within the limited time, so that their journey proved ineffectual. The pope, to hasten a reconciliation, before the return of the nuncios, had sent others, with letters to the king, threatening to lay his kingdom under an interdict, unless he was reconciled to the archbishop before *Lent*. This embassy likewise had no effect; for the king still insisted on the former clause, which was as stiffly objected to by the archbishop, who, on his part, proposed the clause of *Saving the honour of God, and the privileges of his sacred order*. The king rejecting this, *Alexander* again allowed the archbishop to exercise the functions of his office, without a liberty of appeal, in case the peace was not concluded before the beginning of *Lent*. In the mean time, he received from the king of *Hungary* a full resignation of his right to the revenue of vacant benefices, and a promise not to depose or translate bishops without the consent of the holy see. He likewise received an embassy from the sultan of *Iconium*, who, having turned Christian, had sent to the pope, desiring to be instructed in a fuller manner in the truths of religion. The pope wrote to him in an affectionate manner, and sent him a catechism of the Christian faith, which is still extant^l.

And sends two nuncios to mediate a peace between the king of England and the archbishop of Canterbury.

The king makes an offer of peace, but without effect.

c IN the beginning of the following year, he sent other two legates to the king of *England*, threatening to lay his dominions on the continent under an interdict, if the peace was not concluded within the limited time. Being informed likewise that the king of *England* proposed to crown his son by the hands of the archbishop of *York*, he wrote to that prelate, and all the other bishops of *England*, discharging them at their peril from being concerned in that ceremony; which letter so enraged the king, that he commanded the bishops to promise by an oath, not to obey the constitutions of the pope or the archbishop of *Canterbury*, which the greatest part of them agreeing to, the coronation was accordingly performed on the 24th of *June*. The pope, offended with this proceeding, wrote to the king, declaring absolutely, that if he was not reconciled to the archbishop by a certain day, that his kingdom would be laid under an interdict.

Alexander sends other two legates to the king of England; A. D. 1170.

d THE king, to avoid the sentence, immediately offered to the legates, to accept of a peace under any form prescribed by them; and, a few days after, they bringing the archbishop with them to the conference, he was reconciled to him in a most generous manner, and immediately admitted him to his former familiarity, as though there never had been any dispute betwixt them. The pope being informed of the concession of the king, immediately laid aside his former reserve, occasioned by his apprehension lest the king should join the party of the antipope; and, to shew his displeasure at the clergy of *England*, for favouring the king, he suspended the archbishop of *York*, and excommunicated several bishops, particularly the bishops of *London* and *Salisbury*. He likewise wrote to his legates in *Normandy*, ordering them to lay the king's dominions on the continent under an interdict, if he did not annul the royal customs, and intirely fulfil the terms of the peace. *Thomas* also insisted, that, before he should return to *England*, all that had been seized from the archbishopric of *Canterbury* should be restored; but the king absolutely refusing to agree to a restitution till after his return, he proceeded directly for *England*. Having, by his long opposition to the king and the constitutions of the kingdom, become odious to the people, a few weeks after his return he was murdered in the church of *Canterbury*, by four gentlemen, who came from *Normandy* for that purpose, upon hearing the king exclaim against him as a turbulent person^m.

who agrees to a reconciliation.

The archbishop of Canterbury is murdered.

e WHILE these things were doing in *England*, *Emmanuel*, emperor of *Constantinople*, sent an embassy to the pope with immense presents, offering to unite the *Greek* church with the *Roman*, and to acknowledge the superiority of the pope, provided he would confer upon him the imperial crown, which the *Germans* had so long usurped. The pope declared, that the

The emperor of Constantinople asks the imperial crown from the pope.

^k SIGON. l. xiv. p. 324.
^l RÖGER in Annal Anglic.

^m Inter tract. PETR. Blesensis.

ⁿ HERBERTUS in quadripartita.

decrees of the ancient fathers would not allow him to consent to his demand; and, upon the return of the ambassador, sent with him two cardinals to the *Greek* emperor^a.

The antipope dying, his party elect a successor.

The emperor sends an embassy to the pope.

A. D. 1171.

ABOUT the same time, the antipope *Paschal* died at *Rome*, and his party, then very despicable, chose for his successor one *John*, abbot of *Surmio*, who had been created bishop of *Albano* by the antipope. *Frederic*, after some deliberation, condescended to acknowledge him, but, finding that the cities of *Lombardy* were strictly united to pope *Alexander*, he despaired of reducing them to obedience till he had made his peace with him. He therefore sent the bishop of *Bamberg*, as his deputy, to the pope, with express orders that he should confer only with his holiness. *Alexander*, that he might give no umbrage to the associated cities of *Lombardy*, sent for a representative from each city to be present in the consistory; and after condescending to hear the deputy apart, according to his instructions, he explained his negotiation in a full consistory, and told him, that, as the terms proposed by the emperor were ambiguous, he could not agree to a peace.

Alexander sends two legates to examine into the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1172.

Who absolve the king of England.

Soon after the pope was informed by various messengers of the murder of the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and likewise received an embassy from the king of *England*, to justify himself from having had any concern in the murder. *Alexander*, for some time, would not see the *English* ambassadors, and they were even received by the cardinals with great coldness. Being at last admitted to an audience, they endeavoured to justify the king; and, to prevent his kingdoms from being laid under an interdict, they swore in his name that he would submit to the sentence of the pope. *Alexander*, being appeased by this oath, excommunicated the murderers of the archbishop, and all who supported and protected them, and sent two legates to examine the king, and to receive his satisfaction. Upon their arrival in *Normandy*, the king cleared himself by an oath from having had any concern in the murder, and promised to submit to any penance prescribed by them. They then enjoined him to send 200 men, for one year, into the *Holy Land*, or as much money as would maintain 200 soldiers at 300 crowns each; to repeal the statutes of *Clarendon*, and restore all the possessions of the see of *Canterbury*; to grant free appeals to the see of *Rome*; that he should go himself three years to the *Holy Land*; and, if the pope desired it, should make an expedition into *Spain* against the *Moors*. The king swearing to fulfil these articles, he went with the legates to the door of the church, and kneeling down, (but without putting off his cloaths) he was absolved by them, and afterwards conducted into the church^o. The next day the legates celebrated a council with the bishops and clergy of *Normandy*, in which it was decreed, that children should not be admitted to the government of churches; that the sons of priests should not inherit the churches of their fathers; that clergymen should not intermeddle in the administration of secular affairs; that churches should not be committed to annual curates; and having dismissed the council, they wrote to the ministers of the church of *Canterbury*, in consequence of a mandate from the pope, desiring them to sprinkle the church with holy water, as the sacrament of dedication ought not to be repeated^p.

The pope in vain endeavours to enter Rome.

MEAN while *Alexander*, residing at *Tusculum*, endeavoured to prevail with the *Romans* to admit him into their city; but the senators, favouring the party of the emperor, would not hearken to his request; so that he retired from *Tusculum*, and went into *Campania*, where the murderers of *Thomas Becket* came to him in a penitent manner, desiring absolution of their crime. The pope, instead of committing them to the civil power, ordered them, as a penance, to go and spend the rest of their life in the *Holy Land*. One of them died before they left *Italy*, and the other three survived only two years.

The archbishop of Canterbury is canonized.

A. D. 1173.

THE following year, the legates returning from the king of *England*, and reporting the numerous miracles that were performed at the tomb of the archbishop of *Canterbury*, the pope canonized him, and enrolled him among the martyrs, ordering the 29th of *December*, the day of his death, to be every year celebrated in a solemn manner^q. Soon after, he received a letter from the king of *England*, asking his assistance against his rebel son, whom he had associated with himself in the kingdom three years before. *Henry* acknowledging his kingdom as subject to the jurisdiction of *Rome*, *Alexander* published a mandate, ordering, that whoever should disturb the peace of the king, should be excommunicated without liberty of appeal. The archbishop of *Canterbury*, supported by this authority, immediately excommunicated the rebels, the young king not excepted; and *Henry*, that he might have the favour of the new saint, left *Normandy*, and entering the city of *Canterbury* barefooted, and covered only with a coarse cloak, went to the tomb of the martyr, where he continued all that day, and the following night, and then calling the monks to him, he received from each of them a stripe with a rod.

The emperor enters Italy.

IN the mean time, the emperor *Frederic* entered *Italy*, for the fifth time, with a formidable army, and laid siege to the new city of *Alexandria*, which was only fortified with a ram-

^a Vita Alex. ex card. Arag. apud MURATOR. tom. iii.
^p BARONII Annales.

^q Vita Alex. apud MURATOR. tom. iii.

^o Idem ibid. BARONII Annales ad ann. 1172.

a part of earth. The imperial army being greatly incommoded with heavy rains, and the winter approaching, *Frederic* changed the siege into a blockade, and employed his army, in the mean time, in carrying on a mine into the city, which being finished about the following *Easter*, he resolved to give a general attack. But the besieged killing those that had taken possession of the mine, and, at the same time, making a general sally against the imperialists, defeated them, and obliged them to retire to *Chiasterà*. *Frederic*, not thinking himself safe at that place, passed the *Po*, and retired to the neighbourhood of *Pavia*; and as his army was greatly weakened by the late defeat, and by the departure of *Henry the Lion* with his troops, he proposed to enter into a negotiation with the see of *Rome* and the confederate cities of *Lombardy*. A. D. 1175.

b THE pope, at the desire of the consuls of *Cremona*, who were the mediators, sent three legates to *Pavia*; but after a few conferences, each party being high in their demands, the legates returned to the pope, without concluding any thing. *Alexander*, in the mean time, to punish the city of *Pavia* for its adherence to the emperor, deprived the bishop of the dignity of the cross and pall; and, as a reward for the bravery of the *Alexandrians*, he erected their city into a bishopric, creating *Arduin*, a sub-deacon of the *Roman* church, their first bishop. *Frederic*, being afraid lest *William* king of *Sicily* should be persuaded by the pope to assist the confederate cities of *Lombardy*, proposed to conclude an alliance with him, and to give him his daughter in marriage; but *William* being prevented from agreeing to this match by the pope, the emperor, having received considerable succours from *Germany*, determined to try the fortune of another engagement. As he was marching towards the confederates, he was attacked by them at *Lignano*, and, after an obstinate dispute, entirely defeated; the *Italians* making themselves masters of his camp, and pursuing the *Germans* for eight miles. A peace is proposed, but without effect. 1176.

c THIS considerable loss, and the murmuring of his general officers, who refused to serve any longer, unless he was reconciled to the pope, prevailed with the emperor seriously to think of an accommodation with *Alexander*. Accordingly, *Christian* archbishop of *Mentz*, with several others, were sent, as ambassadors, with proposals of peace to the pope, who received them with joy; and, after close conferences for fifteen days, the articles of the peace betwixt the emperor and the pope were agreed to; but as his holiness insisted, that the cities of *Lombardy*, and the king of *Sicily*, should be comprehended in the peace, a truce for six years was granted to these cities; and it was resolved that *Alexander* should have a congress with the emperor in *Lombardy*; and, in the mean time, safe-conducts were granted by the emperor to all persons of the *Roman* church. Frederic is entirely defeated; and proposes a peace.

d THE pope, desiring the king of *Sicily* to send some of his ministers to accompany him, was joined by *Romuald*, archbishop of *Salerno*, and *Roger* count of *Andria*; and sailing, on the 9th of *March*, from *Liciana*, with twelve gallies and two other ships, arrived in a few days at *Venice*, where he continued 15 days, and was treated with the greatest respect by the doge and nobles. From *Venice* he went, by sea, to *Loretto*, and from thence, going up the *Po*, arrived on *Easter-Sunday* at *Ferrara*, the place appointed for the conferences. A few days after his arrival at that city, the archbishop of *Mentz*, with other six persons, came, as deputies on the part of the emperor. After some disputes, it was agreed, that *Venice* should be chosen for the congress: accordingly, the pope and the deputies removed thither about the end of *May*; but not being able to come to any conclusion, the pope, at length, consented to allow the emperor to enter the city, who, arriving about the middle of *July*, was absolved from the sentence of excommunication; and after prostrating himself at the pope's feet, received the kiss of peace. On the first of *August*, the articles of the peace being agreed upon, all the parties concerned swore to fulfil them, the emperor promising a six years truce to the cities of *Lombardy*, a peace for fifteen years with the king of *Sicily*, and a perpetual peace with the church. The pope a few days after held a council at *Venice*, where the above peace was confirmed, and a sentence of excommunication denounced against those who should infringe any of its articles. The council likewise excommunicated all those who still adhered to the antipope. 1177. The pope goes to Venice, where the peace is concluded.

f ALEXANDER having dismissed the council, wrote to the emperor of *Abyssinia*, commonly called *Prester John*; and having given the letter to one *Philip*, his physician and ambassador, who had left *Europe* to reside in those parts, he, according to the emperor's desire, appointed the church of *St. Stephen* for the residence of his subjects who should come to *Rome*. Having then obtained four gallies from the doge of *Venice*, he left that city, and arrived by sea at *Siponto* on the 28th of *October*, from whence he proceeded to *Troja* and *Benevento*, and at length arrived at *Anagni* on the 20th of *December*. During these transactions in *Italy*, *Alexander* sent a legate into *Denmark*, who conferred the archbishopric of *Lunden* on *Abfalon* bishop He writes to the emperor of Abyssinia.

* ROMUALD. Salern. Chron. SIGON. l. xiv. p. 333. Vita Alex. apud MURATOR. tom. iii. ibid. BARONII Annales ad ann. 1177.

* Idem

of *Roschild*, which is the first example of one person possessing two churches; but, however a unjustifiable, it was frequently imitated by following popes¹.

And receives
the submission
of the
Romans.
A. D. 1178.

THE Romans, finding that the emperor was reconciled to the pope, and reflecting on the great loss they suffered by his absence from the city, sent seven of their chief men, with letters from the clergy, senate, and people, inviting him to return. *Alexander* at first refused; but the Romans giving security to deliver up the church of *St. Peter*, and the regalia of the city, into his hands, he left *Tusculum*, and arrived, amidst the acclamations of the people, at the *Lateran* palace. The antipope finding himself forsaken by the emperor, who now put his followers to the ban of the empire, and seeing the Romans reconciled to *Alexander*, privately left *Viterbo*, and with a few of his clergy came and threw himself at the feet of the pope, acknowledging his error. *Alexander*, being of a humane disposition, received him without any reproaches, and not only detained him in his court, but honoured him with his table^a. In the mean time he appointed a general council to be held the following year at *Rome*, to which he not only invited the bishops in *Europe*, but likewise those of *Asia* and the *Greek* church. He likewise, at the desire of the kings of *England* and *France*, sent a legate with several bishops to *Toulouse*, to convert the heretics of that province to the *Roman* faith. Some of the chief men of the province being condemned of arianism and manicheism, and their estates confiscated, many others were prevailed upon to renounce their tenets, and be reconciled to the church.

A general
council held at
Rome.
1179.

MEAN while the day for holding the general council being arrived, 300 bishops assembled in the *Lateran* church on the 5th of *March*, and, in order to prevent any future schism, they decreed, that no pope should be deemed duly elected who had not the voices of two-thirds of the cardinals in his favour. They likewise condemned all ordinations made by the antipopes *Octavian*, *Guido*, and *John*, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the heretics in *Gascony*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Toulouse*, and *Albigensis*. The council also deprived many of the *German* bishops, who had been ordained by the antipopes or their adherents. Complaints were likewise laid before them of some doctrines maintained by *Peter the Lombard*, professor at *Paris*; upon which *Alexander* wrote to the archbishop of *Sens*, desiring to assemble his suffragans, and to condemn the doctrines.

Alexander
confers the
title of king on
the duke of
Portugal.

HAVING dismissed the council, he conferred the title of king on *Alphonso*, duke of *Portugal*, in consideration of his exploits against the *Moors*; for which favour *Alphonso* put his kingdom under the protection of the holy see, to which he bound himself and his successors to pay yearly four merks of gold^w. The pope likewise created *Laurence*, archbishop of *Dublin*, who had been present at the council, his legate in *Ireland*, where that prelate distinguished himself in reforming the vices of his clergy, to whom, if they were guilty of incontinency, he refused absolution; so that soon after 140 priests, convicted of that crime, came from *Ireland* to *Rome*, to be absolved by the pope.

1180.

The king of
Scotland is
excommuni-
cated.

THE following year the bishop of *Alexandria* being dead, the pope translated thither the bishop of *Acqui*; and being informed of a schism in the election of the archbishop of *St. Andrews*, in *Scotland*, he sent a legate into that kingdom, who deposed *Hugh*, who had intruded into that see, and confirmed the election of *John Scot*, the other competitor. The king, who favoured *Hugh*, immediately banished *John*, on which account the pope wrote to him, threatening his kingdom with an interdict, if he did not recal the archbishop. The king neglecting the admonition of the pope, the archbishop of *York*, as legate of the pope in *Scotland*, excommunicated him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict. Mean while *Alexander*, hearing of the great preparations of *Saladine* against *Jerusalem*, published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to march to the assistance of their brethren in *Asia*. The danger of the Christians, represented by the letter, had such an effect on the kings of *France* and *England*, that they promised as soon as possible to undertake the holy expedition (O).

Alexander
dies, and is
succeeded by
Lucius III.
1181.

ALEXANDER dying the *August* following, the cardinals unanimously elected cardinal *Hubald*, bishop of *Ostia*, who took the name of *Lucius III.* and having received a congratulatory embassy from his native city of *Lucca*, he granted them, with the consent of the emperor, the privilege of coining money, to be current in *Tuscany*, the march of *Ancona*, *Romaniola*, and *Campania*. A few months after his promotion, he received an embassy from *William* king of *Scotland*, intreating to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. *Lucius* granted his demand, and took off the interdict from his kingdom; but at the same time sent two legates into *Scotland* to reconcile the king to the archbishop of *St. Andrews*. *William* proposed, that *Hugh*, who had been deposed by *Alexander*, should abjure the arch-

¹ SAXO. GRAM. l. xiv. in fin. Annales.

^a ROMUARD. Salern. Chron. BARONII Annales.

^w BARONII

(O) The order of *Carmelite* friars was first instituted during the pontificate of *Alexander*; but in what year is uncertain. The author of the order was *Haimericus*,

patriarch of *Antioch*, and legate of the holy see, who collected the pilgrims that were in the *Holy Land* into a body, and led them to *Mount Carmel*.

a bishopric, and that *John* likewise should resign and accept of the bishopric of *Dunkeld*; but this accommodation was prevented by *Hugh*, who refused to abjure, and appealed to the *Roman see* *. Mean while the *Maronites*, a people inhabiting the neighbourhood of the mountain *Libanus* in *Syria*, renounced their distinguishing tenets, and embraced the faith of the church of *Rome*, in which they were remarkable for their perseverance, as appears by their letters afterwards written to *Leo X.* †.

THE following year *Lucius*, endeavouring to restrain the power of the *Roman* senate, and to protect the city of *Tusculum* from their resentment, was expelled from *Rome*, and retiring to *Veletri*, determined the cause betwixt the competitors for the archbishopric of *St. Andrews*, confirming *Hugh* in the archbishopric, and giving the bishopric of *Dunkeld* to *John*. From *Veletri* *Lucius* proceeded to *Verona*, where he received the ambassadors of the king of *England*, who desired his intercession with the emperor *Frederic* to recall *Henry the Lion*, who had been put to the ban of the empire. At *Verona* he likewise celebrated a council, in which it was ordained, that the bishops, once or twice a year, should visit those parts of their dioceses that were suspected of heresies. During the celebrating of the council, the emperor arrived at *Verona*, to have a conference with his holiness, and intreated him to confirm the ordinations of those who had been ordained by the schismatics, during the pontificate of *Alexander*. *Lucius* not agreeing to his demand, they proceeded to treat of the succession of the countess *Mathilda*, the superiority of which the emperor pretended was left to the empire; but as each party claimed time to justify their pretensions, that affair was left undecided †.

b *Veletri* *Lucius* proceeded to *Verona*, where he received the ambassadors of the king of *England*, who desired his intercession with the emperor *Frederic* to recall *Henry the Lion*, who had been put to the ban of the empire. At *Verona* he likewise celebrated a council, in which it was ordained, that the bishops, once or twice a year, should visit those parts of their dioceses that were suspected of heresies. During the celebrating of the council, the emperor arrived at *Verona*, to have a conference with his holiness, and intreated him to confirm the ordinations of those who had been ordained by the schismatics, during the pontificate of *Alexander*. *Lucius* not agreeing to his demand, they proceeded to treat of the succession of the countess *Mathilda*, the superiority of which the emperor pretended was left to the empire; but as each party claimed time to justify their pretensions, that affair was left undecided †.

c THE pope likewise differing with the emperor with regard to the schism at the late election to the archbishopric of *Triers*, and refusing to give the imperial crown to his eldest son *Frederic*, would not hearken to his solicitations in favour of *Henry the Lion*; and taking his leave of him, went to *Milan*, where, with great solemnity, his son was crowned king of *Italy*. *Lucius* still continued at *Verona*; and received an embassy from the princes in *Palestine*, intreating the assistance of the *European* princes, he sent the ambassadors with letters to the kings of *England* and *France*, exhorting them to that holy expedition. *Henry* king of *England*, upon reading the pope's letter, gave leave to all his subjects, both clergy and laity, to assume the cross, which example was followed by the king of *France*, at the solicitation of *William*, archbishop of *Tyre*, the historian of the crusades, who continued in *France*, while *Heraclius*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sailed into *England*. However, the forwardness of their preparations were greatly retarded by the death of *Lucius*, who died on the 24th of *November* at *Verona*.

d *Heraclius*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sailed into *England*. However, the forwardness of their preparations were greatly retarded by the death of *Lucius*, who died on the 24th of *November* at *Verona*.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of *Lucius*, the cardinals who were present unanimously elected *Lambert Crivelli*, archbishop of *Milan*, who assumed the name of *Urban III.* and notwithstanding his promotion to the papal chair, still retained his archbishopric of *Milan*. *Urban*, a few weeks after his election, was engaged in disputes with the emperor about the succession of the countess *Mathilda*, the revenues of vacant benefices (P) and nunneries, whose nuns he had dispersed under pretence of their irregularities. *Frederic* being in hopes to prevail with the pope to crown his son, pretended a willingness to accommodate these differences; but *Urban* persisting in the sentiments of his predecessor, and consecrating *Volemar*, the competitor for the archbishop of *Triers*, whom the emperor disapproved of, *Frederic* was greatly enraged. *Urban* nevertheless persisted in his demand of satisfaction upon these points; and, in case of refusal, threatened the emperor with excommunication. Another reason of the pope's displeasure was, the alliance concluded betwixt the emperor's son and *Constantia*, aunt of the king of *Sicily*, and heiress of his kingdoms. *Frederic*, finding that the pope was favoured by many of the chief prelates in *Germany*, went into that kingdom, and shut up all the passes of the *Alps*, to prevent any correspondence with *Italy*. Having given the investiture of the temporalities of the see of *Triers* to *Rodolphus*, and expelled *Berthold*, bishop of *Metz*, for favouring *Volemar*, he sent for the archbishop of *Cologne*, and explained to him his differences with the pope; but finding the archbishop in the pope's interest, he dismissed him, and called a diet at *Geilenhausen*, where the bishops agreed to write to his holiness to come to an accommodation with the emperor †. *Urban*, upon reading the letter, was confounded at the behaviour of the bishops, as it was chiefly upon their account that he had insisted upon the emperor's resigning the revenues of vacant benefices; however, persisting in his demand, he determined to excommunicate *Frederic*, but delayed denouncing the sentence for some time, at the intercession of the inhabitants of *Verona*.

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* ROGERII Annal. Ang.

† WILLEL. TYR. l. xxii. c. 8.

BARONII Annales.

‡ ARNOL. Lubec. l. iii. c. 10.

KRANTZ in Metrop. l. vi. c. 45. in fin. & 47.

‡ ARNOLD. Lubec. l. iii. c. 16, 17, 18.

(P) As the regalia of the bishops were fiefs of the empire, *Frederic*, by the laws of the empire, had a right to the revenues of all benefices, from the death of the incumbent to the investiture of his successor, the benefice during that time being accounted a vacant fief, and consequently devolving to the empire.

The pope grants a bull for creating a king of Ireland.
 A.D. 1187. DURING these transactions in Germany, Urban wrote to the king of Scotland to protect the a bishop of Dunkeld in his privileges against the archbishop of St. Andrews. He likewise sent the pall to Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury; and at the earnest intreaty of the king of England, he granted a bull, allowing him to create one of his sons king of Ireland, and sent him a crown of peacocks feathers interwoven with gold ^b (Q). Soon after he sent two legates into England, who had a commission to pass over into Ireland, to crown the king's son John; but Henry deferred the coronation, and carried them with him into Normandy, to be present at a conference with Philip, king of France.

The Christians defeated in the Holy Land, and Jerusalem lost.
 IN the mean time news arrived at Rome, that the sultan Saladin, after having taken a great many towns in the Holy Land, had at last made himself master of Jerusalem, and conquered the whole country, except Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, and a few castles. It was b likewise reported, that he had made an alliance with the emperor of Constantinople, who was to be put in possession of the Holy Land, on condition that he allowed no more Europeans to pass through his dominions into that country; and that, in consequence of this treaty, all the Croises that were found in Constantinople were massacred ^c. This melancholy news astonished the princes of Europe, and had such an effect upon the pope, as to throw him into a languishing illness, of which he died on the 18th of October ^d, at Ferrara.

Urban dies at Ferrara, and is succeeded by Gregory VIII. who gives indulgences for a new crusade.
 URBAN being dead, the next day cardinal Albert, the chancellor, was elected, and took the name of Gregory VIII. who, during the short time of his pontificate, which continued only a month and 27 days, exerted himself with great vigour for the assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land. A few days after his promotion he published a letter, addressed to c all the faithful, exhorting them to assume the cross, and promising them a full remission of all their sins, with the security of all their possessions during their absence. He likewise ordered a fast to continue for five years, on certain days of the week. His zeal was greatly seconded by the college of cardinals, who unanimously entered into a resolution to renounce their luxury and wealth, and to assume the cross; and after having preached the sacred expedition, they should be the conductors of others into the Holy Land. They proposed also, that a truce should be established for seven years among all Christian princes, so that whoever should make war on a Christian during that time, should be excommunicated by the pope and all the bishops of the universal church. In the mean time Gregory went to Pisa, in order to reconcile that republic with the Genoese, that their fleets might act in concert against the Infidels; d but being seized with a fever, he died there on the 15th of December.

Clement III. succeeds Gregory; 1188.
 AFTER a vacancy of twenty days, cardinal Paulinus, bishop of Pilastrina, a Roman by birth, succeeded to the papal dignity, and assumed the name of Clement III. He immediately sent a nuncio to the Romans, to acquaint them with his promotion, and to offer terms of an accommodation. Following likewise the steps of his predecessor, he published a bull, offering plenary indulgences to all who would assume the cross; and also prescribed a form of prayer, to be used every day, for the success of the expedition. He likewise sent the bishop of Albano as his legate to the emperor, who with great alacrity seconded the designs of the pope; and being reconciled to the Rome see, called a diet at Mentz, where he received the cross from the hands of the bishop of Wirtzburg, and wrote a letter to the sultan, threatening e him with war, if he did not evacuate the Holy Land, and deliver up the true cross. As his letter was written in a haughty stile, and filled with the names of the princes and states of Europe, whom he pretended to be his vassals, and dignified with warlike epithets, Saladin replied in the same manner; and declaring that his followers were so numerous, that their names and titles could not be committed to paper, he insisted as the terms of peace, that the Christians should deliver up Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch; upon which he promised to deliver up all their captives, and allow the pilgrims free access to Jerusalem ^f.

His example is followed by the kings of England and France.
 IN the mean time William, archbishop of Tyre, having procured a conference in Normandy between the kings of France and England, both these princes, with their nobles and barons, assumed the cross with great ardour; and each having assembled the states of his dominions, f it was decreed, that all those, who did not assume the cross, should pay the tenth part of their estates and effects for the support of the expedition. This tax, which was called the Saladin Tythe, was likewise raised in Germany, and occasioned every-where a great oppression of the poor; and as ecclesiastical revenues were not excepted, the clergy murmured very much, and insisted, that the expedition could not prosper that was supported by the sweat of the poor, and the spoils of the churches ^g. Clement having been successful in his negotiation with the Romans, had concluded a treaty with them, in which, among other things, it was agreed,

The Romans are reconciled to the pope.

^b ROGER. Annal. Ang. PETR. BLES. Annales ad an. 1188.

^c BARONII Annal.

^d ROGERII Annales.

^e BARONII

^f Epist. PETR. BLESS. ad Episc. Aurelian.

(Q) This year, 1186. Christianity was propagated in Livonia, and a bishopric founded in Riga, by Meinard, canon of Sigeburg (1).

(1) Arnold. Chron. Sclavor. l. vii. c. 89.

a that the walls of *Tusculum* should be destroyed; that the senators should have the third part of the money that was coined in the city; and if the *Romans* had a mind to make war upon *Tivoli*, the pope should not take that city under his protection. In consequence of this treaty, *Clement* having returned to *Rome*, wrote to the king of *Scotland*, and the bishops of that kingdom, in favour of *John*, bishop of *Dunkeld*; and having procured a reconciliation betwixt him and the king, he granted a bull, exempting the church of *Scotland* from subjection to any one, except the pope, and his legate *a latere*.

b THE following year *Clement* sent cardinal *John* of *Anagni* as his legate into *France*, to mediate a peace betwixt the kings of *France* and *England*, and to press them to hasten their departure for the *Holy Land*. At the intreaty of the legate a conference was held, but without effect; so that both parties had again recourse to arms: but the king of *France* gaining some signal advantages, *Henry* was obliged to submit to the terms of peace that he had before rejected; and dying soon after, was succeeded by his son *Richard*, who renewed the war. He being in great want of money, sent ambassadors to the pope, who granted him letters patent, allowing him to discharge whom he pleased from the sacred expedition, by which means he raised immense sums. Mean while *William*, king of *Sicily*, dying without issue, *Clement* pretended to the whole succession, as the kingdoms of the deceased were reckoned fiefs of the holy see²; but considering that he had not forces to support his claim, and being informed that the nobles of the island had set up *Tancred*, a natural son of king *Roger*, he gave the investiture of the kingdom to him, to the prejudice of *Henry*, the emperor's son, who claimed the succession in right of his wife *Constantia*, daughter of *Roger*, and aunt of the late king³. *Tancred*.

c THE emperor in the mean time departing with an army of 150,000 men for the *Holy Land*, *Richard* king of *England* proposed soon to follow him; and having appointed *William* bishop of *Ely* to govern the kingdom in his absence, he sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring his holiness to confer the dignity of legate upon the viceroy, to prevent the princes *Geoffrey* and *John* from attempting to disturb the kingdom. The king obtained his request from the *Roman* see, but not without paying 1500 merks of silver, for which extortion the following year he reproached the cardinal bishop of *Ostia*, as he touched at that port in his passage to *Sicily*. Upon his arrival at *Messina*, he had some disputes with *Philip*, king of *France*, who had likewise sailed thither on the same expedition; and having concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt *Arthur* duke of *Britany*, and the daughter of *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, on which account he had received from *Tancred* 20,000 ounces of gold, he wrote to the pope, informing him of the transaction, and desiring him to become his surety for the payment of the money, in case the intended alliance should never take effect. Soon after *Clement* received an embassy from the emperor *Henry*, who upon the news of the death of his father in the *Holy Land*, had succeeded to the empire. The pope having deliberated with the cardinals, senators, and people of *Rome*, promised, at the desire of *Henry*, to confer upon him the imperial crown, and appointed the following *Easter* for the ceremony of the coronation; but, before the arrival of the emperor, he died at *Rome* on the 10th of *April*.

d A FEW days after the death of *Clement*, the cardinals elected *Hyacinthus*, a cardinal deacon, then 85 years of age, who was consecrated on *Easter Sunday*, and took the name of *Celestine* III. The next day he went from the *Lateran* to the church of *St. Peter*, to receive the emperor *Henry*, who had advanced with his army to *Rome*. Having received an oath from him on the top of the steps, that he would preserve the privileges of the church, restore its patrimony intire, and deliver up *Tusculum*, he conducted him into the church, and crowned him and his wife *Constantia*. This coronation was very singular, for the pope had no sooner put the crown upon the emperor's head, than he kicked it off again to the ground, signifying, that he had a power of depriving him of the empire, as well as of conferring it upon him⁴. *Henry* soon after marched with his army towards *Apulia*, to take possession of the kingdom of *Sicily*, and the provinces of *Italy* depending on that crown. The *Romans* in the mean time having obtained permission of the pope, utterly destroyed *Tusculum*; and, as a memorial of their revenge, carried part of the ruins to *Rome*, which was piled up in the capitol⁵. The miserable inhabitants dispersed themselves in different cities; but a few of them built some huts in one of the suburbs, which, from being built of wood, were called *Frascati*, and thither the episcopal see was transferred⁶. *Henry* in the mean time had made himself master of the greatest part of the cities of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and had sat down before *Naples*; but after three months siege, his army being seized with sickness, he was obliged to withdraw his troops and retire to *Lombardy*, from whence, in the end of autumn, he returned to *Germany*.

e DURING these transactions, *Celestine* excommunicated *Alphonfus*, king of *Galicia*, for refusing to divorce his wife, who was related to him within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. He excommunicates the king of Galicia.

² PLATINA in Vita Pontif. Rom. ibid. SIGON. l. xiv. p. 349.

³ WILLEL. Neubrigens. ⁴ BARON. Anna l.

⁵ ROGERII Annales.

⁶ Idem

guinity. Being informed likewise, that *Geoffrey* and *John*, the king of *England*'s brothers, were raising commotions in that kingdom, he wrote to the bishops, ordering them to excommunicate all those who disturbed the administration of the bishop of *Ely*. Mean while *Philip* king of *France*, having had some disputes with the king of *England*, abandoned the expedition in the *Holy Land*, and returned to *Europe*. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he heavily accused the king of *England* of forcing him from the *Holy Land*; tho' this accusation was believed to proceed from envy, yet he was treated with great respect by the pope, who granted many of his subjects that followed him the privilege of pilgrims, though they had not accomplished their vow; but he refused to absolve him from the oath he had given to *Richard*, not to invade his dominions during his absence^m.

and the disorders of the public peace in England. A. D. 1192.

The king of England is detained a prisoner by the emperor; 1193.

who is threatened with excommunication.

1194.

The pope orders the archbishop of York to be tried, and creates the archbishop of Canterbury his legate.

The emperor marches into Italy, and subdues Apulia and Sicily.

THE following year *Celestine* renewed the bull of his predecessor in favour of the church of *Scotland*, and confirmed the sentence of excommunication against the archbishop of *Rouen*, who had disturbed the administration of the bishop of *Ely* in *England*, and, by the assistance of the faction of the princes, had expelled him the kingdom. He likewise wrote a letter, addressed to the bishops of *England*, but which seems, by its contents, to have been intended for the public perusal: it contained a command to all the princes in *Europe* to live in mutual peace, and offered full remission of sins to all those who should undertake the holy expedition. Mean while *Richard*, king of *England*, in his return from the *Holy Land*, being taken prisoner in *Austria*, and unjustly detained by the emperor, the bishops of *Normandy* wrote to his holiness, loudly complaining of the violence and breach of faith, and intreating him to draw the sword of *St. Peter* against the emperor, who had affronted the church, by doing violence to one of its soldiers. *Celestine* was not prevailed upon by this letter to intercede for the king's liberty; but he obtained the liberty of the empress *Constantia*, who had been taken prisoner in the emperor's expedition to *Naples*, and sent her, at his own expence, in an honourable manner to *Germany*. *Eleonora*, the mother of the king of *England*, amazed at the pope's inactivity in the cause of her son, wrote to him with great freedom and sharpness, mixing reproaches with her intreaties, and complaining that no legate had yet been sent to the emperor, she declared, that it would have been no degradation of the apostolic see, if he had gone himself to *Germany* to intercede for the liberty of her son. This letter having no effect, she wrote a second and a third in the same stileⁿ. The pope at last, after the king had been more than a year in captivity, wrote to the clergy of *England*, that he would excommunicate the emperor and the king of *France*, with all their subjects, if *Richard* was not immediately set at liberty. But by the time the apostolic see had launched this threatening, the emperor had agreed to set the king at liberty for a ransom of 150,000 merks. Accordingly, upon the arrival of the queen dowager *Eleanora*, with part of the ransom, and hostages for the security of the rest, *Richard* was delivered to her at *Cologne*, on the 4th of *February*, and immediately set out with the greatest dispatch for *England*.

THE pope having received great complaints of the irregularities committed by *Geoffrey*, archbishop of *York*, during the absence of the king of *England*, created the archbishop of *Canterbury* as his legate in that kingdom, to second the endeavours of the king in reforming abuses; and gave a commission to *Hugh* bishop of *Ely*, *Winemer* archdeacon of *Northampton*, and *Hugh* a prior, to judge the archbishop of *York*; and, if they found him guilty of the irregularities wherewith he was charged, to suspend him. The archbishop of *Canterbury*, in virtue of his commission as legate, soon after went to *York*, and in the cathedral church held a council of the clergy, in which twelve canons were ordained, relating chiefly to the form of celebrating mass, the administering of baptism, and the payment of tythes. Monks and nuns were likewise ordered not to wander abroad, and clergymen to be dressed decently, according to their order, and not to frequent taverns; and those guilty of wilful perjury, or exciting others to the same crime, were ordered to be excommunicated thrice a year, with lighted candles and bells tolling, and their names to be read over every *Sunday*^o.

IN the mean time the emperor *Henry*, being informed of the death of *Tancred*, king of *Sicily*, marched with a formidable army into *Italy*, and by the assistance of the *Genoese* and *Pisan* fleets, made himself master of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*; and seizing upon the immense treasures of the late king, he made the queen dowager, with her children, and a great many bishops and nobles, prisoners, and carried them over with him to *Italy*, from whence he returned with them to *Germany*^p.

CELESTINE, though he had no desire to see the emperor possessed of *Sicily*, yet found him so powerful, by the unanimous submission of the *Italians* and *Germans*, that he thought proper to dissemble his resentment; but having received an embassy from the king of *England*, complaining of the violence of the duke of *Austria*, who seized upon him in contempt of the

^m SIGON. l. xiv. p. 351.

ⁿ Apud PETR. BLESS. Epist. 144, 145, 146.

^o ROGERII Annales

^p Chron. Fossæ Novæ apud MURATOR. t. vii. ARNOLD. Chron. Slav. l. iv. c. 20.

a three years protection granted by the holy see to all pilgrims, he excommunicated that duke by name, and in general all those who had laid violent hands upon the king. He likewise laid his territories under an interdict, and ordered him not only to send back the hostages of the king of *England*, but to restore the money that had been unjustly extorted from him. At the solicitation of *Richard*, *Celestine* also admonished the emperor to restore the money that he had taken for the ransom, and upon his neglecting the admonition, he at length denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, under which *Henry* continued till his death. *Celestine* being likewise informed, that the king of *France* had prevailed with the bishops of his kingdom to grant a divorce from his queen, he annulled their sentence, and wrote to the archbishop of *Sens*, ordering him to prohibit the king from taking another wife^a.

The pope excommunicates the duke of Austria.

ABOUT the same time he wrote to the bishops of *England*, exhorting them to preach up the crusade in that kingdom; and the archbishop of *York* being suspended, he wrote to *Simon*, the deacon of that see, to take the government of that diocese. Being informed likewise that the clerk and agent of the archbishop of *Rome* had sent many false letters to *England*, written in the name of the *Roman* church, he ordered diligent search to be made after those letters. Mean while, having sent cardinal *Gregory* to preach up the crusade in *Germany*, the people of that nation assumed the cross with great alacrity, and the emperor himself resolved upon the expedition, but was dissuaded from it by all his counsellors, who alleged, that it would conduce more to the success of the crusade if he continued in the empire, to provide for convoys and reinforcements^c.

The crusade preached in England and Germany with great success.

THE following year *Celestine* received a letter from *Philip*, bishop of *Beauvais*, who having been taken prisoner in an engagement with the king of *England*, intreated his holiness to prevail with the king to set him at liberty. *Celestine* reproved the bishop for acting inconsistent with his profession; but at the same time wrote to the king, interceding in his behalf. *Richard*, upon receiving the letter, sent the armour of the bishop to the pope, and desired the messenger, upon presenting the armour, to ask the following question; "Is this thy son's coat or not?"

A. D. 1196.

IN the mean time the *Croises* having assembled in great numbers in *Germany*, *Henry* divided them into three armies, and sending one through *Hungary*, and another by sea from *Hamburg* and *Friesland*, he conducted the third himself into *Italy*, to be shipped from thence for the *Holy Land*. His real intention of leading them into *Italy* was to punish a revolt of his new subjects in *Apulia* and *Sicily*, who having had an aversion to the *German* government, and exasperated by the emperor's cruelty, took the opportunity of his absence to chuse a chief of their own nation, and to oppose his regents. *Henry* having reduced *Apulia* and *Calabria*, put a great many of the rebels to death by various tortures, and passing over into *Sicily*, about the middle of *January*, reduced the rebels in that kingdom; after which he sent off his troops for the *Holy Land*. His excessive cruelty had not only exasperated the minds of his new subjects, but also alienated the affections of the empress, who resenting his coldness towards herself, and his barbarity towards her countrymen, formed a conspiracy against him, which broke out with great violence upon the departure of his troops. The insurrection first began in *Italy*, which the *Sicilians* being informed of, they immediately assembled at *Palermo*, and besieged the emperor, who being in no condition to resist, was obliged to submit to a dishonourable peace, and died (R) a few days after^d.

The emperor marches with an army of Croises into Italy.

1197. *Having committed great cruelties in Apulia and Sicily, he sends his troops to the Holy Land,*

and dies in Sicily.

As *Henry* died excommunicated, the pope ordered his body to remain unburied; but at the intercession of the archbishop of *Messina*, *Celestine* promised to allow his body to be buried, if the king of *England* should consent to it, and likewise to confer the crown of *Sicily* on the infant *Frederic*, king of the *Romans*; on which account *Roger* the annalist relates, that the pope received 1000 merks of silver for himself, and as much for his brothers the cardinals^e. Besides, at this time the church of *Rome* recovered a great many territories that they had pretensions to in *Tuscany*, *Campania*, and *Apulia*, but which had been for a considerable time possessed by the emperors.

^a MAT. PARIS, in Hist. Ang. Innocent Epist. 186. c. 20.

^c See the History of the empire.

^d ARNOLD. l. v. c. 1. WILLEL. Neubrigens. l. v. ROGERII Annales.

(R) *Roger*, the *English* annalist, relates, that *Henry*, before his death, sent his chancellor of *Burgundy* to the king of *England*, offering the restitution of the ransom he had taken from him, either in gold, silver, or land; but that the emperor died while the chancellor was on his journey, which put a stop to the negotiation. Pope

Innocent likewise mentions, in one of his letters to *Richard*, that, by his last will, the emperor ordered his son to restore the money that he had extorted from the king of *England*, when he was a prisoner; and if he neglected to make restitution, he ordered him to be compelled by the apostolic see (2).

(2) *Innocent*, l. i. Epist. 130.

*Celestine sends
a legate into
Bohemia and
Poland;*

*A.D. 1198.
and dies at
Rome.*

*Cardinal Lo-
tharius is cho-
sen pope; and
takes the name
of Innocent
III.*

*He receives al-
legiance from
the prefect of
Rome;*

*and requires
homage from
all the ecclesi-
astical states.*

*He orders his
legates to con-
firm the elec-
tion of the em-
peror Otho.*

*Is left guardi-
an of the king
and kingdom of
Sicily by Con-
stantia.*

DURING these transactions, *Celestine* being informed that the clergy of *Bohemia* and *Poland* neglected the precept of celibacy, and contracted marriages, he sent *Peter*, a cardinal deacon, as his legate into those kingdoms, who, upon his arrival at *Prague*, narrowly escaped being murdered, by the clergy who despised his authority; but in *Poland*, being treated with great honour and respect, he went through the dioceses in the kingdom, and prohibiting the marriages of the clergy, under severe penalties, he ordered those of the laymen to be celebrated in the presence of a full congregation. Mean while *Celestine*, falling sick at *Rome*, assembled the cardinals, and proposed to them cardinal *John*, of the title of *St. Paul*, as his successor, offering to resign the pontificate, if they would consent to his election; but as several of them were aiming at the pontificate for themselves, his proposal was rejected; and his illness increasing, he died on the 10th of *January*.

CELESTINE being buried the same day that he died, the cardinals immediately assembled to chuse a successor. At first they were divided in their opinions, some proposing cardinal *John* of *Salerno*, and others *Lotharius*, a cardinal deacon; but *John* resigning his pretensions, they unanimously elected *Lotharius*, then only thirty-seven years of age^a, who upon his election took the name of *Innocent III.* (S); and next day wrote letters, addressed to all the faithful, informing them of his election. Being informed likewise that the cities of *Tuscany*, encouraged by the death of the emperor, had entered into an association to defend their liberties against *Philip* duke of *Suabia*, he condemned their proceeding, declaring that, as the duchy of *Tuscany* was part of the patrimony of the church, the cities ought not to have entered into an association to the prejudice of the rights and authority of the holy see^w. As he was only a deacon, he received priest's orders on the 20th of *February*, and on the *Sunday* following was consecrated in the church of *St. Peter*. The next day he received the oath of fidelity from the prefect of the city, and gave him the investiture of that dignity, which authority no pope had ever hitherto assumed, the prefects having always done homage to the emperors from whom they held their dignity^x.

TAKING the opportunity of the factions occasioned by the death of the emperor, he likewise sent nuncios through all the ecclesiastical state, requiring homage; and turning out the judges of the senate, appointed others of his own. At the intreaty of *Constantia*, he gave the investiture of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Capua*, to her and her infant son *Frederic*, on condition that she paid homage to the holy see, as her ancestors had done, and renounced the right of elections, legations, appeals, and councils, which privileges, he alleged, had been surreptitiously obtained from his predecessors. Soon after his election, he likewise sent two legates into *Germany*, requiring the *Sicilian* captives, especially the archbishop of *Salerno*, to be delivered up, and threatening to lay the kingdom of *Germany* under an interdict, in case of refusal. The legates, upon their arrival in *Germany*, found the kingdom in great distraction, occasioned by the factions of the competitors to the empire; the friends of the house of *Suabia* having elected *Philip*, brother of the late emperor, while another party chose *Otho* duke of *Brunswick*, son of *Henry the Lion*, who was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of *Cologne* at *Aix la Chapelle*.

INNOCENT, who hated the race of *Barbarossa*, gave orders to his legates to confirm the election of *Otho*; and in the mean time being solicitous to recover the patrimony of the church from the usurpations of the late emperors, he excommunicated *Marcoaldus*, who possessed *Romaniola* and the march of *Ancona*, and *Conrad*, who held the duchy of *Spoleto*. These two *German* princes immediately offered to become vassals of the holy see, and to pay yearly a large sum of money to the pope; but *Innocent* rejecting all accommodation, *Conrad*, even against the inclination of his subjects, resigned his duchy to the *Roman* church, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication. *Marcoaldus*, knowing that his subjects had an aversion to submit to the *Romans*, resolved to maintain the possession of his duchy by force; but *Innocent* sending an army against him, and prevailing with the inhabitants of *Bologna* to join his forces, *Marcoaldus* was defeated, and his cities obliged to surrender to the pope^y.

ABOUT this time the empress *Constantia* dying, and leaving the pope guardian of her son and administrator of his kingdoms during his minority, *Marcoaldus*, not being able to maintain the possession of *Ancona* and *Romaniola*, marched with his army into *Apulia*; and pretending that the guardianship of the young king was committed to him, made himself master

^a SPONDANI Annales. MURATOR. t. iii.

^w SIGON. l. xv. p. 385.

^y SIGON. ubi supra. Vita Innocent, ubi supra.

^x Vita Innocent ex Stephano Baluzio apud

(S) *Innocent* was born at *Anagni*, and descended from the noble family of the counts of *Segui*. He studied first at *Rome*, then at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Bologna*, where he distinguished himself by his superior knowledge in philosophy and divinity; which last he publicly professed. He was ordained a sub-deacon by *Gregory VIII*.

and promoted to the dignity of cardinal by *Clement III*. While cardinal, he wrote several treatises full of piety and learning; and after his promotion to the pontificate, besides his numerous letters, he published several books of sermons.

a of several cities, and besieged the monastery of *Cassino*. *Innocent* having ordered an army to march against him, sent a legate into *Sicily*, to receive the allegiance of the nobles of that kingdom. He likewise sent *Peter*, a cardinal deacon, as his legate into *France*, to oblige the king to recall his lawful queen; but the king paying no regard to the intreaties of the legate, *Peter* called a council at *Vienne*, and laid the kingdom under an interdict, prohibiting all divine offices to be performed, except the baptism of infants, and the confession of dying persons; so that the churches were shut up, and the dead remained unburied. *Innocent* at the same time sent other legates into *Portugal*, *Hungary*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, to correct the abuses in those kingdoms; and having received an embassy from *Alexius*, emperor of *Constantinople*, he sent legates to his court, desiring him to assist the Christians in the Holy Land, and to bring the *Greek* church to an union and submission to that of *Rome*.

The kingdom of France put under an interdict;

BEING studious of reforming the discipline of the church, he wrote to the monks of *Cassino*, and the discipline of the church reformed by the pope. reprehending them for their neglect of the rules of their order; and suspended the patriarch of *Antioch*, and the archbishop of *Tours*, for translating of bishops without consulting the apostolic see. He likewise extirpated the usurers from *France*; ordained that fighting priests should be deposed; prohibited lay investitures, and a plurality of benefices; discharged ecclesiastic judges from accepting of money for deciding of causes; and offered indulgences to those who would marry prostitutes².

THE following year he wrote to the kings of *France* and *England*, exhorting them to take A. D. 1199. the cross, and to send money to the assistance of the Christians in *Syria*. He also invited the emperor of *Constantinople* to undertake the holy expedition; and sent two legates into *Dalmatia* to reform the churches of that kingdom, who likewise visited the jupan of *Servia*, as appears by that prince's letter to the pope. *Innocent* also sent the standard of *St. Peter* to the king of *Armenia*; but ordered him not to intermeddle in the dispute about the succession to the principality of *Antioch*, till he had sent legates to determine the affair. He applied himself likewise with great earnestness to put a stop to the heresies that were spreading in *France* and *Italy*; and being informed by the bishop of *Metz*, that, in consequence of a translation of the bible into the *French* language, the people had taken an occasion to despise the priests, to assemble in private conventicles, and to assume to themselves the office of preaching, he reproved them severely, and wrote to the bishops in that neighbourhood to enquire who was the author of the translation, what were his intentions; and how he stood affected to the apostolic see². The year before, his legate in *France* having deposed the abbot of *St. Martin's*, and suspended the deacon of the great church in *Nivers*, upon conviction of heresy, *Innocent* wrote to his legates, ordering them to proceed against the heretics called (T) *Waldenses*, *Cathari*, *Albigenses*, or of whatever denomination.

He invites the emperor of Constantinople to take the cross.

Exerts himself to suppress the Albigenses and Waldenses.

SOON

² Epist. *Innocent*, 191, 113, 50, 118, 506, &c.

² Epist. 130, 131, 223.

(T) Those who separated themselves from the *Roman* church, upon a conviction of its depravity from the institution of our Saviour and his apostles, were at this time very numerous, and distinguished by various appellations. They were called *Waldenses*, *Cathari*, *Patarini*, *Albigenses*, *Poor of Lyons*, *Populicani*; in *Flanders* they had the name of *Pipbles*; and in some parts of *France*, *Tisserants*, that is, weavers. Though they all united in condemning the tyranny, luxury, and superstition of the *Roman* church, yet they differed from one another in many practices and articles of belief, and were split into several small sects, under particular names. These separatists, or, as the church of *Rome* called them, heretics, were named *Waldenses*, from one *Peter Waldo*, of *Lyons* in *France*, who, though possessed of great wealth, about the year 1160 resigned all his possessions, and professed an evangelical poverty; and having gained a great many proselytes, they were called *The Poor of Lyons*, and sometimes *Leonists*. They were called *Albigenses*, from the city *Helvis*, or *Albigeois*, in *Languedoc*, which they inhabited; or because they were first condemned there, in a council held in 1176. *Rainerius*, who had been one of their teachers, and afterwards conformed to the *Roman* church, gives an account of the chief of their tenets, viz. That the *Roman* church was the whore mentioned in the *Apocalypse*; that its statutes were grievous and burdensome; that the pope was the head of all errors; that none is greater than another in the church; that therefore we ought only to obey God; no tythes or secular revenues ought to be given to clergymen; churches ought not to be endowed; clergymen ought to work

with their hands as the apostles did; the sacraments of the church were nothing; the Eucharist could not be consecrated by priests remaining in mortal sin; that transubstantiation was not made in the hand of the priest, but in the mouth of the receiver; that it may be consecrated at a common table; and ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; that mass was nothing, as the apostles never used it; that a penitent cannot be absolved by a wicked priest; that a good layman had power to give absolution; that clergymen ought not to be denied marriage; the sacraments of unction and ordination were nothing; every good layman was a priest, and both men and women may preach; *Latin* was of no service to laymen; whatever is affirmed without the authority of scripture, is a fable; the decrees of the church, and the explanations of the saints, are not to be minded; excommunications ought to be disregarded; indulgences and dispensations have no real power; none ought to be invoked but God alone; relics ought not to be honoured; the miracles and legends of the saints are lies; the sign of the cross ought to be detested, upon account of the suffering of Christ; the traditions of the church are the traditions of the *Pharisees*, and all its customs, rites, feasts, consecrations, benedictions, &c. ought to be rejected; that as God does not dwell in churches, they ought not to be dedicated or adorned; sacerdotal ornaments and vestments, incenses, images, candles, processions, holy water, and the singing of the church, ought to be condemned and rejected; ecclesiastical burial is of no service to the dead, but is only practised for gain; that there is no purgatory; that every sin is mortal; that an oath ought

He embraces
the party of
the emperor
Otho;
A. D. 1200.

Soon after, hearing that *Philip* duke of *Suabia* still supported his pretensions to the empire by arms, he sent two legates into *Germany*, ordering every one to submit to *Otho*, and to desert the cause of *Philip*, who, though he had privately obtained absolution, was still accounted an excommunicated person by the apostolic see. Being informed likewise, that *John*, king of *England*, who had succeeded his brother *Richard*, had concluded a peace with the king of *France*, and engaged to give no assistance to *Otho*, he wrote to king *John*, that he ought not to keep his engagements to the king of *France*, and ordered him to pay to his nephew *Otho* the sums that had been left him by *Richard* in his last will. In the mean time, *Marcoaldus* having taken *St. Germano*, and made himself master of several places in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, passed over with the greatest part of his army into *Sicily*, and made himself master of *Mont Royal* in the neighbourhood of *Palermo*. *Innocent* being informed of these transactions by the *Sicilians*, sent his cousin *James*, accompanied by a legate and the archbishops of *Naples* and *Tarento*, with an army into *Calabria*, who having defeated a party of *Germans* that were ravaging that province, passed over from thence with his army to *Messina*, and marching directly for *Palermo*, which had been strictly besieged for twenty days by *Marcoaldus*, he engaged him before the city, and entirely defeated him, taking all his baggage, among which was found the last will of the late emperor^b.

and offers to
absolve the
nobles from
their obligations
to Philip.
1201.

THE following year *Innocent* wrote to *Otho* and the nobles of the empire, and, acknowledging him as emperor, he ordered them to render him respect and obedience as their prince, offering to absolve them from all obligations that they might be under to *Philip*. His legate having likewise held an assembly at *Cologne*, publickly declared *Otho* king of the *Romans*, and excommunicated all those who opposed him, particularly *Philip* of *Suabia* and his adherents. This proceeding of the legate highly incensed the nobles of the other party, who wrote to *Innocent*, complaining of the infringement made upon their right of election. The king of *France* having been likewise reconciled to the *Roman* see, by agreeing to take back his queen, wrote to *Innocent* to prevail with him to favour *Philip*; but no intreaties had any effect with the pope, who was the determined enemy of the house of *Suabia*.

He exerts himself
for the relief
of the
Christians in
the Holy Land;

MEAN while he laboured earnestly to excite the princes of *Europe* to a new crusade, which he had ordered to be preached soon after his promotion to the pontificate. As an example to others, he appointed two of the cardinals to take the cross, and assigning the tenth of his revenues and of those of the cardinals, he ordered all other ecclesiastics, of whatever denomination, to pay the fourth part of their revenues for the support of the Christians in *Syria*. He likewise fitted out a new ship, which he loaded with corn and provisions, and sent them to the relief of the Christians in those parts, ordering the ship to continue in the service of the *Templars*. His ardour was imitated by many *French* and *Germans*, some of whom sold all their possessions to defray the expences of the expedition. Many of the *French* sailed from *Marseilles*, but others, as the most commodious passage, marched to *Venice*, from thence to sail to *Syria*. As they had not money sufficient to pay for their passage, they agreed to assist the *Venetians* as soldiers, and to free the *Adriatic Sea* from the pirates of *Istria* and *Dalmatia*. They were also persuaded to reduce *Zara*, then in possession of the king of *Hungary*, to the power of the *Venetians*, which the pope being informed of, he immediately excommunicated them, for unjustly attacking the territories of a Christian prince. The *Croises*, upon their submission, were again absolved; but the *Venetians*, refusing to give satisfaction for the losses of the inhabitants, remained under the sentence of excommunication; however, as the *Croises* had no other way of arriving at the *Holy Land* but by their fleet, the pope allowed them to communicate with them during the voyage.

and excommunicates
the chancellor
of Sicily;
1202.

IN the mean time *Innocent* being informed that *Walter*, bishop of *Troja*, and chancellor of *Sicily*, had caused himself to be elected archbishop of *Palermo*, and had surreptitiously obtained the confirmation of the legate, he wrote to his legate, severely blaming his proceeding; however, he allowed the chancellor to enjoy the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the archbishopric, but not to assume the title. *Walter* with disdain rejected this offer, and being offended with the pope, for granting the principality of *Taranto* and the county of *Lecce* to the count of *Brenna*, who had married the daughter of the late king *Tancred*, he entered into

^b Vita Innocent, & Chron. Richard. de S. Germano, apud MURATOR, t. iii. & vii.

ought never to be used, and that he who forces one to swear in judgment, is worse than a murderer; all princes and judges are damned who condemn evil doers, as the avenging of crimes belong only to God. These tenets, *Rainerius* says, were professed by most of the *Waldenses*, who were dispersed almost over all *Europe*, and were divided into small sects, having some general opinions in

which they all agreed, and some peculiar ones, in which they disagreed. However, he declares that they were sedate and modest, always working, and living upon the labour of their hands, content with necessities; the greatest part of them chaste, temperate in their eating and drinking, shunning dancing, jesting, lying, and slander-ing (1).

(1) Spondani Annales.

- a an agreement with *Marcoaldus*, and divided with him the administration, one of them being to reside in *Sicily*, and the other in *Apulia*. This composition was no sooner made than broken; however, the pope, offended with the proceeding of the chancellor, excommunicated him, and deposed him from both his sees, ordering others to be ordained in his place^c.

THE chancellor, after this sentence was pronounced against him, immediately joined *Diapuldus*, who had been left by *Marcoaldus* in *Apulia*; but the pope sending an army against them, under the command of the count of *Brenna*, they were, after a desperate engagement, entirely defeated. In the mean time, *Marcoaldus* had made himself master of almost all *Sicily*, except *Messina*; but fearing the power of the count of *Brenna*, who was supported by the pope, and upon the death of *Frederic* was next heir to the crown, he made large offers to him and the pope, on condition that he would return to *France*. These offers were rejected by *Innocent* and the count; and *Marcoaldus* being so grievously afflicted with the stone as to submit to be cut, died soon after of the effects of the operation. The chancellor being informed of his death, submitted to the holy see, and receiving absolution, went over into *Sicily*, to oppose the *Germans*, who were now commanded by one *Capparo*. In *Apulia*, the pope appointed the count of *Brenna* and his cousin *James* as justiciaries, and being obliged by the tumults of the *Romans* to quit the city, he retired to *Anagni*, where he was so dangerously ill, that his life was despaired of.

- WHILE he continued in this city, he received an embassy from the king of *Armenia*, and the primate of that church, declaring their assent to the faith of the *Roman* church, and desiring the assistance of the pope against the count of *Tripoli*, and the *Templars* his adherents. The king likewise desired, that none, except the pope, should have the power of excommunication, or interdict; against him or his kingdom; the primate, at the same time, requested the pall, ring, and mitre. *Innocent* granted their demands, and sent two legates to judge the difference betwixt the king and the count. Having likewise received an embassy from *Calo John*, emperor (as he styled himself) of *Bulgaria* and *Walachia*, desiring to receive a crown from the apostolic see, as his ancestors had done, *Innocent* immediately sent a legate into that country, with the pall for the archbishop, and promised to confer the crown as soon as he was informed of the state of the church in that kingdom.

- THIS year we find likewise that *Innocent* sent a legate into *Scotland*, with the present of a purple hat for the king, in token of his being a defender of the church, as that religious prince had ordered the sabbath to be observed with great strictness after mid-day. The legate also presented the king with a sword, the handle and scabbard adorned with gold and diamonds, and besides honoured him with many privileges and indulgences^d. In the mean time *John*, king of *England*, not being able to oppose the arms of the king of *France*, implored the protection of the apostolic see, and accused his adversary of breaking the truce. *Innocent* sent legates to both kings, ordering them to desist from hostilities, and threatening to lay their kingdoms under an interdict in case of refusal. *John* willingly acquiesced; but *Philip*, angry that a stop was put to his victories, appealed to *Rome*, and in the mean time insisted upon prosecuting his right; but the legates refusing to pay any regard to his appeal, unless he desisted from hostilities, he agreed to a suspension of arms, and sent some bishops to *Rome* to prosecute his appeal, where no body appearing for the king of *England*, the cause was dropt.

- DURING these transactions, *Alexius*, the son of the emperor *Isaac Angelus*, who had been dethroned and imprisoned by his brother, having applied to the *Croises* wintering at *Zara* for their assistance against his uncle the usurper, they entered into a treaty (U) with him, in consequence of which, instead of sailing to *Syria*, they directed their course to *Constantinople*, which they made themselves masters of by assault after eight days siege; and taking the old man out of prison again, saluted him emperor, he having confirmed to them what had formerly been stipulated by his son. *Innocent* having acknowledged the late usurper, who had flattered him with specious embassies, was greatly offended at this proceeding of the *Croises*; but their expedition being crowned with success, and being informed that they had engaged the new emperor to send a body of men into the *Holy Land*, he was easily reconciled to them; and even, upon a submissive embassy from the *Venetians* at *Constantinople*, absolved them from the sentence of excommunication. About the same time he wrote to *John*, king of *England*,

^c Vita Innocent, apud eund.

^d BOETH. Hist. Scot. l. xiii.

(U) The substance of the treaty was, that *Alexius*, after the restoration of his father, should furnish the *Croises* with provisions, during their expedition into *Syria*, and should give them 200,000 marks for their assistance against the usurper; that he should either go

himself, or send an army of 10,000 men into the *Holy Land* for a year, and should maintain 500 horse during his life, to preserve the conquests already made; and, lastly, he promised, after his promotion to the throne, to reunite the *Greek* church to that of *Rome*.

to desist from persecuting the bishops and clergy; he exhorted the king of *France* to admit his queen to his presence, and to allow her to live with him; and threatened the king of *Arragon* with excommunication, unless he allowed the king of *Castile* to dissolve the incestuous marriage he had contracted with his daughter.

The emperors neglect to fulfil their agreement with the Croises; A. D. 1204. undertake Constantinople, and make a partition of the empire.

The pope confirms their conquests.

Sends a crown to the prince of Bulgaria.

He crowns the king of Arragon at Rome.

The emperor Baldwin defeated, and taken prisoner by the king of Bulgaria.

In the mean time the emperors of *Constantinople* not only neglected to fulfil the treaty with the *Croises*, but endeavoured by various means to destroy them; and while they were encamped in the neighbourhood of the city, one *Murtzuphle*, having surprized the emperors, and seized the government, sent sixteen fire-ships against their fleet, which with great difficulty were prevented from doing execution. The *Croises*, with great danger, having grappled the fire-ships, and towed them off to sea, in return for the hostilities committed against them, resolved upon attacking the city, which they made themselves masters of upon the second assault; and having taken possession of all the palaces and castles, and enriched themselves with the immense booty, they determined to secure their conquest. Making a new treaty with the *Venetians*, they assigned to them the islands in the *Egean Sea*, and unanimously elected *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, emperor; but having agreed, that whatever nation should obtain the imperial dignity, the other should possess the patriarchal, they accordingly conferred that dignity on *Thomas Maurocenus*, a noble *Venetian*, and sent an embassy to the pope, informing him of their proceedings, and asking the confirmation of the apostolic see. *Thomas* the patriarch likewise went to *Rome* to be confirmed in his dignity; but as he had been chosen by laymen, *Innocent* annulled his election. However, at the intreaty of the emperor *Baldwin*, he elected him by his own authority, and afterwards consecrated him. Having severely reprimanded the princes for the rapine and sacrilege committed by them in the storming of the city, he at length granted his confirmation of their proceedings; but at the same time admonished them to recal the *Greeks* to the obedience of the *Roman* church, and to introduce the *Latin* rites into their churches; and prohibited them, under pain of excommunication, from alienating the ecclesiastical possessions.

INNOCENT at the same time sent cardinal *Leo* as his legate into *Bulgaria*, with a crown and scepter for that prince; sent preachers into *Livonia*, to instruct those people in the faith of Christ; granted the pall to the archbishop of *Upsal*; and appointed the archbishop of *Lunden* to collect the tax of *St. Peter* in *Denmark* and *Sweden*. Mean while *Peter*, king of *Arragon*, arriving with a splendid retinue at *Rome*, was anointed on the feast of *St. Martin* by the bishop of *Porta*, and crowned by *Innocent*; and having laid aside his royal ornaments, and received a sword from the hand of the pope, professed himself a soldier, according to the customs in use among the *Spaniards*, the successors to the throne among them not assuming the title of king till they were married, or were created soldiers. *Peter*, in return for the favour conferred upon him by the pope, declared his kingdom tributary to the holy see, and promised to pay yearly a tribute of two hundred and fifty mahozemutins, or crowns of gold.

DURING these transactions one *Almaricus*, of the university of *Paris*, published several heretical doctrines, such as, if *Adam* had never sinned, there would have been no distinction of sexes, but men would have been multiplied like the angels; there was no heaven or hell except in the breasts of the virtuous or wicked; the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of altars or images was idolatry; that God was the *materia prima*, or primitive matter; that whatever sin was committed from benevolence, had no guilt; and several other such like tenets, which have been collected by the writers on heresies. As he was not able to defend all his propositions, he was first condemned by an assembly of the bishops and divines of *Paris*, and afterwards by the pope; but as he publicly abjured them at *Paris*, upon his death, which happened soon after, he was buried with the usual ceremonies. As *Aristotle's* books of natural philosophy and metaphysics, lately brought from *Constantinople*, were supposed to have given rise to these heresies, they were ordered to be burnt by the council of *Paris*, and prohibited under the penalty of excommunication.

THE following year *Innocent* being informed that *Calo John*, king of *Bulgaria*, had defeated the emperor *Baldwin*, at *Adrianople*, and carried him prisoner into *Mysia*, he wrote to the king, desiring him to set the emperor at liberty; in answer to which letter, the king replied, that he had desired to live in peace with the *Latins* at *Constantinople*; but their insolence had obliged him to give his assistance to the *Greeks*, and that *Baldwin* had died in prison. *Innocent* at the same wrote to all the clergy and Christians in the *Latin* army, ordering them not to quit *Constantinople*, but to endeavour to bring the *Greeks* to the obedience of the *Roman* church; for which purpose he desired the bishops of *France*, and the doctors of the university of *Paris*, to send clergymen and students into the East to revive the study of learning, which had originally come from thence into the western parts of *Europe*. At the same time he refused the pall to

^a Vita Innocent, ubi supra. BLOND. Villarduinus. ARNOLD. in Chron. Selac. ^f SURIT. Indic. rer. Arragon, l. i. MARIAN. de reb. Hisp. l. ii. c. 21. ^g Idem ibid. ^h EXMER. Direct. p. ii. c. vii. GUALTER in tab. Chron. Sec. xiii. c. 1. RIGORD. Allissiodor. ⁱ LUTZENB. PRAT. CASTR. de hæres. ^k SPOND. Annal. not. an. 1204. ^l Vita Innocent ubi supra.

a the archbishop of *Zara*, unless the doge, who requested it, would promise that the republic of *Venice* should make satisfaction for the storming and pillaging of that city. He likewise excommunicated the archbishop of *Cologne*, who had deserted the party of the emperor *Otho*, and crowned the emperor *Philip* with the empress at *Aix la Chapelle*. As the archbishop neglected to appear at *Rome*, he ordered him to be deposed, and *Bruno*, provost of *Bonn*, to be elected in his place.

b MEAN while hostilities still continued in *Apulia* betwixt *Walter* count of *Brenna*, and *Diopoldus* who commanded the *Germans*; but *Walter* being rendered careless by his successes, was, in the month of *June*, surprized near *Sarno* by *Diopoldus*, and died in a prison a few days afterwards of his wounds. *Innocent* being informed of his death, came to an accommodation with *Diopoldus*, then sending for him to *Rome*, absolved him and his followers from the sentence of excommunication, and allowed him to return to *Salerno* with some command; but obliged the *Apulians* and *Sicilians* to take the oath of allegiance to the officers of the apostolic see^m. *Innocent* likewise wrote to *Thomas* the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Henry*, the brother of the late emperor *Baldwin*, confirming the composition made betwixt them in the presence of his legate, with regard to ecclesiastical revenuesⁿ: and as there was a dispute betwixt the patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, about their right of superiority over the church of *Tyre*, he summoned the patriarch of *Jerusalem* to appear at *Rome* within a certain time, to answer the claims of the patriarch of *Antioch*. Being also informed, that the king of *Denmark* had imprisoned *Waldemar*, bishop of *Sleswick*, he wrote to that prince, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures, if he did not release the bishop. The king complied with the command of the pope; but as the bishop was of a restless and turbulent disposition, he obtained from *Innocent*, that he should not any longer reside in the neighbourhood of his kingdom^o.

The Sicilians and Apulians take the oath of allegiance to the pope. A. D. 1206.

c MEAN while *Innocent* wrote to the bishops of *Spain*, exhorting them to reconcile the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*; to the archbishop of *Saltzburgh*, to inquire into the justice of the divorce imposed by *Othogar*, king of *Bohemia*, on his queen; and to his legate in *England*, ordering him to threaten the king with ecclesiastic censures, if he did not cease from troubling the clergy. About this time *Didacus*, a *Spanish* bishop, arriving at *Rome*, desired leave to abdicate his bishopric, that he might the more freely employ himself in preaching to the *Pagans*. *Innocent* refusing his request, and ordering him to return to his church, he submitted and set out for *Spain*. Upon his arrival at *Montpellier*, he found *Arnold*, abbot of the *Cisterians*, with two of his monks, who had been preaching to the heretics of that province. Though they were greatly dispirited upon account of their bad success, *Didacus* exhorted them to persevere, and assisted them in their labours. However, though they were joined by twelve *French* abbots of the same order, and a great many monks, they had but very few converts (W), being opposed by the count of *Thoulouse* and the nobles of the country^p.

d IN the mean time *Philip*, emperor of *Germany*, having intirely defeated his competitor *Otho*, and obliged him to fly into *England*, resolving now to reconcile the pope to his cause, sent the patriarch of *Aquileia*, and the burgrave of *Magdeburgh*, with many nobles and learned men, to *Rome*, upon whose representations *Innocent* consented to absolve *Philip*, and acknowledge him as emperor, on condition that he gave one of his daughters in marriage to his brother *Richard*, whom *Innocent* had honoured with the command of an army, and who the following year was created count of *Sora*^q. The *German* ambassadors declared, that they had no instructions with regard to that article; upon which the pope sent two legates into *Germany*, with power to absolve *Philip*, upon his consenting to that proposition, and together with his daughter resigning the disputed territories of *Matbilda*, and others in *Tuscany*, *Spoletto*, and the march of *Ancona*, in favour of *Richard*. *Philip* was not a little surprized at the interested views of the pope; however, he received the legates with great respect, and by his courtesy and liberality obtained from them public absolution, upon his swearing, says *Spondanus*, to stand to the judgment of the pope in every thing for which he had been excommunicated. Soon after a diet being called at *Parthausen*, a truce was concluded with *Otho* for one year, without any regard being had to the proposed marriage with the brother of the pope^r.

1207.

and is absolved from the sentence of excommunication.

^m Chron. de S. Germ. apud MURATOR, l. vii. p. 981. SPOND. Annal.
• ARNOLD. Lubec. ^p ALLISIDOR. PETR. Villaffarnensis.
• Abbas URSPERO.

ⁿ Innocent, Epist. 106. an. 9.
^q Chron. Fossæ novæ ad an. 1208.

(W) *William* of *Puy en Velay*, who lived afterwards at *Thoulouse*, and wrote the history of the *Albigenses* in that neighbourhood, describing the state of that province at this time, says, that by the negligence of the prelates, and the ignorance of the clergy, the number of heretics had so increased, that they preached their doctrines every

where publicly and without restraint; that they were so revered, that dying persons bestowed more and greater legacies upon them than upon the clergy; and that if they were known when they travelled, they were safe from the insults of robbers, who always spared their houses and effects (1).

(1) *Guil. de Podio in Prolog.*

Disputes be-
twixt the
king of Eng-
land and the
pope;

DURING these transactions in Germany, *Innocent* was engaged in disputes with *John*, king of England, with regard to the election of an archbishop of *Canterbury*. Upon the death of the late archbishop, the monks of that church had elected *Reginald*, their superior, without the knowledge of the king, and sent him to *Rome* to be confirmed. The king being afterwards informed of their proceeding, they, to appease him, asked leave to elect another, and, at his desire chose the bishop of *Norwich*. The pope disapproving of both elections, caused the monks of *Canterbury*, assembled at *Rome*, to chuse a third person, one *Stephen Langton*, an Englishman, who for his great learning had been chosen chancellor of the university of *Paris*, and that same year created a cardinal. The king, highly displeased that the bishop of *Norwich* had been rejected, expelled the monks from *Canterbury*, confiscated the revenues of the archbishopric, and prohibited *Langton* from entering the kingdom. He wrote likewise to the pope in an exasperated stile, complaining of his ingratitude; to which *Innocent* replied, that he endeavoured to obtain his consent by letters and messengers, before he had ordained *Stephen*, although the approbation of princes was not usually required to elections made at the apostolic see. He concluded with reminding him of the example of *Thomas Becket*, and cautioned him to beware of engaging in an affair from which he would find it difficult to extricate himself. But *John* continuing firm in rejecting *Langton*, and at the same time exclaiming with angry expressions against the bishops and court of *Rome*, *Innocent* laid his kingdom under a general interdict, which was published on the 22d of *March*, the publishers immediately flying into *France*. The king, as soon as he was informed of the interdict, confiscated all the goods of the ecclesiastics, spiritual as well as temporal, imprisoned all the relations of *Langton*, and the bishops who had published the interdict, and ordered the other bishops to depart the kingdom.

A. D. 1208.
who lays his
kingdom under
an interdict;

and excommu-
nicates the
count of
Thoulouse.

MEAN while, *Innocent* being informed that *Peter de Castro Novo*, a monk of the *Cistercian* order, and apostolic legate in the province of *Narbonne*, had been murdered by the soldiers of *Raymund*, count of *Thoulouse*, he excommunicated the count, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance, allowed any one to seize upon his possessions. *Raymund* immediately sent messengers to *Rome*, and accusing the *Cistercians* of too great severity (X), begged that the pope would send another legate, to whom he promised all obedience. *Innocent* accordingly sent *Milo*, one of the notaries of the court, who, upon his arrival in *France*, presented the pope's letter to *Philip*, exhorting him to an expedition against the *Albigenses*; and afterwards having an interview with the count at *Valentia*, received from him seven castles as securities for his future obedience.

Innocent
sends a legate
to the emperor
Otho.

A. D. 1209.

who makes
great conces-
sions in favour
of the see of
Rome.

DURING these transactions, news arriving at *Rome*, that the emperor *Philip* had been murdered at *Wamberg*, *Innocent* immediately wrote to the bishops and nobles of that kingdom, exhorting them to unite in chusing *Otho*, who was accordingly unanimously elected at *Frankfort*, on the feast of *St. Martin*; and to strengthen his interest with the party of the late emperor, married his daughter *Beatrice*. After his election, *Otho* received an embassy from the city of *Milan*, inviting him to come to receive the crown of *Italy*; *Innocent* likewise sent legates, with letters of congratulation, offering to confer upon him the imperial crown upon his arrival at *Rome*. *Otho's* good success in succeeding so unexpectedly and easily to the crown, after he had in vain fought for it ten years, made him very liberal in his concessions to the pope, who, during all his adversity, had continued his steadfast friend. Accordingly, before he set out for *Italy*, he wrote to his holiness, promising to allow the elections of bishops to be made freely; to renounce all right to the revenues of vacant benefices; to endeavour earnestly to extirpate heresy; to leave to the holy see all the territories granted by his ancestors, or others, especially the countess *Matilda*; to preserve to the *Roman* church its rights upon the kingdom of *Sicily*; and to allow appeals to be made without restraint to the see of *Rome*. This letter, dated at *Spire*, the 22d of *March*, was signed by the bishop of that city, and sealed with the golden bull; but the concessions it contained were two prejudicial to the empire to be long observed.

Soon after, *Otho* sent the patriarch of *Aquileia* to prepare the cities of *Italy* for his reception. Having assembled a considerable army at *Augsburgh*, he passed the *Alps* in the month of *August*, and arriving at *Milan*, received the iron crown from the hands of the archbishop *Hubert*. From thence, proceeding to *Viterbo*, he was there received by the pope

* MATTHEW PARIS.

† Hist. Albigenf. c. viii.

‡ Rec. Bzov. l. iii. de neg. Imp.

(X) This *Peter de Castro Novo*, together with *Arnold*, abbot of the *Cistercians*, and friar *Kadulphus*, in order to be successful in converting the heretics, had erected a tribunal of inquisition, by the severities and cruelties of which court, they hoped to conquer the resolution

of those who continued unmoved by their preaching. And the author of his life boasts, that all the glorious actions performed afterwards, owe their original to the labours of this martyr, who established that holy office by his blood (2).

(2) In Fasciculo Sanctor. Ord. Cist. l. i. D. 21.

a with great affection, who, upon his arrival at *Rome*, crowned him with great solemnity in the church of *St. Peter*. Immediately after the coronation, there happened a dispute between the *Romans* and *Germans*, many of whom had entered the city from curiosity, and to buy provisions. The quarrel was inflamed to such a degree, that the citizens taking up arms, killed above a thousand of the *Germans*. The emperor not being able to obtain any satisfaction for this outrage, took his leave of the pope, and marched with his army towards *Lombardy*; but being informed that several fiefs of the empire in *Tuscany* and *Campania* had been seized by the church of *Rome*, during the troubles in *Germany*, he sent some troops into *Campania*, to recover the usurped territories, and retook several cities in *Tuscany* that were garrisoned with the soldiers of the pope. He is crowned by the pope.

b DURING these transactions, *Innocent* had ordered *John*, king of *England*, to be excommunicated by name, through his whole kingdom; and had published a bull in *France*, with the offer of plenary indulgences to all those who should undertake a crusade against the *Albigenses*; in consequence of which bull, no less than 50,000 *Croises* assembled at *Lyons*, about the middle of *June*, distinguished from those against the *Saracens*, by wearing their crosses upon their breasts. These *Croises* were commanded by the archbishop of *Sens*, and several other bishops, and by the duke of *Burgundy*, the counts of *Nevers*, *St. Paul*, *Montfort*, and others, with the count of *Toulouse*, who took the cross from fear rather than affection. Their first expedition was against the city *Beziers*, which they took by storm, putting all the inhabitants, to the number of 60,000, to the sword; from whence they marched against *Carcaffone*, whither the *Albigenses* had carried their most valuable effects. This city they forced to surrender, allowing the inhabitants to march out in their shirts (Y). After these successes, they unanimously conferred the chief command on *Simon*, count of *Montfort*, who, tho' abandoned by the greatest part of his army, continued to act with great vigour, and made himself master of several towns (Z). The king of England is excommunicated. The Croises march against the Albigenses.

c THE following year *Innocent* wrote to the count of *Thoulouse*, who was again suspected of favouring the heretics, and threatened, if he gave them any retreat in his territories, to order the extirpers of heresies to take possession of all his estates. Notwithstanding this threatening, *Raymund* soon after entirely abandoned the Catholics, and was excommunicated in a council of bishops at *St. Gille*. Mean while *Simon Montfort*, having received several new reinforcements of *Croises* from *France* and *Germany*, proceeded in his conquests, but not without frequent considerable losses to his own army, as his enemies, who were driven to despair, made a most obstinate resistance. A. D. 1210.

d IN the mean time the emperor *Otho* still continuing in *Italy*, and by the advice of *Diopold* or *Bertbold*, whom he created duke of *Spoletto*, seizing upon the territories of the church in *Tuscany* and *Romaniola*, and by the assistance of the *Pisan* fleet invading the dominions of the king of *Sicily* in *Apulia*, *Innocent* having in vain endeavoured to persuade him to desist from hostilities, at last denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, which he ordered to be published in *Italy* and *Germany*, and commanded his legate to punish the bishops canonically, who neglected to execute his orders^x. *Otho* paid no regard to this sentence, but continued his conquests in *Apulia*, and even threatened to revenge the indignity he had received upon the ecclesiastics; however, in *Germany* the archbishops of *Mentz* and of *Triers*, with several other nobles, assembled in the beginning of *December*, and chose *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, then sixteen years of age, who had been declared king of the *Romans* when an infant. The emperor Otho is excommunicated by the pope. Several nobles of Germany chose Frederic of Sicily as emperor.

e WHILE these things were transacting in *Germany*, *Innocent* wrote to *Henry*, emperor of *Constantinople*, ordering him to repeal the law, which he had made, that no person should leave any of his immovable estates to the church. It appears by the letters of the pope, that *Henry* complied with his desire. Besides this letter to the emperor, *Innocent* wrote to the Innocent re-proves several princes in Europe.

^w Hist. Albigens. c. xiv. usque xxxii. Hist. comitum Tolos. GUILL. CATELAI, l. ii. c. 6. Annales.

^x SPOND.

(Y) The transactions of *Simon Montfort* against the *Albigenses* are circumstantially related by *Peter Villaffar-nensis*, who observes, that if the *Croises* had not separated after the surrendering of *Carcaffone*, they would have soon conquered the heretics; but as the expedition was only undertaken by them to enjoy the benefit of the indulgences, they no sooner appeared at the camp than they returned home, thinking that they had performed their vow, so that the legates were obliged to determine the time which gave a title to the indulgence, which they ordained to be forty days at least.

(Z) This year the pope confirmed the order of the most Holy Trinity, for the redemption of captives; which, according to *Robert Gaguin*, afterwards grand-master, was first instituted in the year 1198, by *John de Mala*, a divine of *Paris*, and *Felix*, a monk, in the *Pays de Veaux*, who, after living in a solitary manner for several years, arrived at *Rome*, where they obtained the confirmation of the rules of their order, and were appointed to wear white garments, with a blue and red cross (3).

(3) *Gaguin Hist. Franc. l. vi.*

king of *Bohemia*, ordering him and the two queens to submit to the judgment of the apostolic see, and to send proxies to *Rome*. He likewise wrote to the bishops of *England*, desiring them to admonish the king to submit to the church; he ordered the bishop of *Samora* to put the king of *Portugal* under an interdict, if he did not make satisfaction for the injuries done to the bishop of that kingdom; and he charged the king of *France* to make restitution of the revenues of the bishops of *Orange* and *Toulon*, which he had seized.

He confirms
the election of
Frederic;
A. D. 1211.

MEAN while, one of the ambassadors from the nobles of *Germany* arriving at *Rome*, informed *Innocent* of the election of *Frederic*, and having obtained his confirmation of the election, he proceeded to *Sicily*, and acquainted *Frederic* with his promotion to the imperial dignity. *Innocent* not only confirmed the election of *Frederic*, but sent *Gerhard*, bishop of *Novara*, as his legate, to prevail with the cities of *Lombardy* to abandon the party of *Otho*, and took under his protection all those who should furnish money or other assistance against that enemy of the church^r. *Otho*, who was proceeding in his conquests in *Apulia*, being informed of this revolution in *Germany*, returned by sea to *Lombardy*, and having put the *Italian* cities that had revolted to the ban of the empire, marched immediately with his army to *Germany*, tho' in the middle of a very severy winter.

and deposes the
king of Eng-
land.

INNOCENT in the mean time sent two legates into *England*, to endeavour to reconcile the king to the church; but *John* refusing to make restitution for the losses of the priests, and consenting only to allow those who were banished to return, *Innocent* recalled his legates, and having again excommunicated the king, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, conferred his kingdom upon the king of *France*, and exhorted him and the *Croises* to make war upon him. He likewise excommunicated the king of *Armenia*, because he had seized the possessions of the knights *Templars* in his dominions, and refused to submit to the judgment of the apostolic see^z. *Sancho*, king of *Portugal*, was also reproved by him, and threatened with an anathema, because he usurped the possessions of ecclesiastics, and imprisoned the bishops who proposed to visit the see of *Rome*.

Frederic ar-
rives at
Rome;

In the mean time *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, having left the administration of that kingdom to his queen *Constantia*, sister of the king of *Arragon*, arrived at *Rome*, in his way to *Germany*, and was received with great honour by the pope. *Innocent*, however, delayed conferring upon him the imperial crown; but sent a cardinal legate into *Germany*, to desire the nobles and cities of that kingdom to leave *Otho*, and submit to *Frederic*. After a short stay at *Rome*, *Frederic* went by sea to *Genoa*, from whence he passed over the *Alps* into *Germany*, and arrived at *Constance*, with an escort of sixty horse, notwithstanding the attempts of several of the *Italian* cities, and the partisans of *Otho* in *Germany*, who endeavoured to intercept him on his journey.

and goes for
Germany.

A crusade
against the
Moors in
Spain
A. D. 1212.

WHILE *Germany* was embroiled by the two factions of *Frederic* and *Otho*, *Innocent*, by his letters, exhorted the Christians of *Europe* to undertake a crusade against the *Moors* in *Spain*; in consequence of which exhortation, no less than 110,000 foreigners crowded into that kingdom, the greatest part of whom were obliged to return, upon account of the excessive heat of the climate. However, those who continued, being joined by a great number of *Spaniards*, about the middle of *July* they gained a signal victory over the *Moors*, having killed 100,000 of the enemy, with the loss to themselves of only 115 men^a. *Alphonfus*, king of *Arragon*, immediately informed the pope of this victory, and sent the chief standard of *Mahomet* to *Rome*, which was hung up in *St. Peter's* church, where the *Moorish* prince boasted that he would erect it himself^b. Mean while cardinal *Robert de Corceo*, being sent by *Innocent* as his legate into *France*, to encourage a crusade against the *Albigenses*, held a council at *Paris*, in which several decrees were made for the reformation of manners, and restoring the discipline of the church. One of the decrees is somewhat remarkable; he prohibited both seculars and regulars from binding themselves by an oath not to lend their books^c.

A new crusade
preached.
A. D. 1213.

WHILE his legate in *France* was encouraging a crusade against the *Albigenses*, *Innocent* sent circular letters through *Europe*, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to an expedition into the *Holy Land*. He likewise published other letters, addressed to all the bishops and nobles in Christendom, inviting them to a general council, to be held at *Rome* at the end of thirty months. In consequence of the pope's letters, the crusade was preached with so great ardour, that upwards of 30,000 boys took the cross, and by no means could be diverted from the expedition into the *Holy Land*. In imitation of them, many old people, and persons of both sexes, likewise took the cross; but the greatest part of the boys being seized by pirates, and sold to the *Saracens*, or perishing in the deserts for want of subsistence, the others were at length prevailed upon to return home^d.

^r SIGON. l. xvi. p. 16.

c. 23, & seq.

sect. xiv. MATH. Paris in Joan. Reg.

^z SPONDANI Annales.

^b CÆSARIUS, v. Dial. 21.

^c SPOND. Annales.

^a RODER. de reb. Hisp. l. viii. MARIAN. l. xi.

^d Cantipart ii. de Apip. iii.

- ^a IN the mean time the emperor *Frederic*, being now master of the greatest part of *Germany* towards the *Rhine*, was crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*, by the archbishop of *Mentz*; but, before his coronation, in gratitude to the pope, he drew up a writing, in which he promised obedience to *Innocent* and his successors, and to restore to the *Roman* church all the possessions which it had received from his ancestors or others, particularly specifying the march of *Ancona*, the duchy of *Spoletto*, and the territory of the countess *Matilda*. After confirming this writing with an oath, in presence of the ecclesiastics, he, with many of the nobles, made a vow of undertaking an expedition for the relief of the Christians in the *Holy Land*. While *Frederic* was thus strengthening his party in *Germany*, *Innocent* omitted nothing to prevail with the cities of *Lombardy* to favour his interest; and as the city of *Milan*, from a hatred to the race of *Barbarossa*, distinguished itself by its fidelity to *Otho*, he threatened to confirm the sentence of excommunication that had been denounced against them by his legate; to prevail with the king of *France* and the nobles of that kingdom and *Italy* to retain their manufactures, and not to pay them their debts; to absolve the bishops of *Lombardy* from the jurisdiction of their archbishop; and, lastly, to order the croises to attack their city. *Innocent*, at the same time, wrote to the king of *England*, extolling him for his wisdom and piety in resigning his crown into the hands of his legate *Pandolphus*, and for rendering his kingdom tributary to the holy see^f. By this concession *John* having rendered himself odious to his nobles, who refused to attend him in an expedition into *Guienne* against the king of *France*, the pope gave orders to *Stephen*, archbishop of *Canterbury* to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication.

The emperor takes the cross.

The king of England declares his kingdom tributary to the holy see.

- MEAN while the pope, upon the complaints of the king of *Arragon*, the count of *Toulouse*, and many other counts, against the proceedings of *Simon Montfort*, and the apostolic legate in the province of *Narbonne*, ordered a council to be held in the city of *Vaurum*, under the direction of the archbishop of *Narbonne*, as his legate. The council refusing to redress the grievances complained of, the king of *Arragon* and the nobles immediately had recourse to arms, and assembled an army of upwards of 100,000 men; but *Simon Montfort*, according to the authors of those times^e, having only 1000 men, ventured to engage them, and gained a complete victory, killing the king of *Arragon*, with 20,000 of the enemy, and losing himself only one miles, or knight, and a very few *servientes*, or squires (A).

A remarkable victory gained by Simon Montfort.

- ^d DURING these transactions in *Narbonne*, *Innocent* wrote to the patriarch of *Grada*, desiring him to order the inhabitants of *Pavia* to desist from attacking *Aldebrandinus*, marquis of *Este*, vassal of the *Roman* see, who was then employed in reducing the march of *Ancona*, which had no inclination to submit to the church. *Innocent* likewise sent *Pelagius*, a *Spaniard*, as his legate to *Constantinople*, to prevail with the *Greeks* to submit to the church of *Rome*. Though *Pelagius* acted with great severity, imprisoning the monks, putting the priests in irons, and shutting up the churches, yet he could not prevail with the people to forsake their antient rites; and the emperor, at their solicitation, notwithstanding the opposition of the legate, opened the churches, and set the prisoners at liberty^h.
- ^e THE following year *Innocent* sent *Peter* of *Benevento*, a cardinal deacon, as his legate into the province of *Narbonne*, to demand from *Simon Montfort* the young son of the late king of *Arragon*, whom he restored to his subjects. Being informed that the *Saracens* inclined to quit the *Holy Land* to the see of *Rome*, on condition of receiving a yearly tribute from the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and obtaining security for their other conquests, he wrote to *Se-phadine*, sultan of *Damascus* and *Babylon*, exhorting him to an exchange of captives, and to deliver up the *Holy Land*, to prevent any more effusion of bloodⁱ.

The pope writes to the sultan of Damascus.

- MEAN while, being informed that the emperor *Otho* had been entirely defeated by the king of *France*, in the famous battle of *Bovines*, and forced to fly into *Saxony*, he gave authority to his legate, the archbishop of *Mentz*, to crown *Frederic* again at *Aix la Chapelle*, where the emperor renewed his vow of an expedition into the *Holy Land*. *Innocent* likewise sent a nuncio with a mandate to *Simon Montfort*, confirming to him the provinces of *Guienne* and *Narbonne*, which had been granted to him by a council held in the beginning of the year at *Montpellier*. About the same time having received a deceitful embassy from the king

1215. Orders his legate to crown the emperor *Frederic*;

^e TRITHEM. Chron. SIGON. de Regno Ital. lib. xvi. p. 18.

^f Hist. Albigenf. c. 66. usque 73. GULIEL. de Pod. Laurentii. c. 21, 22. Brit Philp. l. viii.

^h SPONDANI Annales. ⁱ Richard. de S. German. apud MURATOR. tom. vii. p. 988.

(A) The sons of the nobility, by the writers of this age, were called *milites*, and always fought on horseback; though much more anciently those who were honoured by princes and prelates with a sword, a military belt, gilded spurs, or other ornaments of that kind, were distinguished by the name of *milites*. The *servientes*, or 'squires, fought likewise usually on horseback (though they are found sometimes mentioned as in-

fantry), but they were not descended of the nobility, or had not yet attained the honour of the belt. Their business was to serve the milites, or knights, from whom they were distinguished by their arms, which were not so complete or heavy as those of the knights. Some authors affirm, that *Simon* had only 1000 men, both knights and 'squires, but others say, that he had 1000 foot, and 800 knights.

of *England*, complaining that his nobles had obliged him by force to publish laws that were a destructive to the kingdom, although he had appealed from their violence to the holy see, *Innocent*, by a bull, annulled the agreement that had been made between the king and the nobles, and ordered them to be obedient to their king, who had assumed the cross, and become a vassal of the *Roman* church. The nobles paying no regard to this sentence, but resolving to defend their privileges by arms, the pope ordered *Stephen*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, to excommunicate them, distinguishing them first by the title of disturbers of the public peace, and afterwards by that of barons; *Stephen* refusing to execute the mandate of the pope, was suspended from his office. *Innocent* in the mean time ordered *Conrad*, a monk of *Marpurg*, apostolical inquisitor in *Germany*, to proceed against the heretics that were appearing in the diocese of *Straßburgh*, and were accused of believing that fornication was no b sin, and that it was lawful to eat flesh on every day of the year. *Conrad* exerted himself in his inquisition with more zeal than prudence; for trusting solely to the proof of the red hot iron, he put more innocent than guilty persons to death^k. During these transactions in *Germany*, *Innocent* having gone to *Ferentino*, deposed the abbot of *Monte Cassino*, for disobedience and other crimes, and appointed one *Stephen* in his place.

and holds a
general council
at Rome.

Upon his return to *Rome*, he opened the famous *Lateran* council, at which were present the patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*, 412 archbishops and bishops, both *Greek* and *Latin*, besides the proxies of the absent, and upwards of 800 abbots and priors, the whole number of prelates being 1215, besides the ambassadors of the emperors *Frederic* and *Henry*, and of the kings of *France*, *England*, *Hungary*, *Jerusalem*, *Cyprus*, and *Aragon*, and c deputies from other princes, nobles, and states^l. The archbishop of *Milan* appeared likewise as ambassador from the emperor *Otho*, who offered to submit to the decision of the council; but the marquis of *Montferrat* rising up in defence of *Frederic*, and urging, with great vehemence, several things against *Otho*, as a person excommunicated and perjured, his ambassador was not admitted by the pope, who went out of the church to put a stop to the disturbance that was arising in the assembly on that account^m.

THE council made many decrees for restraining and punishing heretics; explained the doctrine of the trinity; and admitted the word *transubstantiation* of the bread and wine in the eucharist. They granted large privileges and indulgences to those who should undertake the expedition into the *Holy Land*, and denounced an anathema against all who furnished the d *Saracens* with ships, arms, or assistance of any kind. The sentence against the archbishop of *Canterbury* was confirmed, and the *English* barons, with *Lewis* the son of the king of *France*, to whom they had offered their crown, were excommunicated. The emperor *Frederic* having promised not to annex the kingdom of *Sicily* to the empire, his election was confirmed, as were likewise the acts of the council of *Montpellier* in favour of *Simon Montfort*. Several canons were also made regarding the sacraments, the reformation of manners, and the state and discipline of the churchⁿ. At this council were present *St. Dominic* (B) and *St. Francis* (C), desiring the confirmation of the orders they had lately instituted. *Innocent* having formerly approved of the order of *St. Francis*, ratified it in the council; but as *Dominic* had not yet formed a rule for the members of his order, the pope gave him only a verbal ap- e probation,

^k TRITHEM. in Chron. Sponheim. Naucier. Gener. Germ. ubi supra.

^l Vita Innocent, ubi supra.

^m Chron. de S.

ⁿ SPOND. Annal. MAT. PARIS, Hist. Albigenf. l. iii.

(B) *Dominic de Gusman* was born, according to some, at *Calaborra*, but, according to others, at *Calavega*, in *Spain*, in the year 1170. After finishing his studies at the university, *Didacus*, or *Diego*, bishop of *Osma*, gave him a canonicate in his cathedral, and afterwards made him sub-prior. He accompanied *Diego*, in 1206, to *Rome*, and returning with him to *Toulouse*, he remained in that province, and by his great zeal in converting the *Albigenses* to the faith of *Rome*, was greatly revered by the catholics, and respected by *Simon Montfort*. With the design of bringing the *Albigenses* to submit to the church, he had instituted an order of preachers, and came to *Rome* to have it confirmed by the council. *Innocent* had made him his inquisitor in *Languedoc*, but gave only a verbal approbation to his order; which was confirmed the following year by *Honorius III.* This order has multiplied to such a degree, that at present it is divided into 45 provinces, 11 of which are in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, without reckoning 12 congregations governed by vicars general. It has given to the church of *Rome* three popes, 48 car-

dinals, 23 patriarchs, 43 legates, 600 archbishops, 1500 bishops, &c. The inquisitors of the faith in many countries, for a long time, were likewise taken from this order; but at present the *Dominicans* exercise that office only in 32 tribunals of *Italy*, in quality of provincial inquisitors, and as delegates of the cardinals, who compose the congregation of the holy office (1).

(C) *St. Francis* was born in 1182, at *Assisi*, a city of the ecclesiastical state. At his baptism he was called *John*, but acquired the name of *Francis* afterwards from his knowledge of the *French* language. He spent the first years of his life as a merchant, which was the profession of his father; but the poor of *Lyons* being then the subject of conversation, *Francis* renounced all temporal possessions, and likewise made profession of evangelic poverty, in conformity to Christ and his apostles. His austerities were so extraordinary, that he was reckoned by his fellow citizens a madman, and his father even caused him to be put in prison; but, finding that nothing could prevail with him to alter his resolution, he again set him at liberty. By his preaching and manner of life,

(1) *Theodoric de Podio*, in *Vita Dominic*.

- a probation, but promised to grant a confirmation of the order, when *St. Dominic* should once have fixed upon a rule.

THE council being dismissed, *Innocent*, the following year, sent *Gualo*, or *Walo*, as his legate into *France*, to order *Lewis*, under pain of excommunication, to desist from his intention of invading *England*; but that prince paying no regard to the remonstrances of the legate, and in the beginning of *May* transporting his troops into *Britain*, *Walo* privately failed thither after him, and published a sentence of excommunication against him. *Innocent* was greatly enraged upon hearing that he had actually invaded the island, and immediately excommunicated him and his followers. He likewise proposed to have excommunicated his father *Philip*, king of *France*, whom he suspected to have assisted him in his enterprise; but, being prevailed upon to defer that sentence, he in the mean time conferred the church of *St. Benedict* in *Capua* upon the late abbot of *Monte Cassino*, and sent two cardinal legates, with special mandates, to *Milan*, who calling a council in that city, required them, in the name of the pope, to forsake the party of *Otho*, and to cease hostilities against their neighbouring cities. The inhabitants of *Milan* refusing obedience to their demands, the legates excommunicated them, and laid their city under an interdict^o. This sentence only exasperating them, they assembled a great army, and passing the *Po*, made an irruption into the territory of *Pavia*. At the same time the *Pisans* and *Genoese* being engaged in a war, *Innocent* resolved to go himself into *Lombardy*, to put an end to the dissensions among the cities in that part of *Italy*, in order to promote an expedition into the *Holy Land*; but he died on his journey at *Perugia*, on the 14th of *July*, and was buried in the cathedral church of that city^p.

Lewis, son of the king of France, is excommunicated for invading England.
A. D. 1216.

Death of Innocent and election of Honorius III.

Two days after the death of *Innocent*, the cardinals present elected *Cencius Labellus*, a *Roman*, and cardinal priest, who took the name of *Honorius III.* and immediately wrote to all the faithful, informing them of his promotion^q. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he wrote to the emperor *Frederic*, desiring him to resign the kingdom of *Sicily*, and to leave it to the disposal of the apostolic see^r. Soon after *St. Dominic* returning from *Thoulouse*, and declaring that he was content with the rule of *St. Austin*, *Honorius* confirmed his order by a bull, signed by himself and twenty-two cardinals (D).

- MEAN while *Peter de Courtenai*, count of *Toulon*, who, the year before, had been chosen emperor of *Constantinople*, arriving at *Rome* with his wife *Jolanta*, *Honorius*, on the 10th of *April*, crowned him emperor, in the church of *St. Laurence*, without the city, that he might not pretend to any authority in the western empire. At the same time he wrote to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, declaring that he did not intend to infringe his privileges, but that, after he had denied it several times, he had consented to crown the emperor, at the earnest solicitation of *Peter* himself, and many other nobles^s. The croises in great numbers assembling in *Germany*, *France*, *Hungary*, and *Italy*, *Honorius* appointed the cardinal *Columna* as his legate in *Greece* and *Syria*, and sent him to the emperor *Peter*, and a considerable army to *Brindisi*. From *Brindisi* the empress sailed directly for *Constantinople*, but the emperor and the legate sailed over the streights with the forces, and besieged *Durazzo*, which was then possessed by *Theodore Comnenus*, a *Greek*, and prince of *Epire*. After continuing a considerable time before the city, they were obliged to raise the siege, and march

The emperor of Constantinople crowned at Rome;
A. D. 1217.

^o SIGON. l. xvi. c. 22.

^p Vita Innocent, apud MURAT.

BLOND. Dec. vi. l. ii. PLATINA in Vita Pont.

^q ONUPH. in Chron. et de Rom. Pont. Chron.

^r SPOND. Annales.

^s Idem Ibid. Richard. de S. Germ.

life, he quickly gained a great many disciples; upon which he formed a design of instituting a new order, and, in the year 1208, came to *Rome*, and received the approbation of the pope, which *Innocent* this year again confirmed in the *Lateran* council. *Francis* having established several convents of his order in *Italy*, travelled through *France* and *Spain*, with the design of going to preach the gospel in *Africa*; but being prevented by a distemper from passing into *Africa*, he established several convents in *Spain* and *France*, and returned to *Rome*; from whence he went to *Damiata* in *Egypt*, and offered to the sultan to throw himself into the fire to prove the truth of the Christian religion. Upon his return to *Rome*, he received from pope *Honorius III.* a confirmation of his order for women as well as men: he then resigned his generalship, and retired to one of the highest of the *Appenine* mountains, where it is pretended he saw a seraphim, from whence his order is called *Seraphic*. Being weakened by his great austerities, and continual

preaching, he was attacked with several distempers, and died at his native city, in the 45th year of his age. His followers, at first, were called *Poor Minors*, in opposition to the poor of *Lyons*, but afterwards they took the name of *Brothers Minors*, or *Friar Minors*, laying aside the title of *Poor*, that they might not seem to boast of the poverty of which they made profession. Their order is the most numerous in all Christendom, and was divided by *St. Francis* into three branches, for friar minors, the poor sisters, and the penitents of both sexes (2).

(D) *Dominic* continued for some time at *Rome*, and observing that there were a great many persons walking idly about the pope's palace, while the cardinals were employed with his holiness, he persuaded *Honorius* to establish the office of master of the sacred palace, whose business is to give a lecture upon some part of the sacred scripture, and to grant a licence to all books and writings published in the city.

(2) S. Bonaventur. in Vit. Franc.

who is taken
prisoner in
Theffaly, to-
gether with
the pope's le-
gate.

over-land for *Constantinople*, but were intercepted, and cut off by *Theodore*, in the woods of *Theffaly*, the emperor and legate, with many others, being taken prisoners.

In the mean time great part of the *German* crusards, with those of *Hungary*, under the command of *Andrew* their king, embarked at *Venice* for the *Holy Land*, while those of *Westphalia* and *Saxony*, having embarked upon the *Elb*, and joined the *Grisons* and *Flemings*, passed the streight of *Gibraltar*, and arrived at *Gaeta*. At the same time others were embarking at *Genoa*, *Pisa*, and *Messina*. *Honorius*, in the mean while, wrote to *Alexander*, king of *Scotland*, desiring him to break his alliance with *Lewis*, who was invading *England*. He likewise confirmed the disposition of his kingdoms, made by *Andrew*, king of *Hungary*, before his departure for the *Holy Land*, and ratified the agreement made betwixt the emperor *Frederic*, and *Waldemar* king of *Denmark*. He received the consuls and people of *Montpellier* under the protection of the apostolic see, and reprov'd the king of *Bohemia*, because the clergy in his kingdom were not only subject to secular courts, but likewise capitally punished by laymen; that he slighted the interdict denounced by the archbishop of *Prague*, imposed grievous exactions upon clergymen, and usurped the investiture of churches. *Honorius* likewise prohibited the *Pisans* from invading *Sardinia*, laid the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Placenza* under an interdict, for attacking the *Cremonese*, and threatened to send his chaplain to reform the monastery of *Cassino*, which, he complained, was become a sink of all manner of vices.

The legate is
set at liberty.
A. D. 1218.

THE following year, at the intreaty of the pope, *John de Columna*, who had been taken prisoner with the emperor *Peter*, was set at liberty, and went to the empress *Jolanta* at *Constantinople*, the croises being then besieging *Damiata*, in *Egypt*. In the mean time, *Honorius*, being forced by the tumults of the *Romans* to quit the city, retired to *Reate*, and being informed that *Simon Montfort* had lately been killed by a stone at the siege of *Thoulouse*, he wrote to the king of *France* to assist the catholics in that province, who were in great distress, and prohibited *James* king of *Arragon* from giving any protection or assistance to *Raymond*, the late count of *Thoulouse*, or to any of his followers. He likewise wrote to the bishop of *Winchester*, and to *Walo* his legate in *England*, ordering them to compel the king, by ecclesiastical censures, to cease from oppressing the two dowager queens, *Berengaria* and *Isabel*, the widows of *Richard* and *John*; and lest the bishops, by the instigation of the king, should inflict any censure upon the two queens, he exempted them from their jurisdiction, and took them under the protection of the apostolic see, which favour he also conferred upon *Alexander* king of *Scotland*; it being usual with the popes, about this period, from what they called the plenitude of their power, to grant protections and exemptions to particular princes, who, by the influence of their money, or blind submission to the tyrannical usurpation of the court of *Rome*, rendered themselves worthy to be accounted favourites. *Honorius* at the same time, being desirous of restoring peace to the cities of *Lombardy*, absolved the inhabitants of *Milan* from the censures under which they had been laid by *Innocent*, and gave a commission to cardinal *Hugolin* to conclude a peace among the cities who were at war. *Hugolin* effected an accommodation without great difficulty; and as the emperor *Otha* had lately died at *Hartsburgh*, *Milan*, and the other cities of his party, embraced that opportunity of putting an end to the destructive war.

A peace con-
cluded between
the cities of
Lombardy.

1219.
The Croises
take *Damiata*.

DURING these transactions in *Europe*, a great many croises, wearied with the fatigues of the siege of *Damiata*, returned home; but a new body arriving, under the command of cardinal *Pelagius*, and *James* count of *Andria*, *Damiata* was at last taken, in the month of *November*, after a siege of eighteen, or, according to others, twenty-two months, during which, upwards of 75,000 *Saracens* were slain. The sultan of *Damascus*, being alarmed at the success of the Christians, immediately ordered the walls of the city of *Jerusalem* to be destroyed, that, if the Christians again got possession of that country, it might not serve them for a place of defence. Mean while the king of *France*, at the intreaty of *Honorius*, having concluded a truce for four years with the king of *England*, sent his son *Lewis* with an army against the *Albigenses*, who, after continuing some months before *Thoulouse*, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with his army, upon which a great many castles again submitted to count *Raymond*. While *Lewis* was before *Thoulouse*, *Reginald*, king of the islands in the neighbourhood of *Britain*, made a solemn resignation of the *Isle of Man* to the *Roman* church, and received the investiture of it again from *Pandulphus*, the apostolic legate, and bishop of *Norwich*, promising to pay an annual tribute of twelve marks sterling, and desiring to be taken under the protection of the holy see.

The king of
France sends
his son with
an army
against the
Albigenses.

The emperor
enters Italy
with an army.
A. D. 1220.

THE following year the emperor *Frederic*, having settled the affairs of *Germany*, entered *Italy* with a considerable army, attended by his queen *Constantia*, in order to receive the imperial crown. The inhabitants of *Milan* refusing to admit him into their city, he dissembled

* Idem ibid.

u Chron. de S. Germ. Bernar. Thesaur. de Acquisit. Ter. Sanct. apud MURATOR. tom. vii.

w GUILL. de Pod. Chron. c. 32.

x SPOND. Annales.

- a his resentment, and directed his march for *Rome*. While he was encamped at *St. Leo*, in the duchy of *Urbino*, he took the usual oath to the pope's legate, to defend all the rights and possessions of the *Roman* see; and upon his arriving at the city, having again renewed the oath, *Honorius* crowned him and his queen emperor and empress in the church of *St. Peter*; after which ceremony *Frederic* again renewed his vow of performing a crusade, and received the cross from the hands of cardinal *Hugolin*. The same day he likewise published several edicts against heretics, for the liberty of the churches, and the security of husbandmen and travellers, which were confirmed by *Honorius*, who ordered them to be observed through all the church^y. As the winter was already advanced, *Frederic* excused himself from going into *Syria*, upon account of the danger of the navigation, and leaving *Rome*, held a general assembly of the states at *Capua*, where he created *Thomas de Aquino* count of *Acerra*, and chief justiciary of *Apulia*; then marching with his army to *Calabria*, he passed over into *Sicily*, and held an assembly of the states at *Messina*^z. Mean while *St. Dominic* assembled the first general chapter of his order at *Bologna*, where the vow of poverty was confirmed, and the curse of God denounced against those who should seek to pervert the order of preachers, by leaving them temporal possessions^a.

and is crowned
with the em-
press at Rome.

- At the same time *Honorius*, having received pressing letters from the crusards in *Egypt*, desiring him to send them speedy assistance, he wrote to the emperor, who was then employed in reducing the *Saracens* in *Italy*, urging him to fulfil his vow of an expedition into the *Holy Land*, as the crusards were then without a commander, *John* king of *Jerusalem* having quarrelled with cardinal *Pelagius*, and retired to *Ptolemais*. The pope likewise reproved the emperor for having presumed to dispose of the bishopric of *Aversa*, and the vacant see of the province of *Salerno*. *Frederic* found it necessary for his affairs to continue in *Europe*: however, that he might not seem altogether to neglect his vow, he sent a considerable body of troops into *Egypt*, under the command of the duke of *Bavaria*, ordered the twentieth part of the possessions of ecclesiastics, and the tythe of those of laymen, to be collected through his kingdom, which money he sent, with forty-three galleys, to *Damiata*, under the command of *Walter de Palar* the chancellor, and the count of *Malta*. But, before their arrival, the Christian army, by the imprudence and obstinacy of cardinal *Pelagius*, had been exposed to such difficulties, by the overflowing of the *Nile*, that, to save themselves from perishing, they were obliged to deliver up *Damiata* to the sultan, and to conclude a truce with him for eight years^b.

The pope urges
him to go to
the assistance
of the Crusads:
A. D. 1221.

who are ob-
liged to deliver
up *Damiata*.

- MEAN while *Honorius* sent cardinal *Gregory* as his legate into *Poland*, *Bohemia*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, with full power to reform the abuses in those kingdoms; and sent the cardinal *Conrad*, bishop of *Porta*, as his legate into *Thoulouse*: but being soon after informed of the loss of *Damiata*, he wrote to the emperor *Frederic*, severely blaming him for delaying his expedition into the *Holy Land*, at the same time accusing him of violating the rights of the church by nominating bishops, and laying taxes upon the ecclesiastics. *Frederic* excused himself from going into the *Holy Land*, by the necessity of his affairs; but he mutually blamed the pope for affording protection to several disaffected nobles whom he had banished, and justified his proceedings with regard to the ecclesiastics in his kingdom, by pretending only to exercise the same prerogatives which had been enjoyed by his predecessors; and alleging, that the treaty concluded betwixt his mother *Constantia* and *Innocent III.* was of no force.

Difference be-
tween the pope
and the em-
peror;

- To prevent this misunderstanding with the pope from proceeding to an open rupture, a conference was held at *Veroli*, in the month of *April*, between *Honorius* and *Frederic*, and it was proposed that a congress should be held in the month of *November*, at *Verona*, to which the Christian princes should be invited, to consult for the relief of the *Holy Land*^c. *Frederic*, in the mean time, to satisfy the pope, resigned the possessions of the countess *Mathilda* into the hands of the apostolic legate, and published severe edicts against the heretics, which seem to have been adopted by the tribunal of the inquisition. He ordered that those, who were convicted of heresy, should be deprived of their offices and fiefs, and punished as traitors; that those who relapsed into the errors which they had abjured, should be punished with death; and that the children of heretics, to the second generation, should be deprived of all offices and fiefs, unless they became informers against their parents^d.

who have a
conference at
Veroli.
A. D. 1222.

- In the mean time *John* king of *Jerusalem*, with the patriarch of that city, and the masters of the knights *Templars* and *Hospitallers*, arrived at *Rome*; and the conference appointed to be held at *Verona*, having been transferred to *Ferentino*; the following year *Honorius*, with the emperor, the king of *Jerusalem*, and other nobles, assembling in that city, *Frederic* again engaged by oath to go within two years to the relief of the *Holy Land*; and, in order

A. D. 1223
Another con-
ference be-
tween the em-
peror and the
pope.

^y SIGON. l. xvii. p. 28. BELLARM. tom. i. Honor. III. Abbas Usperg.

^a SPOND. Annal.

^b Chron de S. Germ.

^c Chron. S. Germ. VILLAN. Hist. l. vi. c. 1.

^d PETR.

de Vincis. l. i. Ep. 25 & 26.

to interest him the more in that expedition, the pope, as the empress was lately dead, prevailed with him to promise to marry *Jolanta*, the only daughter and heiress of the king of *Jerusalem*. The conference being concluded, *Frederic* returned to the kingdom of *Naples*, and gave orders for fitting out a large fleet in the ports of *Sicily*, while *Honorius*, who had gone to *Rome*, wrote to the Christian princes, informing them of the determination of the emperor, and exhorting them to imitate his example. Nuncios were likewise sent into all the provinces, to compose all differences between princes or private persons, and to preach up the crusade, appointing the time of departure for the feast of *St. John* in the following year. At the same time *John*, king of *Jerusalem*, went to *France*, to solicit the assistance of *Philip*, who dying soon after his arrival, is said to have left him in his will 100,000 livres, and as much to each of the masters of the military orders, the *Templars* and *Hospitallers*.

The Albigenses elect a pope.

MEAN while the *Albigenses*, having not only spread into *Spain*, but even towards *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*, where they brought over some bishops to their party, chose themselves a pope, to be the head of their consultations; which the cardinal legate being informed of, he immediately appointed a national council to be held at *Sens*. But the new pope dying soon after his promotion, without having any successor, the fears of the legate were thereby allayed. This story depends solely upon the authority of *Matthew Paris*, who is the only ancient author that we have seen who mentions it. However, we find from other authors, that *Raymond*, the young count of *Thoulouse*, with many others of the *Albigenses*, at this time sent ambassadors to *Rome*, offering to submit to the *Roman* church; that, upon confirming their obedience with an oath, their submission was accepted, on condition that they became the feudatories of the *Roman* see, restored the clergy to their possessions, and, within three years, paid 25,000 merks of gold, or, according to some, 15,000, as a reparation of the damages sustained, and should use their utmost endeavours to extirpate heresy from their territories^d.

A. D. 1224.
The emperor gratifies the ecclesiastics,

DURING these transactions the emperor *Frederic*, at the solicitation of the pope, set the disaffected counts at liberty, upon their leaving their sons as hostages; and, in order to soothe the clergy, he published new edicts against the heretics, and ordered that all ecclesiastics, and those belonging to them, should be exempted from the taxes that were levying upon the laymen in his kingdom, unless it could be proved, that they were comprehended together with them in those taxes during the reign of *William II.*^e *Honorius*, in the mean time, being informed that *Lewis* king of *France* had attacked the territories of the king of *England*, in *Guienne* and *Limousin*, he wrote to him, desiring him to desist from that war, and to lead his army against the *Albigenses*, great part of whose territories had now become subject to him, by the voluntary resignation of *Americus*, the son of *Simon Montfort*. Being soon after obliged to quit the city upon account of the tumults raised by one *Parentius* a senator, he retired to *Tivoli*, where he received an embassy from the emperor, desiring a further prolongation of the time for his expedition into *Syria*, as he was informed that *Milan*, *Bologna*, and other cities in *Lombardy*, had entered into an association against him; therefore he could not leave *Italy* at that time, without giving them an opportunity to revolt. *Honorius*, upon this representation of the emperor, sent for the archbishop of *Milan*, and the chief of the malecontents, and by their means reconciled the disaffected cities to the emperor; but *Frederic* then alleging the injustice of breaking the eight years truce concluded with the sultan, detained with him all the prelates of his kingdom till his ambassadors (E) should receive a favourable answer from the pope.

1225.
and desires the pope to prolong the time for the sacred expedition.

Honorius at length consented that the expedition should be delayed for two years, from the month of *August*, on condition that the emperor again renewed his vow; and he sent the cardinals *Pelagius* and *Walo* to *St. Germano*, where *Frederic*, in presence of his nobles, swore to undertake in person the expedition within two years, upon which the legates absolved him from the oath which he had made at *Veroli*, and denounced against him a conditional sentence of excommunication, if he failed to accomplish his vow^f. A few months after, *Honorius*, appointing bishops for five vacant churches in the kingdom of *Naples*, without consulting the emperor, *Frederic* would not allow them to be admitted, reckoning it an infringement upon his authority; and proceeding to *Brindisi*, there celebrated his marriage

^d ANTONIUS, l. xiii. c. 3. sect. 6. SPOND. ANNAL. Chron. de S. Germ.

^e Chron. de S. Germ.

^f SIGON. l. xvii. p. 32.

(E) His ambassadors were the patriarch of *Jerusalem* and king *John*, who, after receiving the legacy of the king of *France*, went into *England* to solicit the assistance of king *Henry*; and returning to the continent, proceeded on a pilgrimage to *St. James of Compostella*.

During his residence in *Spain*, he married *Berengaria*, the sister of *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, and, returning this year to *Italy*, resided at *Capua*, where his queen was delivered of a daughter.

- a with *Jolanta*, by some called *Isabella*, the daughter of the king of *Jerusalem* (F). In the mean time, according to *Matthew Paris*, *Honorius* sent nuncios to all the princes of Christendom, demanding the perpetuity of the revenues of two prebendaries in each cathedral, and two cells in each monastery, to be appropriated for the use of the popes; but his nuncios every-where met with a repulse (G). This demand was made to the princes of *Germany* by *Conrad* the pope's legate, who, after the death of the king of *France*, had come into *Germany*, to forward the crusade, and this year held a national council in the city of *Mentz*, in which he published 14 canons, directly against simony and the concubinage of the clergy, and likewise excommunicated *Frederic*, count of *Isenburgh*, who had assassinated his own kinsman (H), *Engelbert*, archbishop of *Cologn*.^e *An extravagant demand of the pope.*
- b MEAN while the king of *Jerusalem*, having been forced by the emperor to resign his title in his favour, *Honorius* conferred upon him the government of the territories of the church from *Viterbo* to *Monte-Fiascone*. Soon after receiving an embassy from *Frederic*, desiring him to act as mediator in reconciling the associated cities of *Lombardy* to his authority, *Honorius* concluded an accommodation upon the following terms; That the emperor should forgive all injuries past, and should revoke all decrees against the associated cities, particularly that relating to the transferring the university of *Bologna* to *Naples*; that they on their side should furnish the emperor with 400 knights for two years, in his expedition into the *Holy Land*; that they should conclude a peace with the cities of his party, and observe the laws published by the emperor or church against the heretics. Upon the conclusion of this peace, *The king of Jerusalem resigns his title. A. D. 1220.*
- c the emperor having gone to *Sicily*, *Honorius* wrote to him, earnestly desiring a supply of provisions for the city of *Rome*, which was in great distress; and the time fixed for the departure of the emperor drawing near, he wrote to *Germany* and *Hungary*, pressing the crusade with great earnestness; but, while the croises were entering *Italy* in great numbers, he died at *Rome*, on the 18th of *March*, and was buried in the church of *St. Mary major*. *A peace between the emperor and cities of Lombardy 1229.*
- d Two days after the death of *Honorius*, the cardinals unanimously chose *Hugolin*, born at *Anagni*, of the noble family of the *Conti*, and cardinal bishop of *Ostia*, who took the name of *Gregory IX.* and, immediately after his promotion, wrote to the emperor, desiring him, under the pain of an anathema, to depart for the *Holy Land* as soon as possible. *Frederic* being able to plead no excuse for his delay, appointed the month of *August* for the embarkation at *Brindisi*, whither the crusards were resorting from all parts, no less than 60,000, according to *Matthew Paris*, having come from *England*. About the same time the archbishop of *Palermo* returning from the sultan, brought with him an elephant, several mules, and many other valuable presents for the emperor, which occasioned a suspicion afterwards, that the emperor had entered into a treaty with the sultan, and, upon that account, had thwarted the expedition into the *Holy Land*. However, till the time of the embarkation, *Frederic* shewed himself very active and earnest in forwarding the preparations for the voyage. He ordered several prelates in the kingdom of *Naples* to make ready for the expedition, and required the abbot of *Cassino* to furnish 100 squires, well armed, for one year, in place of whom he afterwards accepted 1200 ounces of gold, raised from the lands of the monastery. Mean
- e while the croises being exposed to the excessive heats of the summer in the neighbourhood of *Brindisi*, without any shelter, were attacked with various distempers, which proved very mortal; but the time for the embarkation arriving, they were ordered on board, and put to sea. Three days afterwards *Frederic* put into *Otranto* with the landgrave of *Hesse*, who died in that city, and the emperor himself falling sick, or pretending to be so, laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting the voyage; upon which account upwards of 40,000 of the croises likewise returned.^h *Death of Honorius.*

^e See the History of the German Empire.^h Chron. de S. Germ.

(F) *Sigonius* says the marriage was celebrated at *Rome*, the pope having, before the ceremony, conferred the crown of *Jerusalem* upon *Jolanta*, in the *Vatican* church; but we have followed the account of *Richard*, the notary of *St. Germano*, a contemporary author, who is acknowledged by the learned *Muratori* and others to be exact and impartial in his account of the transactions of *Frederic II.*

(G) *Polydore Virgil* makes no mention of this demand; but only says, that *Otho*, the pope's nuncio, requested the tythe of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the war against the *Saracens*; which tax was accordingly levied (3).

(H) The abbot of *Ursperg*, and *Aventine*, relate, that murders were very frequent in *Germany* about this time, and attribute them to the influence of the doctrines published by the preachers of the crusade, who, in their exhortation to the people, affirmed, that whoever were guilty of parricide, incest, sacrilege, or other crimes, immediately upon their taking the vow, and sewing the cross upon their cloaths, were absolved both from the guilt and the punishment; in consequence of which doctrines very many assassinated those they were at enmity with, and then took the cross, which protected them from all prosecution (4).

(3) *Polyd. Hist. Angl. l. xvi. Annal. Bior. l. vii.*
MOD. HIST. VOL. IX.

(4) *Ursperg. in Chron. 1221. Avent.*
7 U

GREGORY,

The emperor is
excommunicated.

GREGORY, who was then at *Anagni*, upon hearing of the return of the emperor, immediately declared that he had thereby exposed himself to the sentence of excommunication formerly denounced against him at *St. Germano*. And returning soon after to *Rome*, though the archbishops of *Reggio* and *Bari*, with the duke of *Spoletto* and the count of *Malta*, had come as ambassadors from the emperor, pleading the excuse of his illness, he gave no credit to their report; but, assembling as many bishops from *Lombardy* and *Naples* as he could, he publicly excommunicated the emperor, and wrote to all the princes in Christendom, informing them of the sentence. *Frederic*, in the mean time, arriving at *Capua*, and being informed of the proceedings of the pope, sent letters in justification of himself to *Germany*, and the Christian princes; and calling an assembly of the states at *Capua*, he appointed the ninth of *May* next year for the time of his embarkation.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the pope's legate in *France*, having quieted the factions among the nobles, occasioned by their disputes about the guardianship of the young king, and having prevailed with them to submit to the administration of the queen, according to the disposition of *Lewis*, who had died the year before in *Toulouse*, he assembled the forces of the kingdom against the remains of the *Albigenses*.

Gregory is
expelled out of
Rome.
A. D. 1228.

THE emperor, in the mean time, having, by his money, procured a strong party in *Rome*, sent a justification of himself in writing to that city, which was publicly read in the *Capitol*, with the consent of the senate and people. He likewise confiscated the possessions of the ecclesiastics in his kingdom, who approved of the pope's proceeding, pillaged the houses of the knights *Templars*, and invaded the patrimony of *St. Peter*. Gregory, in return for these outrages, again excommunicated the emperor; but the party of *Frederic* prevailing in the city, he went from thence to *Rieti*, and afterwards to *Perugia*, where he excommunicated *Reginald*, the son of the duke of *Spoletto*, who had advanced with an army into the duchy of *Spoletto* and the march of *Ancona*. The imperial army, in which were a great many *Saracens*, paying no regard to the anathema, Gregory sent *John*, the late king of *Jerusalem*, with a considerable body of troops, to oppose their ravages; at the same time, by his legate cardinal *Godfrey*, he excited the associated cities of *Lombardy* to attack the cities of the emperor's party, and threatened to send the late king of *Jerusalem*, in a *Venetian* fleet, to command the cruises, and recover his kingdom.

The emperor
goes to the
Holy Land.

FREDERIC, fearing the departure of king *John*, at last determined on the *Syrian* expedition; and assembling a fleet at *Brindisi*, sailed from thence to the *Holy Land*; but, before his departure, wrote to the pope, that he had left a full power with *Rainald* to conclude a peace with the holy see. Gregory was greatly enraged that the emperor had presumed to depart upon the sacred expedition before he was reconciled to the holy see; and refusing to have any conference with *Rainald*, who was a persecutor of the church, he sent his army into the kingdom of *Naples*, commanded by the banished counts, together with *Pandolph* of *Anagni* his legate, while he ordered cardinal *Colonna* and king *John* to oppose the progress of the imperialists in the march of *Ancona*. But *Frederic*, having left a great many forces in the kingdom of *Naples*, commanded by expert generals, and having found means to justify his delay in the preceding year, had a great many friends through all *Italy*, who alleged that he was unjustly persecuted by the pope. On the other hand, Gregory, disdaining to retract his proceedings against the emperor, used every art to bring him to submission; and, not contented with spiritual arms, publicly endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to raise a general revolt, and succeeded so well, that all *Italy* was involved in a war, the cities not only being at variance with one another, but even the inhabitants of the same city, and of the same family, taking different parties, and persecuting each other with the greatest rancour and animosity¹ (I).

Italy involved
in a civil
war.

DURING these disturbances in *Italy*, Gregory went from *Perugia* to *Affisi*, and canonized *St. Francis*. He likewise wrote to the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, ordering him to proclaim the emperor excommunicated and perjured, and to prohibit the cruises from obeying him. At the same time he endeavoured, by means of his legate, to prevail with the queen-regent of *France* to declare war against the emperor². But that prudent queen refused to violate the treaties with *Frederic*, but this year sent an army against the *Albigenses*, which taking possession of *Toulouse*, obliged the count to submit to the *Roman* church, to destroy the fortifications of *Toulouse* and of thirty other cities, and to pay a yearly salary to four professors of divinity, two of law, six of liberal arts, and two grammarians, who should reside in *Toulouse*³.

The Albigenses
are entirely
reduced.

¹ SIGONIUS, l. xvii. p. 37. Chron. de S. Germ. SANUT. Chron. GUIL. de Podio. Laurent.

² MATH. PARIS.

³ SPOND. Annal.

(I) These two factions distinguished themselves by the names of *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, the *Guelphs* denoting the party of the pope, and the *Gibelines* that of the emperor, which party distinction was first used during the pontificate of *Innocent II.* and being now revived, con-

tinued for a long while after to disturb the peace of *Italy*, the mutual hatred descending, for many generations, from father to son, and occasioning much bloodshed to both parties, long after they were ignorant of the cause of their animosity.

a THE following year the emperor, being informed that the army of the pope had repulsed Frederic con- his troops from the march of *Ancona*, and pursued them into the kingdom of *Naples*, he cludes a truce concluded a truce with the *Saracens* for ten years, and, after having crowned himself in *Je- with the Sa- rusalem*, returned in *May*, with a great many *German* croises, to *Brindisi*, and sent am- racens, and returns to Italy. A. D. 1229. bassadors to the pope, desiring a reconciliation^m. But *Gregory* was so far from hearkening to terms of peace, that he sent nuncios into the different provinces of Christendom, asserting that the emperor had betrayed the cause of the Christians by concluding a truce with the *Saracens*; and representing the pressing necessities of the church, demanded their assistance against its oppressors. In *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the tythe of all moveable effects was raised, not without great severity, for the use of the *Roman* seeⁿ. But the nuncios being unsuccessful in the other kingdoms of *Europe*, and the emperor having, in a few months, recovered *Apulia* and *Campania*, *Gregory* at length hearkened to an accommodation, and, in the month of *November*, sent the master of the *Teutonic* order, and a cardinal, with preliminary terms, to the emperor, at *Aquino*^o. At the same time, by means of his legate *Walo*, he concluded a truce for eight years between *Bologna* and *Mantua*^p.

MEAN while *Romanus*, his legate in *France*, held a council in *Thoulouse*, which confirmed the peace concluded the year before with count *Raymond*, and ordained sixteen very severe canons concerning the method of detecting and punishing heretics, of receiving their conversions and adjurations, and of punishing those who were negligent in discovering them; which canons served for the rules of the inquisition then established at *Thoulouse*^q. At the same time the cardinal bishop of *Sabino*, legate in *Spain*, made a progress through that kingdom, and held a council in the dominions of each of the kings, and, in the kingdom of *Aragon*, dissolved the marriage of the king with *Leonora*, the aunt of the king of *Castile*, under pretence of consanguinity, but allowed of the legitimacy of their son *Alphonfus*, who was heir to the crown^r.

THE bishop of *Sabino*, returning soon after to *Italy*, found the peace between the emperor and the pope in great forwardness; and, by the great application of the archbishop of *Reggio*, A peace con- cluded between him and the master of the *Teutonic* order, the articles being almost all agreed to, he went with cardinal *Thomas* of *St. Sabina* to *Capua*, to absolve the emperor; but *Frederic* objecting to pope. A. D. 1230. one of the articles of the treaty, their journey was without effect. However, *Walo*, who, the year before, had acted as legate in *Lombardy*, arriving at *St. Germano*, the emperor at length agreed to refer the disputed article to his determination; and the peace being concluded, *Frederic* came to *Anagni*, where, after kissing the pope's feet, he was absolved by him, and entertained by him for three days^s. Soon after the conclusion of the peace, *Gregory* was invited to *Rome* by the senate; but, before he left *Anagni*, he wrote to the archbishops and bishops of *Naples* and *Sicily*, ordering them to correct the licentious manners of their clergy. He likewise published several severe edicts against the heretics of *Germany* and *Lombardy*, who were said to be exceeding numerous, to know one another by private signs, and to have a primate settled in *Milan*, who received from the other provinces a yearly revenue. In consequence of those edicts of the pope, many of the heretics were at this time convicted and burnt.

e THOUGH the peace was concluded between the emperor and pope, animosity and dissensions Great dissensions in Lombardy. 1231. still reigned in the cities of *Lombardy*, especially in those of the emperor's party, who expelled all those who favoured the pope, many of whom were received by the city of *Bologna*, and proscribed all the other faction, the fathers being engaged against the sons, and the sons against the fathers. *Gregory*, to remedy these disorders, sent cardinal *Columna* as his legate to *Perugia*; and a great sedition arising in *Rome*, headed by one *Hanibal* a senator, he went himself to *Rieti*, The pope is obliged to quit Rome. where he had a conference with the king of *Jerusalem*, and gave his consent to an alliance between the emperor of *Constantinople* and his daughter, and that, during the minority of the emperor, the king should be administrator of the empire.

f THE king departing, on board a *Venetian* fleet, for *Constantinople*, *Gregory* proceeded to *Perugia*, where, having in some measure quieted the disturbances, he conferred a large sum He reconciles the inhabitants of money upon the late sufferers, and proposed to continue with his court, for some time, in of *Perugia*. the city. Mean while, being informed that the pretor of *Bologna* had opposed the bishop in collecting the tythe of the corn, he ordered the city to be laid under an interdict; and hearing that the emperor had seized all the possessions of the knights *Templars* and *Hospitallers* in his kingdom for his own use, he wrote to him, desiring him to restore their possessions, as they were under the protection of the church. Having also received letters from the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, informing him that the king of *Persia* was approaching, with a formidable army, He intreats the emperor to send to take possession of *Syria*, he intreated *Frederic* to think of succouring the *Holy Land*, which emperor to send

^m Chron. de S. Germ.ⁿ Chron. de Podio Laurentii.
Chron. de S. Germ.^o MAT. PARIS.^p MARIAN. Rer. Hispan. l. xii. c. 14.^q Chron. de S. Germ.^r SIGON. l. xvii. c. 38.^s SIGON. l. xvii. p. 40.

succours to the Holy Land. was now his own. He likewise exhorted the kings of *France* and *England* to take arms ^a against the Infidels. But the *English*, instead of assuming the cross against the *Saracens*, formed an association against the *Roman* and *Italian* priests, of whose exactions and oppressions they had, for a long while, complained: the associators, pretending the authority of the king, attacked all those of the *Italian* nation, and plundered them of their effects; upon which the rioters were excommunicated by the bishops; and *Gregory* wrote to the king, ordering him, under pain of excommunication, to search out and punish the authors of the outrage ¹.

He reconciles the Romans with the inhabitants of Orvieto.
A. D. 1232.

THE seditious *Romans* at this time attacking *Viterbo*, and ravaging the territories of that city, *Gregory* sent the bishop of *Ostia* thither, with the cardinal of *St. Sabina*, by whose mediation a peace was concluded between the contending parties. He likewise wrote to his ^b legates, whom he had sent into *Lombardy*, to reconcile the associated towns with the emperor, desiring them to exhort the new pretor and council of *Bologna* to restore the possessions of their bishop; and, upon their refusing to comply with his demand, he wrote to the bishops of *Spoletto*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*, to excommunicate the city of *Bologna*, to publish the sentence in *Lombardy*, *Romaniola*, and *Tuscany*, and to order all the scholars to quit the city. *Gregory*, in the mean time, went to *Spoletto*, where he canonized *St. Antony*, a monk of the order of *Minors*, who had died a year before at *Padua*, and was become very famous by the miracles pretended to be done by him since his death. From *Spoletto* the pope returned soon after to *Rieti*, and hearing that the *Romans*, from their hatred to him, were marching with an army to plunder *Campania*, he sent immediately three cardinals to *Rome*, who made a ^c composition with the *Romans*, and, by paying a large sum of money, prevailed with them to to recall their army ².

He creates a bishop in Russia.

1233.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, *Gregory* created *Gerard*, a monk of the *Dominican* order, as the first bishop of the *Russians*, and appointed several bishops and abbots as visitors of the monks, nuns, and regular and secular clergy, through Christendom, to reform their manners, and restore their discipline. At the same time he received a letter from *Germanus*, the patriarch of the *Greek* church, who, since the taking of *Constantinople* by the croises, had resided at *Nice*, in *Bitbrynia*. The patriarch acknowledged the supremacy of the *Roman* church, and offered his utmost endeavours to promote an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. *Gregory*, in return, promised to send to him religious men, who should explain to him the ^d rites of the *Roman* church. Accordingly, the following year, he sent two friars of the order of *Preachers*, and two of the order of *Minors*, into *Bitbrynia*, with letters for the patriarch. He likewise sent some *Franciscans* with letters for the sultan of *Damascus*, exhorting him to embrace the Christian faith.

The Romans solicit his return to Rome.

He sends missionaries into Africa and Babylon.

MEAN while a great mortality prevailing in *Rome*, which almost swept off one half the inhabitants, the *Romans* sent a submissive embassy to the pope at *Anagni*, intreating him to return to the city. *Gregory* complied with their request; and, upon his return, dispatched other friars of the *Franciscan* order into *Georgia*, *Babylon*, and *Africa*, to preach the gospel to the *Saracens* in those parts. And ever since the peace concluded with the emperor, having laboured in vain by the cardinals to reconcile the associated cities of *Lombardy* to his authority, he now ^e employed the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* friars, who were at this time in high reputation, to prevail with the cities to cease their hostilities, and to submit their differences with the emperor to the arbitration of the holy see. Those friars were extraordinary successful in their preaching, particularly one friar *John*, who reconciled the city of *Bologna* with their bishop, and, upon account of his powerful preaching and appearance of sanctity, was greatly revered by the people, who chose him for the arbitrator of all their differences, and submitted, without reluctance, to his regulations for the reformation of manners. From *Bologna* the friar proceeded through the march of *Ancona*, from thence to *Mantua*, and then to *Verona*, every where recommending peace. The other friars, who were employed in the different parts of *Lombardy*, had likewise such influence with the people, that they assembled in great numbers, ^f making solemn processions in the cities and fields, with crosses and lighted tapers; so that this year was afterwards termed the year of *general devotion* ³.

He excommunicates the Florentines.
1234.

GREGORY, in the mean time, excommunicated the *Florentines*, for having attacked the territories of *Sienna*, and gave a commission to the bishop of *Vicenza* and others to inquire into the truth of the complaints against the doge and senate of *Venice*, who were accused of having made several decrees against the privileges of the ecclesiastics. He likewise wrote to the king of *Hungary*, not to deprive the duke of *Bosnia* of his territories, on account of his having been a heretic, as he was now converted to the faith of the *Roman* church, by the preaching of the *Dominicans* ⁴. Being informed also, that, by the conquests of the *Teutonic* order, the

¹ MAT. PARIS.

² Chron. de S. Germ.

³ SIGON. ubi supra.

⁴ SPOND. Annales.

2 Christian religion was prevailing in *Prussia*, he erected the province of *Pomerania* into a bishopric. Soon after, having received a letter from the emperor, desiring his mediation with the cities of *Lombardy*, he wrote to the associated cities in his favour, and having a conference with him and the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, a general expedition into *Syria* was resolved upon, and the chief command conferred upon *Theodoric* archbishop of *Ravenna*, by the joint authority of the pope and the emperor, *Gregory* appointing him his legate in the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and employing the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* friars to preach up the crusade in the different kingdoms of *Europe*.

GREGORY, at the same time, being informed that the remains of the *Albigenses* had again taken arms to revenge themselves upon the inquisitors, who acted with great severity, wrote to the king of *France*, desiring him to march an army into the province of *Thoulouse*. He likewise ordered a crusade to be preached against the *Stadingi*, who resided in the confines of *Bre-men*, *Saxony*, and *Friesland*, and were infected with heresy (K). In consequence of the pope's bull, and grant of indulgences, a considerable army of croises, under the command of the duke of *Brabant*, the count of *Flanders*, and the archbishop of *Bremen*, marched against the heretics; and, after killing 9000 of them in an engagement, obliged the rest to submit to the see of *Rome*. Exhorts the king of France to march against the Albigenses.

IN the mean time the *Romans*, renewing their seditions, demanded of the pope that none of their citizens should be subject to excommunication, and that the *Roman* church should pay an annual tribute to the senate; but *Gregory* denying their request, they expelled him from the city, and destroyed some houses belonging to him. The pope again retired to *Perugia*; but being joined by some of the emperor's troops, he ruined several villas belonging to the *Romans*, who in return marched with a numerous army against *Viterbo*, a city in the pope's interest; but the pope's army, being strengthened by the *Germans*, forced them to an engagement, and obliged them to retire to the city with considerable loss. The peace among the *Lombard* cities was of as short a continuance as that in *Rome*; for instead of putting in execution the resolutions they had been inspired with by the preaching of the monks, their former diffensions were renewed with as much animosity as ever. A new sedition in Rome. Hostilities between the Romans and the army of the pope.

WHILE *Gregory* resided at *Perugia*, he appointed several *Dominican* friars inquisitors of the faith in different kingdoms and provinces, and published an edict, regulating the manner of proceeding against the *Cathari*, *Patarini*, and *Bulgari*, or *Bugari*, who, according to *Matthew Paris*, were very numerous at this time in the neighbourhood of the *Alps* and in *Flanders*. He likewise ordered the council of *Narbonne* to give their advice to the inquisitors lately appointed in that province, who, in obedience to the mandate of the pope, drew up twenty-nine articles concerning the punishments to be inflicted upon the heretics or their favourers, and the marks by which they may be detected. Mean while the emperor, having gone into *Germany* to punish the rebellion of his son *Henry* king of the *Romans*, *Gregory* wrote to the princes of *Germany*, dissuading them from engaging in the revolt; and, after *Frederic* had quelled the rebellion, he granted him a dispensation to marry *Isabella*, the daughter of the king of *England*. At the same time taking those *Germans* that had been left in *Italy* into his pay, he obliged the seditious *Romans* to accept of an accommodation; however, he did not then return to the city, but went from *Perugia* to *Spoletto*, where he published a bull, exhorting a new expedition into the *Holy Land*. A rebellion in Germany.

Soon after *Gregory* received a letter from the emperor, complaining that the associated cities of *Lombardy* had offered assistance to his rebellious son, and had even promised to confer upon him the crown of *Italy*, which they had hitherto refused to himself; therefore he intreated his holiness, either to prevail with them to consent to a peace, or to assist him in reducing the authors of the revolt, and the protectors of the heretics. *Gregory* was greatly embarrassed with this letter, as the associated cities, who opposed the emperor, upon pretence of defending their liberties, had likewise espoused that party which stood up for the rights of the *Roman* church. That he might seem to act an impartial part, he wrote to the emperor, begging him not to attack the *Lombards*, in violation of the truce that had been granted to them to prepare Frederic desires the pope's mediation with the cities of Lombardy. 1236.

^y SIGON. l. xvii. p. 46. BLOND. Dec. ii. l. vii. Chron. de S. Germ. ^z SIGON. ubi supra.

(K) *John of Leyden* gives us an account of the first rise of this heresy, and attributes it to the avarice of a priest, who, not content with the offering of a denier, given him at *Easter* by a lady of that province, to testify his contempt, instead of the wafer, put the same denier into her mouth, when she came to communicate. The lady, having her eyes shut from devotion, received the piece of money into her mouth, and was in great confusion

when she found she could not chew it; attributing it to her own sins that made it impossible for her to swallow the wafer. However she kept it in her mouth till she went home, and discovering the insult, related it to her husband, who, in a rage, went and murdered the priest and prevailed with the whole province to renounce the authority of the *Roman* church (5).

(5) Chron. Belg. l. xxii. c. 14.

succours for the *Holy Land*; and that, if he would refer his differences with those cities to his arbitration, he would conclude an accommodation with the greatest impartiality. The emperor, willing to continue in good correspondence with the pope, agreed to his proposal, and sent the master of the *Tentonic* order as his deputy to the pope's legate then in *Lombardy*. But no deputies from the associated cities appearing, *Frederic* recalled the grand master, and soon after entered *Italy* with a formidable army, and commenced hostilities against the *Lombards*, by taking and burning *Vicenza*^a.

The king of
Tunis is seized
by the Sicilians.
A. D. 1237.

GREGORY, in the mean time, being informed that the *Sicilians* had seized and imprisoned the king of *Tunis*, as he was sailing past their island to *Italy*, in order to be baptized, he wrote to the emperor and to the *Sicilians*, insisting upon the king's being set at liberty. About the same time he received a letter from *Philip*, a *Dominican* friar, and prior of the *Holy Land*, informing him that the patriarch of the *Jacobites* in *Armenia*, with many of his archbishops and bishops, having come to visit the sacred places of *Jerusalem*, had abjured their heresy, and promised obedience to the *Roman* church. But *Matthew Paris* informs us, that the motive of their proceeding was the fear of the *Tartars*, against whom they expected the assistance of the croises, and that, soon after, their country being freed from the incursions of those barbarians, they again renounced all obedience to the church of *Rome*^b. Mean while the cities of *Lombardy*, finding that the emperor's troops were daily making new conquests, intreated the pope to act as mediator. Gregory accordingly sent a nuncio to the emperor, who was then in *Germany*, intreating him to order hostilities to cease in *Lombardy*, and to renew the privileges granted to the associated cities by his father and grandfather. This negotiation had no effect; for *Frederic*, in the beginning of autumn, entering *Italy* with a formidable army, and being joined by 10,000 *Saracens* from *Apulia*, attacked the army of the confederates, and gained a complete victory, killing 10,000 of the enemy, and taking a great many prisoners.

The emperor
defeats the con-
federates in
Lombardy.

Gregory re-
turns to Rome.

DURING these transactions in *Lombardy*, the city of *Rome* was greatly harrassed by the dissensions of the nobles and senators, some of whom favoured *Gregory*, and others the emperor; but the pope's party at length prevailing, he was received into the city with great rejoicing, and distributed an immense sum of money to the relief of the poor^c. Before he returned to the city, *Gregory* sent cardinal *Otho* as his legate into *England*, who at *York* composed some differences between the kings of *England* and *Scotland*, and returning to *London*, held a national council in that city, where he had determined to proceed against those who held a plurality of benefices; but, as the incumbents were supported by their powerful relations, he thought proper to desist, for fear of raising a disturbance in the kingdom. After dismissing the council, he set out for *Scotland*; but he was prevented from entering that kingdom by a message from the king, informing him that no legate had ever entered *Scotland*, and that he intended to make no innovations; besides, if he should enter the kingdom, there were many men who could not even be restrained by the royal authority from attacking him. The legate desisted upon this message, and returning to *London*, the following year held a council of the abbots of the order of *Benedictines*.

1238.
Offers his me-
diation for a
peace between
the Lombards
and the emper-
or.

He sides with
the confede-
rates.

THE emperor, in the mean time, having reduced all the cities of *Lombardy*, except *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Alexandria*, and *Brescia*, the inhabitants of *Milan*, dreading the effects of his resentment, intreated the pope to mediate a peace between them and the emperor, offering to submit to him as their sovereign, and to send 10,000 men to the *Holy Land*, on condition that he would preserve their liberties, and make no alteration in the government of their city. *Frederic* insisting upon their surrendering at discretion, the treaty was broke off; and the pope, fearing the growing power of the emperor, who every day was turning more despotic, from this time attached himself to the interest of the associated cities; in consequence of which resolution, he sent legates to the king of *Arragon*, desiring him to enter into an alliance with the associated cities, offering him the annual tribute that was due to the emperor in *Lombardy*, and 150,000 imperial pounds for the expences of the present succours which they wanted. As the king of *Arragon* was then engaged in a successful war against the *Moors*, he only promised to send 2000 knights into *Italy*; but it appears from the *Spanish* historians, that he did not even fulfil this promise^d.

GREGORY likewise, to strengthen the confederacy in *Lombardy*, concluded a peace between the republics of *Genoa* and *Venice*, the *Venetian* fleet immediately after sailing to *Constantinople*, and relieving that city from the siege of the *Greeks*. The emperor *Baldwin* having come to *France* to solicit assistance, the pope wrote to the bishops of *France* and *England*, desiring them to bestow upon him a part of their revenues; and as *Baldwin* proposed to march by land to *Constantinople* with an army of 60,000 men, which he had raised, *Gregory* granted him an indulgence, that, if he should be forced, in the countries through which he passed, to

^a Idem ibid. SPOND. Annal.

^b MATH. PARIS, hoc Ann.

^c Vita Greg. apud MURATOR.

^d ZURIT. in Indic. hoc an. MARIAN. de Reb. Hispan. lib. xii.

a swear any thing to the prejudice of the empire of *Constantinople*, his oath should not be binding^c.

Soon after *Gregory*, being informed that the emperor had created his natural son *Henry* The emperor is king of *Sardinia*, in violation of the rights of the see of *Rome* to that island, and that he had likewise published an edict, subjecting ecclesiastics, guilty of capital crimes, to the judgment of temporal courts, he solemnly excommunicated him at *Rome*, and sent nuncios and legates to all bishops and Christian princes, ordering the sentence of excommunication to be published in their dominions. The emperor, who was then at *Padua*, appeared not at all uneasy at the news of his being excommunicated, but having immediately ordered his secretary to justify his conduct, in a discourse to those who were present, he wrote to all the Christian princes, clearing himself of the crimes of which he had been accused by the pope, and inveighing against that prelate as an unworthy pastor, whose ambition and avarice troubled the church. In answer to these letters of the emperor, *Gregory* published others, addressed to all the faithful, wherein he recapitulated the actions of the emperor from his infancy, and stiled him the *Forerunner of Antichrist*, and a heretic, as he alleged that the pope had no authority of binding and loosing. But the pope, not finding that assistance from foreign states that he expected, concluded an alliance with the confederate cities, and with the republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, and sent *Gregory de Monte Longo* as his legate into *Lombardy*, a man of an active spirit, who, with the assistance of the archbishop of *Milan*, exerted himself vigorously to oppose the imperialists, and even compelled the clergy to insist^f.

c THE pope's nuncios, not being able to raise any disturbance in *Germany*, *Frederic* was at leisure to prosecute the war in *Italy*; and being highly exasperated against the pope, observed no measures in his resentment. He ordered all the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who were natives of *Lombardy*, to be expelled from *Naples* and *Sicily*, and assembling his army, he ravaged the march of *Trevise* and the *Milanese*; but, being defeated in an engagement with the troops of *Milan*, and hearing that the *Venetians* had taken possession of *Ravenna*, had defeated his fleet off *Apulia*, he left strong garrisons in the cities of *Lombardy*, and directed his march for *Rome*. *Gregory* was greatly terrified at the approach of the imperialists, but, to animate the *Romans* in his defence, he made a procession from the *Lateran* to the *Vatican* church, with the heads of the apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and, after a long discourse, taking the two skulls in his arms, he protested with tears that he could not defend those relics nor himself without the faithful assistance of the *Romans*. Observing the people moved by his harangue, he immediately published a crusade against the emperor, as an enemy of Christianity; and was so successful, that even those who had conspired against him, and were bribed by the emperor, took the cross with the greatest ardour; so that, when *Frederic* approached the city, he found himself opposed by a numerous army. The emperor, not having forces sufficient to venture an engagement, ravaged the country, and marched with his army towards *Naples*; but having taken some of the *Roman* crusards prisoners, he put them to death by various tortures, impressing the figure of a cross upon their foreheads with a red-hot iron, and cutting the heads of others into four pieces, in form of a cross^g.

c FREDERIC, upon his arrival in *Apulia*, being informed that the crusards in *Syria* had lately met with some disadvantages, he sent letters to the princes of *Europe*, inveighing against the pope, who had prevented him from going to their assistance. *Gregory*, in the mean time, sent to the kings of *England* and *France*, desiring their assistance against the emperor, and offered the imperial crown to the brother of the king of *France*. The offer of the crown was rejected: however, the legates obtained a twentieth part of the ecclesiastical revenues in *France*, and the fifth of those in *England*^h. But the kings, *Henry* and *Lewis*, advising his holiness to call a general council, as the best means to settle the disturbances of *Italy*, *Gregory* accordingly wrote letters to all the bishops in Christendom, appointing a general council to be held at *Rome* the following *Easter*. The emperor consented to the calling of a council, and concluded a truce with the pope till after the celebration of that assembly, but excepted the city of *Milan* and its allies. Mean while hostilities still continued betwixt the confederates and the emperor. During his absence in *Apulia*, they made themselves masters of *Ferrara*, after a siege of five months, which he being informed of, returned with his army towards *Lombardy*, and retook *Ravenna*, from whence he proceeded to the siege of *Faenza*, which continued several months; and observing that the letters, published by the pope for convoking a general council, made no mention of treating of peace, but only of the affairs of the church, he revoked the passports that he had given, and wrote to the Christian princes not to allow the bishops of their dominions to proceed to *Rome*.

^c SPOND. Annal. Regest. Greg. Vita Greg. apud MURATOR.

^f SIGON. l. xviii. p. 55. SPOND. Annal. MAT. PARIS. BLOND. Dec. ii. l. vii.

^g SIGON. ubi sup.

DURING these disturbances in *Italy*, the pope's legate in *France* held several councils in that kingdom; but, if we believe *Matthew Paris*, the king, upon receiving the letter from the emperor against the general council, ordered all the money which the legate had raised to be detained till he should see the issue of the affair. At the same time the exactions of *Otho*, legate in *England*, occasioned great murmurs among the people; and a *Carthusian* monk was apprehended at *Cambridge*, and imprisoned in the tower of *London*, for affirming that the devil was let loose; that the pope was a heretic, and not the head of the churchⁱ. Notwithstanding the great murmurs in *England*, *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, the king's brother, assembled a large fleet, and sailed this year with 40,000 crusards for the *Holy Land*.

He orders a
crusade for the
protection of
Hungary
against the
Tartars.
A. D. 1241.

MEAN while the bishop of *Vacia* in *Hungary* arriving at *Rome*, and imploring the assistance of the pope against the *Tartars*, who were ravaging *Hungary* with the greatest barbarity, *Gregory* wrote a consolatory letter to king *Bela*, who, having been expelled by the *Tartars*, was then skulking in the islands on the coast of *Dalmatia*; and he ordered a crusade to be preached against the *Tartars*, accusing the emperor of preventing him from furnishing other assistance. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the emperor, a great many bishops being now arrived at *Genoa*, in their way to *Rome*, they embarked on board the galleys of that republic, to perform the rest of their journey by sea, as there was no security in going by land, on account of the troops of the emperor. The *Genoese* galleys, on their voyage, meeting with those of *Pisa*, an engagement ensued, in which the *Pisans* were victors, having taken or sunk all those of the enemy, excepting five vessels which escaped. The legates and prelates, who were on board the galleys that were taken, were carried to *Naples*, and kept prisoners in separate castles in that kingdom. *Gregory* no sooner heard of their imprisonment, but he wrote to them, exhorting them to patience, in imitation of the primitive martyrs: at the same time he excited the *Lombards* and *Venetians* to a vigorous prosecution of the war. But being deeply affected with the captivity of the bishops, and hearing that cardinal *Colonna* had gone over to the party of the emperor, he was seized with a distemper which carried him off on the 21st of *September*, when he had lived, according to *Matthew Paris*, almost 100 years, his weak administration and unchristian resentment against the emperor having been the occasion of great desolation and calamities to *Italy*, the greatest part of the nobility of that kingdom having been cut off in the wars during his pontificate.

The emperor
seizes the pre-
lates on their
voyage to
Rome.

Death of
Gregory.

Election of
Celestine IV.

AFTER the death of *Gregory* the *Roman* see continued vacant for 30 days, occasioned by the disputes among the cardinals, who were only ten in number. At length cardinal *Geofry* was elected, and took the name of *Celestine IV.* As he was born of a noble family in *Milan*, it was feared that he would prosecute the war with more vehemence than his predecessor; but immediately upon his election he sent an embassy to the emperor, proposing to treat of peace. However, he died on the 18th day of his pontificate, before an answer could return from *Frederic*, and was buried in the church of *St. Peter*^k.

Death of
Celestine.

1242.

UPON *Celestine's* death, the cardinals not being able to agree about a successor, the *Roman* see continued vacant upwards of twenty months. In the mean time, the cardinals pretending that, during the vacancy, the apostolic authority resided in them, decided all causes in the usual manner; and we find from *Matthew Paris*, that, in some causes from *England*, they annulled a decree that had been surreptitiously obtained from *Gregory*. The following year the emperor continued with his army chiefly in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and sent the master of the *Teutonic* order to the cardinals to negotiate a peace, but without effect; upon which hostilities recommenced, the imperialists ravaging the territories of *Rieti*, *Parma*, and *Ascoli*, while the *Romans* made an attempt upon the city of *Tivoli*. But while their army was engaged before that city, the emperor ravaged the territory of *Rome*, and obliged them to return. Proceeding afterwards with his army to *Naples*, he set the two cardinals, that had been taken on board the *Genoese* galleys, at liberty, and urged those who were at *Rome* no longer to delay the election of a pope, as he had been unjustly charged of being the occasion of the delay.

The emperor
compels the
cardinals to
proceed to an
election.

1243.

Innocent IV.
is chosen.

HAVING, by repeated letters^l, urged the cardinals to proceed to the election, without any effect, he assembled his army on the 1st of *April*, and marching towards *Rome*, began to pillage its territories; but the *Romans* declaring it was only the cardinals and prelates who occasioned the delay, he ordered his troops only to ravage the territories of the sacred college; and at last obtaining their promise to proceed immediately to the election, he withdrew his troops, and marched back into the kingdom of *Naples*. The cardinals soon after assembling at *Anagni*, unanimously elected cardinal *Sinigald*, a *Genoese*, who took the name of *Innocent IV.* and was consecrated in the same city upon the 28th of *June*^m. The emperor, who was then at *Melfi*, when he heard of the election of *Innocent*, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung through all the kingdom of *Naples*, and immediately sent ambassadors to *Anagni* with offers of peace.

ⁱ MATH. PARIS.
VINEIS I. Epist. 14 & 17.

^k PLATINA in Vit. Pont. Vit. Celestine apud MURATOR.
^m Chron. S. Germ. Vit. Pont. Rom. apud MURATOR.

^l PETR. DE

Innocent,

- a *Innocent*, in return, sent the archbishop of *Rouen*, the bishop of *Modena*, and the abbot of *St. Facundus*, as legates to the emperor, to treat of a reconciliation with the holy see, on condition that he set the captive prelates at liberty, and made satisfaction for the crimes for which he had been condemned by *Gregory*; the pope at the same time promising to stand to the arbitration of a general council, assembled in a place of security, as to the grievances which the emperor alleged he had received from the church. The emperor rejecting these preliminaries, the negociation went no farther; upon which account several cities, that were disappointed in their expectations of peace, revolted from his party, and adhered to that of the church. During these dissensions betwixt the emperor and the pope, a great controversy arose among the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, about the priority and dignity of their respective orders, both of them being already distinguished by their pride and avarice, building for themselves magnificent houses, and hunting after pious legacies and last wills in their favour, for which they were not even ashamed to go to law^a.

- FREDERIC, in the mean time, being greatly solicited by his friends, again sent an embassy to the pope, to treat of peace, and *Raymond* count of *Thoulouse*, who had lately come to *Italy*, together with *Peter de Vineis* and *Thaddeus de Sueffa*, swore, in his name, that he would stand to the judgment of the pope in all the articles relating to the church. But *Innocent* soon after proceeding to *Castellano*, and from thence to *Sutri*, and in vain urging the emperor to fulfil his oath, by restoring all the territories subject to the church, and setting the captive prelates at liberty, he resolved to retire from *Italy*, as *Frederic* was in possession of almost all the places in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. He accordingly sent for some *Genoese* galleys, and escaping privately from *Sutri*, he embarked at *Civita Vecchia*; from whence he failed to *Genoa*, where he was received with the greatest honours, the streets through which he passed being hung with tapestry and silk^b. Upon his arrival at *Genoa*, being seized with a fever and dysentery, he continued three months in the monastery of *St. Andrew* near the city, and recovering his health in some measure, he proceeded by land to *Lyons*, where he arrived on the 2d of *December*. Negociation: for a peace between the pope and the emperor. A. D. 1244.

- Soon after his arrival at *Lyons*, he created twelve new cardinals, and granted them the privilege of wearing a red hat. He likewise sent the archbishop of *Sabino* as legate into *Normandy*, and *Albert* archbishop of *Livonia* and *Prussia*, as legate to the *Russians*, to persuade them to embrace the rites of the *Latin* church^c. The emperor, in the mean time, publishing circular letters, accusing the pope of being the occasion of breaking off the negotiations, *Innocent* appointed a general council to be held at *Lyons* on the 24th of *June*, to which he solemnly invited all the christian princes, with the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, but contented himself with summoning the emperor by name, upon every occasion when he preached to the people. Mean while he sent a legate to *Sbentapellus* duke of *Pomerania*, exhorting him to submit to the church, he having been excommunicated for entering into an alliance with the Pagan *Prussians* against the *Teutonic* knights. Several *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* were, at this time, likewise sent to preach the gospel to the *Tartars*, who, after suffering many hardships among those barbarians, returned some years afterwards with letters for the pope^d. Innocent quits Italy and goes for Lyons. 1245.

- THE time for the general council being at length arrived, there were found 140 archbishops and bishops, three patriarchs, besides a great many abbots and priors, and the proxies of the absent prelates. The emperor of *Constantinople* was likewise present, with the counts of *Thoulouse* and *Provence*, and the ambassadors from other christian princes. The emperor, who was then at *Verona*, where he had held an assembly of the states of *Lombardy*, sent *Thaddeus de Sueffa*, with several other nobles, as his ambassadors to the council, who, after declaring that the emperor was willing to give satisfaction for all grievances complained of, offered the kings of *France* and *England* as sureties for the performance of what he promised. The pope rejected the offer of the ambassadors, under pretence that *Frederic* would still break his word, which would oblige him to proceed against the sureties with ecclesiastical censures. *Thaddeus*, finding that his offers were rejected, demanded time to acquaint the emperor, that he might come himself to the council. *Innocent* at first refused to consent to that request, and declared, that, if the emperor appeared at the council, he would quit the city; but at the intercession of the *French* and *English* ambassadors, he granted a delay of two weeks. *Frederic*, who had then advanced to *Turin*, rejected the proposal of his ambassador, as derogatory to his dignity; upon which the pope pronounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, notwithstanding the interposition of the *English* ambassador, who, to engage the attention of the council, accused the ministers of the court of *Rome* of great extortions in *England*, and complained of the excessive tribute that was exacted every year from that kingdom^e. A general council at Lyons. The emperor is excommunicated and deposed.

^a MATH. PARIS. Wadding. in Annal. Minor. an 1244.

l. xviii. p. 92. MATH. PARIS.

^b VITA Innocent. ubi supra.

^c Vita Innocent apud MURATOR. SIGON.

^d SPOND. Annal.

^e MATH. PARIS.

The pope ex-
horts the
princes of
Germany to a
new election ;

THE council held only three sessions, in which some decrees were made for the recovery of ^a the *Holy Land*, and for the extirpation of heresy ; and it concluded with a solemn denouncing of the sentence of excommunication and deposition against the emperor, his ambassador *Thaddeus* at the same time appealing to a future general council. Upon dismissing the council, the pope sent the bishop of *Ferrara* to the princes of *Germany*, and particularly to the electors, exhorting them to elect another emperor, in obedience to which mandate, several princes assembled the following year at *Wurtzburg*, and elected *Henry* landgrave of *Thuringia*.

THE emperor in the mean time, being highly exasperated against the pope, wrote to the kings of *England* and *France* in his own justification, and offered to submit his cause to the arbitration of *St. Lewis*, and the peers of his kingdom. *Lewis* accordingly had a confer- ^b ence with the pope for several days at *Cluny*, but could not prevail with him to remit any thing of his rigour. *Innocent* mean while, having received a petition from the nobles and bishops of *Portugal*, complaining of the inactivity of their king, and desiring that he might be deposed, he appointed *Alphonfus* the king's brother to govern the kingdom, on condition that the royal dignity should be preserved to *Sancho* during his life, and conferred upon his children if he ever should have any.

and orders a
crusade to be
preached a-
gainst Fre-
deric.
A. D. 1246.

BUT being chiefly intent upon opposing the emperor, he ordered a crusade to be preached against him, and sent persons into *Sicily* to promote a rebellion in that kingdom. Hearing likewise of the election of the landgrave of *Thuringia*, he sent him 15000 merks of silver, to assist him in opposing *Conrad*. In consequence of these proceedings of the pope, the fac- ^c tion of the *Guelphs* began to turn very powerful in *Italy*, and several of the *Italian* nobles entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the emperor ; but the plot being discovered, the conspirators, and their relations to the fourth and fifth degree of consanguinity, were put to death *. *Frederic* was at great pains to publish the conspiracy, imputing it to the pope, who had ordered a crusade to be preached against him as an infidel and heretic. In return, he likewise hired several assassins to murder *Innocent*, but though they attempted it at different times, they were all apprehended and executed *. Mean while, the war continuing in *Italy*, that kingdom, and especially *Lombardy*, became a scene of misery and desolation. Agriculture was almost wholly interrupted, the olive trees and vineyards were destroyed ; troops of banditti and robbers infested the whole country ; and even the foxes and wolves entered the ^d cities, and seized upon children ; neighbours became mutually suspicious of each other, and lived in continual expectation of being made prisoners or massacred †.

The war occa-
sions great
calamities in
Italy.

Innocent
writes to the
soltan of
Babylon in
favour of the
Christians.

THESE miseries had no influence with the pope, to incline him to an accommodation with the emperor. He still continued at *Lyons*, from whence he wrote to the soltan of *Babylon*, desiring him to conclude a peace, or at least a truce, with the Christians of *Syria*. That soltan having a diffension with the soltan of *Damascus*, wrote to his holiness, testifying his de- fire of peace, but at the same time declared, he would not treat without the assent of the emperor. *Innocent*, at this time, likewise wrote to the kings in *Mauritania*, in behalf of the Christians of *Africa*, and sent *Lupus* as bishop into that province, granting him an indul- ^e gence of not visiting *Rome* for ten years, as the *Moorish* princes made a difficulty of allowing any person to quit their dominions. At the same time being informed that the king of *Ar- ragon* had ordered the bishop of *Girona*'s tongue to be cut out, on suspicion that he had discovered a clandestine marriage, which the king then wanted to disown, *Innocent* excommuni- cated the king, and laid his kingdom under an interdict, and, upon his acknowledging his fault, and offering satisfaction, he sent two legates into *Spain*, who held a council of the nobles and bishops at *Lerida*, in presence of which they reprehended the king, and, upon his falling down upon his knees, and protesting his abhorrence of the crime, absolved him from the sentence of excommunication †.

Excommuni-
cates the king
of Arragon.

Frederic in-
treates the me-
diation of the
king of
France.
1247.

MEAN while the emperor endeavoured, by means of the king of *France*, to conclude a peace with the pope ; and hearing of the death of his competitor, the landgrave of *Thuringia*, ^f in *Germany*, he advanced to *Turin*, with the design of proceeding to *Lyons*, to have a conference with the pope, but, according to some authors, to seize upon his person. *Innocent* rejected the mediation of *St. Lewis*, and sent several legates to desire the assistance of the christian princes against the emperor. At the same time he sent *Peter Capaechio* as his legate into *Germany*, by whose means several of the princes assembled at *Nuitz*, and elected *William* count of *Holland*, to whom the pope immediately sent a present of 30,000 merks of silver. About the same time he sent cardinal *William*, bishop of *Sabino*, as his legate into *Norway*, who anointed and crowned *Haquinus*, or *Aquinus*, king ; and, upon his making a vow of an expedition into the *Holy Land*, granted him the 20th part of the ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom for three years. Cardinal *Ostavianus* was likewise sent into *Lombardy* with a con-

Innocent
sends a legate
into Norway.

* COLLENUTIUS Hist. Neap. l. iv.
de reb. Hisp. l. xiii. c. 6.

† MATH. PARIS.

‡ SIGON. l. xviii. p. 65.

§ MARIAN.

a fiderable body of troops, and a large fum of money; but *Amadeus*, count of *Savoy*, opposing him in his passing the *Alps*, his forces were obliged to disperse, and he only with a few attendants arrived in *Italy*. *Innocent* also appointed friar *Laurence*, of the order of *Franciscans*, as his legate in the east, to the *Iconians*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*, to all the *Greeks*, as well in *Greece* as in the patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, and to the *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Nestorians*.

Soon after he received the news of a great victory, which the garrison of *Parma* had gained over the emperor, by surprizing and storming his camp, in which was found an imperial crown, and the emperor's most valuable jewels, besides an immense treasure in money. A. D. 1248;

b This victory was very fatal to the affairs of *Frederic*, who, though he assembled his scattered troops, and made a shew of renewing the siege of *Parma*; yet was obliged to desist from that enterprize, and retired into *Apulia*, to secure the fidelity of his hereditary kingdoms. *The affairs of the emperor are ruined in Lombardy.*

Mean while, his natural son, *Hentz* king of *Sardinia*, was taken prisoner by the troops of *Bologna*; and *Conrad* king of the *Romans*, not having been able to relieve *Aix-la-Chapelle*, that city surrendered after a siege of six months, to his competitor *William* count of *Holland*, where he was crowned by the pope's legate, or, according to some authors, by the archbishop of *Cologne*; while *Conrad*, affording his protection to a certain sect of heretics in *Suabia*, upon that account lost the favour of a great many nobles of *Germany*. These heretics were called *Circumcelliones*, and asserted that the pope was a heretic; that all the prelates and bishops were heretics, and guilty of simony; and that neither they, nor any other priests, being guilty of mortal sins, had authority to bind or loose, or even to consecrate; and that they ought not to pray for the pope, but for *Frederic* and *Conrad*.*

In the mean time, *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, having prepared every thing for his expedition into the *Holy Land*, arrived at *Lyons* with a numerous retinue of nobles and bishops, and having had a conference with *Innocent*, and received the pontifical benediction, he sailed down the *Rhone*, and joined his fleet, which was already at sea. *Innocent* sent cardinal *Otho* bishop of *Tusculum*, and *Andrew* a *Franciscan*, as his legates, with the king of *France*; and hearing that friar *Laurence*, who had been sent legate into *Greece*, was received honourably by the emperor and patriarch, the following year he sent *John* of *Parma*, the general of the *Franciscans*, with letters to the emperor and the patriarch, to intreat them to consent to an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. *The king of France sails for the Holy Land.* 1249.

d *Franciscans*, with letters to the emperor and the patriarch, to intreat them to consent to an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. And the year after, being informed that the army of the king of *France* had been entirely defeated, and himself with many of his nobles taken prisoners by the *Saracens* in *Egypt*, he wrote a consolatory letter to him, exhorting him to fortitude in his adversity. At the same time he also wrote to the archbishops and bishops of *France*, desiring them to put up public prayers for the delivery of their king, and to exhort the people to take the cross for the assistance of the *Holy Land*. *A legate sent into Greece.* 1250.

e *Lewis* having concluded a truce for ten years with the sultan, was set at liberty upon certain conditions. Mean while the emperor *Frederic* having reinforced his army, was preparing to march into *Lombardy* to attack *Bologna*, and procure the liberty of his natural son *Hentz*; but falling sick in *Apulia*, he died on the 13th of *December*, and was buried at *Montreale* in *Sicily*, by his natural son *Manfred*, who was suspected of having hastened his death by violent means†. *The emperor dies.*

Innocent, upon hearing of the death of *Frederic*, immediately excommunicated *Conrad* and all his adherents, and again confirming the empire to *William* count of *Holland*, he sent cardinal *Hugh*, of the title of *St. Sabino*, as his legate into *Germany*, to support the interest of the count. He likewise sent the bishops of *Ostia* and *Albano* as his legates into *Apulia*, to bring the *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians* to submit to the see of *Rome*, and to prohibit them from giving their allegiance to any other. *Innocent exerts himself in favour of count William.* 1251.

f Being resolved also quickly to return to *Italy*, he granted several privileges to the city of *Lyons*, and desired an interview with *William* count of *Holland*; who, at his request, came from *Germany*, and continued with him several days; receiving a promise of the imperial crown upon his arrival at *Rome*. Before he left *Lyons*, *Innocent* granted to those who used the *Sclavonic* language a privilege of celebrating divine service in their native tongue‡; and having celebrated his *Easter* in that city, he proceeded by land to *Genoa*, where he received ambassadors from all the associated cities, and from some cities in the late emperor's interest. *and returns to Italy.* Having continued fifteen days at *Genoa*, he went to *Milan*, where he resided three months, and proceeded afterwards through *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, and *Bologna*, to *Perugia*, where he fixed his court, refusing to go to *Rome*, as the *Romans* would not consent to abrogate the extraordinary authority committed to the two annual senators.

* KRANTZ 3. Metrop. 18. & 8. Saxon. 16.

† SIGON. l. xviii. p. 76. SPOND. ANNAL.

‡ SPOND. ANNAL.

MEAN while *Conrad*, being informed of the death of his father, assembled a strong army ^a and marched into *Italy* to take possession of his hereditary dominions. Upon his arriving at *Mantua*, he held an assembly of the deputies of the cities in his interest, and afterwards embarking on board some *Venetian* ships went by sea into *Apulia*, and immediately joined his brother *Manfred*, who was besieging *Naples*, which, with *Capua* and *Aquino*, had put themselves under the protection of the church of *Rome*.

He offers the kingdom of Naples to Charles duke of Anjou.
A. D. 1252.

INNOCENT, the better to oppose the pretensions of *Conrad* to *Naples* and *Sicily*, offered these kingdoms to *Richard*, the brother of the king of *England*²; but he refusing to accept of them, he sent *Albert*, notary of the apostolic see, with the same offer to *Charles* count of *Anjou* and *Provence*, and brother of the king of *France*, who at that time was prevented by his relations from giving his consent. He likewise ordered all the crusards speedily to depart ^b for the *Holy Land*, under the pain of excommunication, and wrote to the king of *England*, exhorting him to go to the assistance of *St. Lewis* and the Christians in *Syria*. That prince, moved by the pope's letters, took the vow of the cross, but appointed the time for the expedition at the distance of three years. Mean while cardinal *Octavian*, the legate in *Lombardy*, at the command of the pope, assembled a council of the deputies of the confederate cities in *Brescia*, where they all renewed their alliance, and agreed to maintain a body of 600 horse, to be stationed on both sides of the *Po*, one half of them to be maintained by the church, and the other by the confederates.

Proceedings against the heretics.

Soon after, *Innocent* being informed that the heretics were very numerous in *Milan*, and through all *Lombardy*, he gave a commission to *Peter* of *Verona*, a *Dominican* friar, to make ^c an enquiry after the heretics, and convict them. *Peter* executed his commission with great rigour, and put several of the heretics to death, which so irritated the rest of the sect, that they murdered him and his companion *Dominic* as they were coming to *Milan* from *Como*. The *Milanese*, to free themselves from all suspicion of being concerned in the murder, brought the dead bodies into their city, and buried them with great respect: they likewise punished the murderers and their associates with great severity, which occasioned new dissensions in their city betwixt the nobles and the people. Friar *Peter* having been reckoned a martyr, his tomb was greatly frequented, and quickly became famous for miracles, on which account *Innocent*, the following year, at the request of the archbishops and nobles of *Milan*, numbered him among the saints.

1253.
The Romans invite the pope to return to Rome.

THE *Romans* in the mean time had sent for *Brancaleo Andalus* from *Bologna*, to whom, upon account of his reputation for justice, they had trusted the sovereign authority of their city for three years, and had sent thirty hostages to *Bologna* as a security for their obedience. Being soon disgusted with his severity, they sent an embassy to the pope at *Perugia*, desiring him to return to the city, and threatening to attack the *Perugians* if they detained him. *Innocent*, to protect the *Perugians* from their resentment, went to *Affisi*; but the *Romans* renewing their embassy, and threatening to attack the *Affisians*, *Innocent* at last returned with his court to *Rome*, where he was received by *Brancaleo* and the nobles with the greatest honours ^d. Before he set out for *Rome*, *Innocent* ordered the kings of *Portugal* and *Castile* to desist from arms, and to refer their dispute about the kingdom of *Algarve* to the arbitration of the apostolic see ^e. He likewise granted privilege to the provincial of the *Dominicans* in *Poland* of appointing the brothers of that order, for the conversion of the *Russians*, *Bulgarians*, *Greeks*, *Saracens*, *Ethiopians*, and *Indians*.

Conrad proposes a peace,

but is excommunicated, and dies in Apulia.
1254.

Soon after his arrival at *Rome*, *Innocent* received an embassy from *Conrad*, now in possession of *Naples*, with an offer of an accommodation with the church, but in reality to bribe *Brancaleo* and the *Romans* to join his party against the pope. *Innocent* rejected the offer of the ambassadors, and, a few weeks after, in presence of some *Greek* archbishops and bishops, who had lately come to *Rome*, he excommunicated *Conrad* and *Ezzelino*, who had been one of the chief commanders of the late emperor in *Lombardy* ^d. *Conrad* survived his sentence but a few months, and died on the 21st of *May*, leaving an infant son named *Conradin*, whom ^f he committed to the guardianship of *Berthold de Honebruch*, and some *Bavarian* nobles, recommending them to put the young prince under the protection of the apostolic see. *Innocent*, who was then at *Affisi*, hearing of the death of *Conrad*, immediately repaired to *Rome*, and ordering *Manfred* to desist from his pretensions to *Apulia* and *Sicily*, he sent a considerable army towards *Apulia*, to take possession of the kingdom of *Naples* for the see of *Rome*. *Manfred* refusing obedience to the order of the pope, *Innocent* excommunicated him, and soon after advanced himself towards *Naples*, where he was received with great honour by the nobles of the kingdom, and even by *Manfred*, who pretended to be reconciled to the church. This reconciliation was of very short continuance; for some of his attendants killing an *Apulian* baron, a favourite of the pope, and *Manfred's* protestations of his ignorance of the mur-

^a MATH. PARIS, Anno 1252. Vita Innocent apud MURATOR. t. iii. Annal.

^d Vita Innocent apud MURATOR.

^b Ibidem ibid.

^c SPOND.

a der not being credited, he fled to *Lucera*, where he was joyfully received by the *Saracens*, and being assisted by them, defeated the army of the pope^c. *Innocent* was then sick at *Naples*, and the news of the defeat increasing his distemper, he died soon after in the beginning of *December*. Innocent dies at Naples, and is succeeded by Alexander IV.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of *Innocent*, the pretor of *Naples* shut the gates of the city, and obliged the cardinals to proceed to the election of his successor. They accordingly assembled, and, after thirteen days, elected the bishop of *Ostia*, who took the name of *Alexander IV*. The first concern of *Alexander* was to oppose the progress of *Manfred*, who, in consequence of the late victory he had obtained, was now very powerful. He likewise published some decrees of his predecessor *Innocent*, against the heretics of *Lombardy*; and *St. Lewis* being now returned from the *Holy Land*, he granted a bull in his favour, that no legate, or any person whatever, should have authority to excommunicate him or his queen, or their successors, or to lay his kingdom under an interdict, without especial mandate from the apostolic see. He granted the same privilege to the king of *Bohemia*; and, at the same time, wrote to the university of *Paris* in favour of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who had been expelled the university for pretending an exemption from its statutes, upon account of their order. A. D. 1255. who opposes Manfred.

MEAN while hostilities still continued with great animosity betwixt the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* in *Lombardy*; and *Manfred* having reinforced his army with some *Saracens* from *Africa*, had defeated *Ostavian*, the pope's general, and obliged him to conclude a treaty of peace, by which *Naples* and *Sicily* were left to *Manfred*, and *Campania* ceded to the *Roman* see. *Alexander* refused to ratify this treaty; and claiming the disposal of the kingdom of *Sicily*, he sent a legate into *England* with a grant of it, confirmed by a golden bull, in favour of *Edmund* the second son of *Henry III*. The legate, upon his arrival, gave the ring of investiture to *Edmund*, in a full assembly of the states, published a crusade against *Manfred* with the usual indulgences, and absolved the king from his vow of a crusade into *Syria*, on condition of his undertaking an expedition against *Manfred*. The king bound himself, for his son, to pay yearly 2000 ounces of gold to the *Roman* see, and to leave the disposal of all the benefices in *Sicily* to the pope. He promised likewise, under the pain of ecclesiastical censures, to conduct an army himself into *Sicily*, against the month of *October*, in the following year^f. Manfred defeats the army of the pope; who gives the investiture of Naples to the king of England's son, and

DURING these transactions in *England*, *Alexander* excommunicated the inhabitants of *Turin* and *Asti*, who had surprized and imprisoned their sovereign, *Thomas* count of *Savoy*; and being intreated by the marquis of *Este*, and the nobles of the march of *Ancona*, to oppose the cruelties of *Ezzelino*, he denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and sent *Philip*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, as his legate into *Lombardy*, who, by preaching a crusade against him in the cities of *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, and *Venice*, assembled a formidable army, and, after a siege of a few days, took possession of *Padua*^g. *Alexander* likewise sent the bishop of *Orvieto* as his legate to *Constantinople*, to treat of an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, offering to the *Greeks* to assemble a general council to facilitate the union. About the same time, receiving an embassy from the sultan of *Persia*, who professed his desire to become a Christian, the pope wrote to that prince, and sent him a short abstract of the Christian faith, promising likewise to send learned and religious men into his kingdom, by whom he would be fully instructed in the doctrines of that religion^h. excommunicates the inhabitants of Turin and Asti. 1256.

MEAN while great disturbances happened at *Rome*, concerning the senator *Brancaleo*; who, upon account of his punishing criminals, without respect or favour, had become odious to both the nobles and the people; and a conspiracy being formed against him, he was unexpectedly seized and thrown in prison. His wife escaping to *Bologna*, prevailed with that city to set a guard upon the *Roman* hostages, while the *Romans*, intent upon punishing *Brancaleo*, influenced the pope to intercede with the *Bolognese* for the liberty of their hostages. His intercession having no effect, *Alexander* threatened to lay the city of *Bologna* under an interdict; however, he could not prevail with them to abandon the interest of their citizenⁱ. The Romans revolt against the senator Brancaleo.

While these things were doing in *Rome*, *Germany* was a scene of anarchy and disorder (L). *William* count of *Holland*, having been killed in the beginning of the year in an expedition Great confusions in Germany.

^c BARTH. de Neocastro. Hist. Sicul.

^f MATH. PARIS. hoc Anno.

^g SIGON. l. xix. p. 86.

^h SPOND. Annal.

ⁱ SIGON. ubi supra, MATH. PARIS.

(L) This year a dispute arose betwixt the *Genoese* and *Venetians*, at *Ptolemais* or *Acon*, which completed the ruin of the Christian affairs in *Syria*. The *Genoese* authors (1) relate, that the dispute was first occasioned by a private quarrel betwixt a *Genoese* and a *Venetian*; but according to *Sanutus*, *Ricordanus*, and others (2), the inhabitants of those two republics at *Acon* first quarrelled about the propriety of a monastery and church, which

(1) Nebiens. l. iii. Foliet. l. iv.

(2) Sanut. l. iii. part ii. c. 5. Ricord. c. 159.

many by the death of the count of Holland.

A. D. 1257.
Two competitors for the empire.

expedition against the *Frieslanders*, the nobles divided into separate factions, and neglected to choose a successor to the empire. Some of them proposed to elect *Conradin*, then an infant; but *Alexander* opposed the promotion of the grandson of *Frederic II.* with great earnestness; and from *Anagni* wrote to the archbishop of *Mentz*, the chief elector, ordering him, under pain of excommunication, to acquaint all the electors with his apostolical prohibition, and ordaining, that if any thing should be attempted contrary thereto, in favour of *Conradin*, that the election should be reckoned void, and the electors excommunicated^k.

CONRADIN being thus excluded, the factions nevertheless continued in the empire; and *Richard* duke of *Cornwall*, brother of the king of *England*, professing himself a candidate, was elected at *Frankfort*, about the middle of *January*, by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, and other two electors. But the other faction, headed by the archbishop of *Triers*, assembled soon after in the same city, and conferred the imperial dignity on *Alphonso*, king of *Castile*. Each of the competitors immediately sent ambassadors to *Rome*, soliciting the confirmation of the pope: *Alphonso* likewise wrote to the city of *Padua* and other cities of *Lombardy*, desiring them to appoint deputies to wait upon him, at his arrival in *Italy*.

BUT those letters were supposed to have been forged by *Ezzelino*, who, hearing of the loss of *Padua*, had returned to *Verona* from the siege of *Mantua*; and having endeavoured in vain to recover *Padua*, declared himself the head of the *Gibeline* faction in *Lombardy*, and acted as lieutenant for the emperor, though at that time *Italy* acknowledged none^l. Notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the ambassadors of the two competitors, *Alexander*, under pretence of deliberating, deferred giving sentence in favour of either of them. But he was soon freed from this embarrassment, for the money of *Richard* failing him, his party deserted him, and he returned the following year to *England*, after he had in vain lavished away 700,000 pounds sterling^m.

THE pope at the same time published an edict, ordaining the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of every church, to visit the apostolic see at certain timesⁿ. He likewise, at the solicitation of the chapter of *Salzburg*, deposed *Philip* their archbishop, because, though he had been elected ten years, he had neglected to take orders, and had misapplied the revenues of his church. One *Ulric* was substituted in his stead; but *Philip* being assisted by the troops of the king of *Bohemia* and the duke of *Austria*, refused obedience to the order of the pope: however, a sentence of excommunication being denounced against him, and *Ulric* being assisted by the *Hungarians* and *Bavarians*, *Philip* was at last obliged to submit^o.

Soon after *Alexander*, upon account of the great disturbances in *Rome*, was obliged to quit that city, and retire to *Viterbo*. These disturbances were owing to a sedition of the people, who, being oppressed by the new senator, brought *Brancaleo* out of prison, and conferred upon him the supreme authority. *Brancaleo* immediately expelled the chiefs of the other faction out of the city, and ordered two of the nobles to be hanged, without any regard to the pope, who had excommunicated him and his followers. After the departure of the pope, having entered into a treaty with *Manfred*, who had now taken the title of king, he destroyed 140 castles of the nobles of *Rome*, and imprisoned many of those who favoured the church; but falling sick while he was besieging *Corneto*, he was carried to *Rome*, where he died. The *Romans*, as a testimony of their regard for him, put his head in a golden vase, which they placed on the top of a marble pillar, and immediately elected his uncle *Catellanus*, as his successor, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope^p.

MEAN while *Ezzelino*, having surprized the army of the *Guelphs*, commanded by the legate *Philip*, had gained a signal victory, and taken the legate himself prisoner, with many other persons of distinction. Immediately after, taking possession of the city of *Brescia*, he exercised all manner of cruelties against those of the opposite faction. The fate of *Brescia* alarming the cities of *Padua*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, they sent to the pope, intreating him to appoint another legate, to protect them against the *Gibelines*. *Alexander*, who was then at

^k SPOND. Annal. PARIS.

^l SIGON. ubi supra. AVENTIN. l. vii. p. 561.

^m RYMER. t. i. vel Edit. p. 762.

ⁿ MATH.

^o SIGON. l. xix. p. 90. MATH. PARIS.

they had long possessed in common, but which the *Venetians* now claimed as their sole property. The dispute being laid before the pope, he determined that the monastery and church should still remain common: but the *Genoese* having no regard to that decision, fortified the church, and, by the assistance of the prefect of the city, expelled the *Venetians*. The news of this outrage being brought to *Europe*, the two republics, instead of prudently accommodating the difference, immediately sent fleets into *Syria*, to support each their own citizens, and the two fleets engaging off *Ptolemais*, the *Venetians*, by the assistance of the *Pisians*, gained a complete victory

over the *Genoese*, and expelled them and the prefect from the city. Notwithstanding the intercession of *Alexander*, another engagement was fought two years afterwards off the same place; and the *Genoese* being entirely expelled from that city, were obliged to reside at *Tyre*. The pope having then obliged the two republics to a cessation of arms, hostilities ceased for some years; but the mutual rivalry and animosity still remaining, the war was soon after renewed, and continued, with several interruptions, for some ages, till the decay of the *Genoese* republic rendered them unable to cope with the power of the *Venetians*.

Viterbo,

The pope does not decide in favour of either of them.

He is obliged to quit Rome on account of the commotions in the city.

1258.

The legate of the pope defeated and taken prisoner in Lombardy.

a *Viterbo*, at their request sent another legate to command the army; and as the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* distinguished themselves in opposing heresies, he published a bull in their favour, granting them a great many particular privileges. About the same time he sent *Arlot*, or *Herlot*, notary of the *Roman* church, as his nuncio to *England*, to solicit the succours which the king had promised for *Sicily*. That prince made a demand of money from his parliament for this purpose, but both at *London* and *Oxford* he met with a denial. *Alexander* in the mean time going to *Anagni*, wrote from thence to all the metropolitans in Christendom, urging them to a reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, and severely condemning those priests who lived with concubines, he prohibited any one from being present when they celebrated mass^a.

The king of England is desired to take possession of Sicily.
A. D. 1257.

b WHILE he continued at *Anagni*, the nobles of *Rome*, in opposition to the people, chose themselves two senators, and assembling a body of men, besieged the uncle of *Brancaleo* in a certain castle in the city. The animosity likewise still continuing between the factions in *Lombardy*, and the nobles of *Milan* being at variance with the people, *Ezzelino*, in hopes of making himself master of that city, marched thither with his army, having been secretly invited by the leader of the nobles. But the marquis of *Este*, with the troops of *Ferrara*, *Padua*, *Mantua*, and *Milan*, intercepting him betwixt the *Ollio* and *Addua*, forced him to an engagement, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner; and, being wounded in the ankle, he died a few days after, in the 65th year of his age, having, for more than thirty years, harrassed, not only the march of *Treviso*, but all *Lombardy*, by his tyranny and cruelties^c.

c Mean while *Alexander* deposed the bishop of *Ratisbon* for assisting the king of *Bohemia* in his incursions in *Germany*, and in the following year appointed the famous *Albertus Magnus* as his successor^d. Being informed likewise that the *Tartars* had over-run *Armenia*, *Antioch*, *Tripoli*, and *Damascus*, and were threatening *Acon*, and the cities subject to the Christians in *Syria*, he ordered councils to be held in the several provinces of *Europe*, for the assistance of the Christians in *Asia* against those barbarians.

Albertus Magnus created bishop of Ratisbon.
1260.

Soon after the despot of *Peloponese* having arrived in *Italy*, to solicit succours for the emperor of *Constantinople*, endeavoured to conclude a peace betwixt the pope and *Manfred*, who was now in possession of *Apulia* and *Sicily*. As the king of *England* had neglected the affairs of *Sicily*, and had even made a formal renunciation at *Rome* of his son's right to that kingdom, *Alexander* willingly hearkened to proposals of peace, and offered to be reconciled to *Manfred*, on condition that he restored the earls to their possessions, and banished the *Saracens*. These conditions were rejected by that prince, who not only declared that he would protect the *Saracens*, but likewise sent for others from *Africa*. What encouraged him to reject the terms of peace, was, the success of his party in *Lombardy*; for the marquis *Pallavicini*, who had always been attached to the interests of the emperor *Frederic*, having, since the death of *Ezzelino*, been declared the general of the *Gibelines*, had assembled a formidable army, with which he soon after gained a signal victory over the troops of *Bologna* and *Florence*, which last city he made himself master of, and obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to *Manfred*^e.

A peace proposed with Manfred, but without effect.

e ALEXANDER in the mean time still residing at *Anagni*, at the solicitation of the *Romans*, laid the city and university of *Bologna* under an interdict (M). He likewise granted a dispensation to legitimate *Nicolas*, the natural son of *Othogar* king of *Bohemia*; and sent *Bernard*, a writer of the apostolic see, as his nuncio into that kingdom, to satisfy the nobles that he had no intention, by his dispensation to *Nicolas*, to favour his succession to the throne^f. Being intent also upon reconciling the *Genoese* and *Venetians*, he appointed a council to be held at *Viterbo*, and went from *Anagni* to that city, but died before the opening of the council, on the 24th of *May*. He is celebrated for his learning and love of peace, for

1261.
Alexander dies at Viterbo.

^a STERON. Annal. AVENTIN. ubi supra.
supra.

^c RICORDAN. c. 163, & seq. SIGON. ubi supra.

^e SIGON. l. xix. p. 93 & 94.

^f SPOND. Annal.

^g AVENTIN. ubi

(M) About this time the sect of *Flagellants* began to appear in *Italy*; they were at first looked upon as mad enthusiasts, but a few years afterwards they were treated as heretics, on account of some doctrines which they professed. One *Rainerius*, a hermit of *Perugia*, was the first promoter of that sect. In his discourses to the people he warned them, in the name of God, to have recourse to penance, to avert the plague which would otherwise soon cut them off. His exhortations being looked upon as oracles, his hearers, both men and women of every age and condition, immediately stripped themselves naked to the waist, and went in procession

through the streets, scourging themselves severely, and calling upon the *Virgin Mary* to intercede with her son to grant them mercy. They then went into the neighbouring cities, where they quickly made a great many proselytes, and, in a short time, there was scarcely a city of *Italy* where there were not a great many of these *Devotees*, as they were then called. Many authors make mention of them, some commending them, others blaming them. The monk of *Padua* inveighs against *Manfred* and the marquis *Pallavicini* for prohibiting any one to follow them, under pain of capital punishment (3).

(3) Sigon. l. xix. p. 66. Stero in Annal. hoc Ann. Paduan l. ii. Chron.

the sake of which he is said to have abstained from any promotion of cardinals during his pontificate^w.

The patriarch of Jerusalem is elected, and takes the name of Urban IV.

AT the death of *Alexander*, the college of cardinals was reduced to nine persons, one of whom was absent in his native country of *Hungary*. The other eight, instead of immediately proceeding to any election, divided into several factions, and none of them consenting to yield to another, they at last, after a vacancy of three months and three days, chose *Peter Pantaleo*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who assumed the name of *Urban IV*. *Peter* was born at *Troyes* in *France*, of very poor parents; but being distinguished by his learning and abilities, he had passed through all the ecclesiastical degrees, and being now at *Rome* about the affairs of his patriarchate, was thought worthy by the contending cardinals of the pontificate. A few months after his promotion, he created the bishop of *Agen* in *Guienne* his successor in the patriarchate, and likewise made a promotion of eight cardinals, to whom he soon after added six others.

He offers the crown of Sicily to one of the princes of France.

A. D. 1262.

BUT being chiefly intent upon opposing the power of *Manfred*, he sent a legate into *France*, with an offer of the crown of *Sicily* to any of the younger sons of *St. Lewis*, whom the father should chuse. In the mean time he ordered a crusade to be preached against *Manfred*, in consequence of which he quickly assembled a considerable army of *Guelphs*; and the legate in *France*, having published the crusade in that kingdom, a great many persons took the cross, and entering *Italy* in a body, defeated the troops of *Pallavicini*, who endeavoured to oppose them, and joined the pope at *Viterbo*. Having received his benediction, they marched against the *Saracens*, and, in conjunction with the other forces, drove them from the duchy of *Spoleto* and *Campania*; however, the crusaders themselves, for want of pay and subsistence, quickly dispersed, though they were earnestly solicited by the pope to march against the *Romans*. *Manfred* in the mean time, to strengthen himself against the intrigues of the pope, gave his eldest daughter and heiress of his dominions in marriage to *Peter*, the son of the king of *Arragon*; and, assembling an army of *Saracens*, marched into the territories of the church^x.

The Greeks recover Constantinople.

URBAN, waiting for the success of his negociation in *France*, still continued at *Viterbo*; and being informed that the friends of the house of *Suabia*, taking advantage of the unsettled state of *Germany*, were forming a party in favour of the young *Conradin*, he renewed the prohibition of his predecessor *Alexander* against that prince. He likewise published a crusade against the *Greeks*, who, the year before, had recovered *Constantinople* by surprise, and had expelled the *Latins* after they had been in possession of that empire fifty-nine years. He absolved *Henry* king of *England*, and his son *Edmund*, from the oath which the barons had exacted from them, to restore the antient laws and privileges of the kingdom; and he strictly prohibited the *Genoese* from giving assistance to the *Greeks* against the *Venetians*.

The pope upon certain conditions confers the crown of Sicily on Charles count of Anjou.

1263.

MEAN while *Charles*, count of *Anjou* and *Provence*, having obtained the permission of his brother *St. Lewis* to accept of the offer of the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, made to him by the pope's legate, entered into a negociation with *Urban* upon that affair. As the *Romans*, who, for more than a century, had pretended to an independency of the emperor or the pope, had about this time conferred the title of perpetual senator of their city upon count *Charles*, it was agreed, that he should renounce that dignity within five years; but, as his oath to the *Romans* was contradictory to this agreement, *Urban* granted him a dispensation with regard to that oath, on condition of his fulfilling the agreement of the holy see^y. *Charles* likewise agreed to several other conditions, namely, to leave an entire liberty to the ecclesiastics in his dominions, never to unite the imperial dignity to the kingdom of *Sicily*, and to pay yearly 8000 ounces of gold to the apostolic see. This negociation being published in *Italy*, greatly alarmed *Manfred*, and gave fresh spirits to the *Guelphs*, who hoped, by the assistance of the *French*, entirely to conquer the *Gibelines*, who, by the confusions in *Germany*, could draw no succours from the empire, which was without a head, though the two competitors still kept up their pretensions. *Urban*, to put an end to their contention, wrote to them both to submit to the decision of the apostolic see, and to appear by their proxies against the month of *May*, in the following year^z. Having likewise received an embassy from *Michael Paleologus*, emperor of *Constantinople*, desiring to treat of an union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, he sent four friars of the *Dominican* order for that purpose to *Constantinople*, though it was believed the embassy of the emperor was only a feint, to prevent the effects of the crusade preached against him^a.

The competitors for the empire desired to submit to the decision of the pope,

who sends a legate to England.

THE following year, *Urban*, being informed of the great dissensions in *England* betwixt the barons and the king, sent *Guido* bishop of *Sabino* as his legate *a latere*, to mediate a recon-

^w Paduan. Chron. l. iii. spinal. 2. c. 9. ap. MURATOR, t. viii. p. 808. ibid.

^x SURIT. in Indiſt. l. ii. An. 1260. SPOND. Annal.

^z SPOND. Annal.

^y Sabas Mala-
^a Idem

a ciliation; but he being prevented by the barons from entering the kingdom, stopped at *Boulogne* in *France*, and sending for some of the *English* bishops, ordered them to publish a sentence of interdict and excommunication against all those who should disturb the peace of the king. But the bishops, instead of complying with the command of the legate, appealed to the apostolic see, or to a general council, and even to the supreme judge of all, for the justice of the cause which was espoused by the barons^b. Mean while *Urban* falling sick at *Perugia*, died in that city on the 2d of *October*.

Urban dies at Perugia, A.D. 1265.

Upon the death of *Urban*, the *Roman* see continued vacant upwards of four months, occasioned by the disputes among the cardinals. At length they unanimously agreed, and chose cardinal *Guido*, who was then upon his return from *Boulogne*. As he was informed that *Manfred* had ordered the roads to be beset, he disguised himself in the habit of a merchant, or, according to some, of a friar, and arriving at *Perugia*, he went from thence with the cardinals to *Viterbo*, where he was consecrated, and took the name of *Clement IV.* (N). He immediately confirmed the treaty made between his predecessor and the count of *Anjou*, who having now assembled a considerable army at *Lyons*, repaired himself to *Marseilles* with 1000 horse, and embarking on board thirty galleys and some other vessels, arrived soon after at the *Tyber*, the tempestuous weather having prevented him from falling in with the fleet of *Manfred*, which was endeavouring to intercept him. He was received by the *Romans* with great honours, and immediately took possession of the dignity of senator; and *Clement* being informed of his arrival, sent six cardinals to *Rome*, who, upon his swearing to fulfil the conditions agreed to with the holy see in the *Lateran* church, gave him the investiture of *Sicily* and *Naples*, excepting the city of *Benevento*.

Clement IV. is chosen pope.

The count of Anjou arrives at Rome.

Clement being resolved to spare nothing in supporting the interests of *Charles*, borrowed large sums from the count of *Poitiers*, and from the merchants of *Florence* and *Sienna*, and likewise mortgaged the possessions of the greatest part of the churches of *Rome* for three years. As these sums were not sufficient for the expedition, he granted to *Charles* the tythe of all the ecclesiastical possessions in *France*. Mean while his legate in *Lombardy* published a crusade against *Manfred*, by which he raised 10,000 men in the territory of *Bologna*; and procuring an assembly at *Mantua* of the deputies of *Milan*, *Verona*, *Modena*, and several other cities, they concluded an alliance with *Charles* against the *Gibelines*, and promised to supply his army with provisions in their march through *Lombardy*^d. *Clement* in the mean time published several severe decrees against the heretics, enlarged the privileges of the inquisitors, and wrote to the king of *Arragon*, exhorting him to extirpate the *Moors*^e. He likewise sent cardinal *Guido*, a *Cistercian* monk, as his legate to the northern kingdoms, and appointed cardinal *Othobonus*, a nephew of *Innocent IV.* as his legate in *England*, writing at the same time to *St. Lewis*, to assist king *Henry* against his subjects.

Clement exerts himself in his favour.

The army of the count of *Anjou* at length arriving at *Rome*, to the number of 60,000, besides a numerous body of the *Guelphs*^f, *Clement* sent five cardinals to *Rome*, who receiving the homage of *Charles* in the church of *St. Peter*, crowned him and his wife *Beatrice*, king and queen of both *Sicilies*, immediately after which ceremony he marched with his army into *Apulia*, and engaging *Manfred* in the neighbourhood of *Benevento*, gained a complete victory, his competitor being slain in the action. His easy conquest rendering him insolent, he allowed all manner of barbarities to be committed in the city of *Benevento*, which he made himself master of immediately after the battle. *Clement*, informed of his cruelty, exhorted him to gain the hearts of his new subjects by affability and moderation, and reproved him severely for his behaviour to the *Beneventans*, who ought to have been accounted subject to the holy see. In *Lombardy* the news of the defeat and death of *Manfred* struck the *Gibeline* faction with the greatest consternation. As they were expelled from several cities by the *Guelphs*, they invited the young *Conradin* into *Italy* against *Charles*, to be the head of their ruined faction. *Clement* being informed that such a negotiation was carrying on, about the middle of *April* published a mandate in the church of *Viterbo*, prohibiting any one to acknowledge *Conradin* as king of *Sicily*, or to disturb *Charles* in the possession of that kingdom, under pain of excommunication and deprivation of fiefs or benefices^g.

Charles is crowned king of Sicily at Rome.

1266.

Manfred defeated and slain.

Conradin invited into Italy, but prohibited by the pope.

^b Vita Urban. ap. MURATOR, t. iii. GULIEL. Westmonaster. l. xx. p. 161. ^c SURIT. Indict. l. ii. hoc. an. Annal. SIGON. ubi supra.

^e SPOND. Annal.

^f Chron. Parmens. apud MURATOR, t. ix.

^d SIGON. ^g SPOND.

(N) *Clement* was born at *St. Giles's* in *Narbonne*, of a noble family. In his youth he followed the profession of arms, but applying himself afterwards to the study of the law, he soon acquired the reputation of being the most skilful lawyer in *France*, and was chosen one of the privy counsellors of *St. Lewis*. After the death of his wife, by whom he had two daughters, he entered into

holy orders; was first archdeacon, and then bishop of *Puy en Velay*; soon after he obtained the archbishopric of *Narbonne*, and *Urban IV.* created him a cardinal, and bishop of *Sabino*. After his promotion to the pontificate, he wrote to all his relations; ordering them not to come to him till he sent for them, and not to expect riches or dignities in consequence of his present elevation.

MEAN while his legate in *England* held a council at *Northampton*, and excommunicated all those bishops and clergy who adhered to *Simon Montfort* and the barons against the king; he likewise, by the authority of the pope, granted to the king the tythe of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom for seven years^b. *Guido*, who had been sent as his legate into *Denmark*, excommunicated the king and queen, and laid that kingdom under an interdict, because the king refused to set the archbishop of *Lunden* at liberty, whom he had imprisoned on account of a dispute about the payment of tythes. *Clement* in the mean time wrote to the king of *Hungary* in favour of the bishop of *Zagabria*, whom that prince had rejected on account of his mean birth. Being likewise informed that the sultan of *Egypt*, after an attempt upon *Ptolemais*, had taken the castle of *Saphet*, and threatened the entire destruction of the Christians, he sent a nuncio into *Syria* to animate them to constancy, and to assure them of speedy assistance from the king of *France*, who had again taken the cross.

A. D. 1267.
Who creates
the count of
Anjou vicar
of the empire.

Soon after, having received a letter from the *Greek* emperor, with a form of agreement with the *Latin* church, he returned an answer to that prince, disapproving of the prescribed form, and sent an abstract of the faith of the *Roman* church, to be publicly professed by the emperor, patriarch, and clergy. At the same he granted to the competitors for the empire a further prolongation of the time for determining their claim; and as the report prevailed of *Conradin's* preparations for entering *Italy*, he created *Charles* vicar of the empire. But the two competitors complaining of this proceeding, he wrote to them, declaring that he had not appointed him vicar, but conservator of the peace in *Tuscany* for three years only; and that, if within that time any person should be absolutely declared emperor, he had bound him by oath to resign that title. Mean while the *Gibeline* faction in *Lombardy* and *Tuscany* were earnestly soliciting *Conradin* to hasten his expedition; deputies were sent to him from *Verona*, *Pavia*, *Sienna*, *Pisa*, and several other cities; *Sicily* was on the point of revolting in his favour; *Apulia* was full of malecontents, who promised him their assistance; and *Henry* brother to the king of *Castile*, then senator of *Rome*, secretly supported his interest in that city, though publicly he professed an attachment for the pope.

CLEMENT, to support the faction of the *Guelphs* and the interests of *Charles*, sent a legate into *Lombardy*, who renewed the former alliance of the associated cities, while he, residing at *Viterbo*, again published his prohibition against *Conradin*, unless he came in a peaceable manner to submit to the decision of the apostolic see. But soon after, hearing that this prince had arrived at *Verona* with an army of 10,000 horse, he declared him excommunicated, if he did not within a month leave *Italy*. About the same time he likewise granted to *St. Lewis* the tythe of estates in his kingdom, to support him in his expedition into *Syria*; and hearing that several Christians had become profelytes to the *Jewish* religion, he ordered the inquisitors to proceed against them as heretics^c.

Denounces ex-
communication
against Con-
radin and his
party.

1268.

MEAN while the *Saracens* of *Lucera* or *Nocera*, openly declaring in favour of *Conradin*, the pope published a crusade against them; and being informed that *Conradin* had advanced to *Pavia*, he again denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and deprivation of his right to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and, if he did not within a month submit to the apostolic see, he declared him for ever incapable of possessing any dignity. He also excommunicated all his adherents, and laid all those cities who should favour him under an interdict. Notwithstanding these fulminations of the pope, *Conradin*, being reinforced by the *Gibelines*, defeated a large body of *French* cavalry at *Arezzo*, and marching in parade within sight of *Viterbo* proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received by the senator *Henry* and the *Romans* with all the honours due to an emperor^d. This prosperity was of very short continuance; for marching soon after into *Apulia*, he was entirely defeated by *Charles*, and being taken prisoner, he and some of his chief friends were executed as criminals^e. Upon the news of the victory, *Clement* confirmed to *Charles* the dignity of conservator of the peace for ten years, and created him vicar of the empire in *Tuscany*. He likewise granted particular indulgences to the king of *Portugal*, who pretended to undertake an expedition into the *Holy Land*. Soon after falling sick at *Viterbo*, he died on the 29th of *November*, having never been at *Rome* during his whole pontificate^f.

Clement dies
at Viterbo.

A vacancy in
the Roman see.
1269.

AFTER the death of *Clement* the *Roman* see continued vacant two years and nine months, owing to the disputes among the cardinals, who still continued at *Viterbo*. Mean while the cities in *Lombardy*, upon various pretences, harrassed each other with mutual hostilities. The family of the *Turriani*, prefects of *Milan*, raised factions in that city, and attacked *Lodi* and *Brescia*; *Bologna* declared war against the *Venetians*, in defence of their navigation in the *Adriatic* and upon the *Po*; and the *Guelphs* harrassed the *Gibeline* faction all over *Italy*.

^b GULIEL. Westmonaster.
VILLAN. l. vii. c. 24. usque 30.

^c SPOND. Annal.

^d Idem ibid. Chron. Parmense.

^e Paduan. Chron. l. iii. RICORD. c. 191, & seq.

^f SPOND. Annal.

a *Charles* king of *Sicily*, however, in order to facilitate the transactions of the crusards into *Syria*, granted a peace to the *Pisans*; and soon after, he himself, with his brother *St. Lewis*, the king of *Navarre*, *Edward*, heir of the crown of *England*, the count of *Flanders*, and the three sons of *St. Lewis*, regulated the plan of their expedition. It was agreed that *Edward* should sail directly for the *Holy Land*, but that *St. Lewis* and *Charles* should first attack the *Saracens* of *Tunis*, who interrupted the navigation of the *Mediterranean*. A new crusade determined upon. A. D. 1270.

ACCORDINGLY the following year, *St. Lewis* embarking about the middle of *June* at *Marseilles*, with cardinal *Rodolphus* bishop of *Albano* the apostolical legate, he arrived with his fleet after a dangerous voyage at *Carthage*, which he quickly made himself master of. But marching afterwards against *Tunis*, while he continued before that city, his army was seized with sickness, which carried off a great many of the nobles and soldiers. While the king was deliberating about reembarking his troops, he was seized with the distemper, and died on the 25th of *August*, his brother the king of *Sicily* arriving the same day at the camp, together with the fleet of *Edward* prince of *England*^a. The distemper still continuing in the camp of the crusards, and raging likewise in the city and camp of the enemy, a truce was concluded with the *Tunisians* for ten years, the *Saracens* engaging to defray the expences of the expedition, to pay yearly to the king of *Sicily* a sum equal to the tribute given by him to the holy see, to dismiss all prisoners, and to allow christianity to be preached freely in their country. These terms being ratified, *Edward* prince of *England* proceeded with his fleet to the *Holy Land*: but as *Philip* king of *France*, with his uncle *Charles*, and the king of *Navarre*, sailed for *Sicily*, in order to return to their own dominions, *Edward* sent back his cousin *Henry*, son of *Richard* duke of *Cornwall*, to take care of *Guienne*, who, in his journey through *Italy*, was massacred in a church at *Viterbo*, by a son of the late *Simon Montfort*^b. St. Lewis dies at Tunis.

THE fleet that sailed for *Sicily* meeting with a storm on that coast, a great many ships were lost, and the princes escaped with great difficulty. The king of *France* immediately passed over into *Italy*, and attended by his uncle *Charles* he went to *Viterbo*, where both the kings earnestly solicited the cardinals to proceed to an election; but their intreaties having no effect upon them, who every one aspired to the papal dignity, they took leave of each other, and proceeded to their own dominions^c. The contention among the cardinals continued for several months afterwards; but at length, on the 1st of *September*, they chose *Thedald*, or *Thibaut*, a native of *Placenza*, and archdeacon of *Liege*, who was then in the *Holy Land* with *Edward* prince of *England*. Upon receiving the news of his election, he set sail for *Italy*, and arrived at *Brundisi* about the middle of *January*. The king of *Sicily* conducted him to *Cepperano* with great respect, and *Thibaut* proceeding from thence to *Viterbo*, he was joined by the cardinals, and went with them to *Rome*, where he was consecrated on the 25th of *March*, and assumed the name of *Gregory X*. 1271. Gregory X. is elected pope. 1272.

BEFORE he left *Viterbo* he solicited the kings of *France* and *Sicily* to send succours into the *Holy Land*, and he prohibited, under pain of excommunication, the sending of any ships or military stores to the *Saracens*. He likewise raised 500 horse, which he sent in three *Venetian* ships to *Syria*^d. Immediately after his consecration, he published letters, addressed to all the princes and prelates, appointing a general council to be held within two years, in some city to be afterwards determined. Soon after going to *Orvieto*, he sent some *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* to the king of *Portugal*, to exhort him to cease oppressing the ecclesiastics; and he granted a suspension for seven months of the general interdict, which had been denounced by the bishops of that kingdom^e. He likewise continued the negotiations of his predecessor for uniting the *Greek* and *Roman* churches, and sent four *Dominicans* to *Paleologus*, inviting him to be present at the council. Soon after *Edward*, who had now succeeded to the crown of *England* by the death of his father, arriving at *Orvieto* on his return from the *Holy Land*, *Gregory* received him with great affection, and declared that he had excommunicated the son of *Simon* who had murdered his cousin. He sends succours to the Holy Land, and

THE following year he again published his letters for a general council to be held at *Lyons*; and having appointed *Aldebrandinus Cavaleante*, bishop of *Viterbo*, his vicar in *Italy*, he left that city, and set out for *Florence*. During his residence in this city, he effected a reconciliation betwixt the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelines*, by the assistance of the king of *Sicily*; but the *Guelphs* a few days afterwards violating the terms of the treaty, he was so offended, that he left the city, and laid it under an interdict. After he departed from *Florence*, he went to his native city of *Placenza*, taking with him *Otho Visconti* archbishop of *Milan*, who, for more than nine years, had been rejected by the *Turriani*, who were prefects of the city. *Gregory*, in order to facilitate a reconciliation, made one of the *Turriani* patriarch of *Aquileia*; however, being informed that their faction would still oppose *Otho*, he left him behind when he proceeded to that city. The *Milanese* received him with great honour and respect; but as he appoints a general council to be held at Lyons. 1273.

^a Pod. Laurent. Chron. c. 51.^b Vita Pontif. Rom. apud MURATOR. t. iii. Chron. Parmen.^c NANG:^d Philip. III. Chron. Parmen. apud MURATOR. t. ix.^e SPOND. Arenal.^f Idem ibid.

Lays the city
of Milan un-
der an inter-
dict.

was dissatisfied with them for rejecting their archbishop, he granted no indulgences while he continued in their city, and, upon his departure, laid it under an interdict. Arriving at Lyons about the middle of November, he immediately received a visit from Philip king of France, who left a strong body of men in the city, as a guard to the pope and the members of the council.

Rodolphus
chosen emperor.

MEAN while Gregory, having urged the German princes to proceed to the election of an emperor, and even threatened, in case of their further delay, to appoint one to that dignity by his sole authority, the electors at length assembled at Frankfort, and notwithstanding the protestations of Alphonso's ambassadors, and the opposition of those of Bohemia, chose Rodolphus count of Habsburgh, in the diocese of Constance, near Basil, who had been for many years master of the horse to the king of Bohemia, and was more eminent for his military genius than for his large possessions. The election of Rodolphus was not disagreeable to Gregory, who obliged Alphonso to resign in his favour, after the celebrating of the council, which assembled on the 1st of May.

Proceedings of
the council of
Lyons.
A. D. 1274.

THIS council was the most numerous that had ever assembled, there being no less than five hundred bishops, sixty abbots, and about a thousand other prelates. There were present likewise the king of Arragon, the masters of the Hospitaliers and Templars, the ambassadors of Rodolphus and of Philip and Hugh kings of France and Cyprus, besides the ambassadors of the Greek emperor, and king of Tartary, and of the metropolitans of the East. The pope, after the prayers, and the usual ceremonies at the opening of the council, informed the members that he had assembled them to procure succours for the Holy Land, to consult about an union of the Greek and Latin churches, as well as of the reformation of discipline and manners, and lastly, to prescribe some method for the speedy election of a pope upon a vacancy in the holy see. Accordingly, after the first session, the prelates, by themselves, decreed the tythes of all ecclesiastical possessions for the six following years for the relief of the Holy Land. In the second session, which was held on the 18th of the same month, some articles of faith were published; and in the third, held on the 7th of June, some canons were decreed, relating to the elections and conferring of benefices, the immunity of the clergy, the reformation of manners, and the regulations of processions. Before this session, the king of Arragon left the council, as Gregory had refused to crown him, unless he paid the tribute granted by his father to the holy see.

The Greek em-
peror swears
to submit to
the church of
Rome.

THE Greek ambassadors arrived before the fourth session, which was held the 24th of June. They consented to allow the supremacy of the Roman see, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from both the father and the son; but, in compliance with the weakness of the people, they desired that the creed might be repeated in their churches in the same manner as before the schism, and that those ceremonies that were not opposite to the Roman faith might still be preserved. The smaller matters being overlooked by the council, the chief articles were sworn to by the ambassadors in the name of the emperor. Several authors affirm that this was the thirteenth time the Greeks had subscribed to the doctrines of the church of Rome. In this session Henry bishop of Liege was deposed, for his debauched and scandalous life (O), as was Frederic abbot of St. Paul of the city of Rome, for his excesses. In the fifth session, which was held on the 16th of July, Gregory published the constitutions for regulating the election of the popes, ordaining, that the cardinals on that occasion should be shut up in the conclave, and allowed only one dish of simple victuals till they had concluded the election. Next day Gregory, having exhorted the prelates to a voluntary reformation of manners, and to preach up a crusade into Syria, dismissed the council, and sent the abbot of Cassino with the Greek ambassadors to Constantinople, to congratulate the emperor upon the union of the two churches.

IN the council the ambassadors of the king of Castile insisted upon the rights of their master to the empire; but Gregory would not admit his claim, as he had never been crowned at Aix la Chapelle; however, to prevail with him to make a voluntary resignation, he sent a nuncio into Spain, offering him the tythes of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom, to assist him in his wars with the Moors. In the mean time the ambassadors of Rodolphus, promising in the name of their master fidelity and obedience to the Roman see, and not to attack Charles

* PLATIN. in Vit. Greg. BLOND. d. ii. l. 8, &c.

(O) He was a cousin-german of William count of Holland, formerly elected king of the Romans against Frederic II. He neglected his consecration for eleven years after his election, minding nothing but war and temporal affairs, and was threatened with excommunication by Urban IV. and Clement IV. He struck Gregory when he was his archdeacon with his foot, for reproving

him upon account of debauching a young woman of noble birth. After his deposition he lived twelve years, and made war upon three of his successors. But at last he was killed by the relations of the young lady whom he had debauched, leaving at his death sixty-five bastards (4).

(4) Hoefam p. 275.

king

a king of *Sicily*, nor invade the patrimony of *St. Peter*, *Gregory*, in a consistory of the cardinals and several *German* prelates, confirmed his election, and invited him to receive the imperial crown at *Rome*. During these transactions at *Lyons*, *Lombardy* was continually harrassed by the different factions; *Napus Turrianus* at *Milan*, was appointed general-vicar of that city, by the emperor *Rodolphus*; the city of *Bologna* was greatly afflicted by opposite factions, distinguished by the names of their leaders, *Jerom* and *Lamberti*.^a

The pope confirms the election of Rodolphus.

A CONTAGIOUS distemper raging in *Lyons*, *Gregory* left that city, and the following year went to *Beaucaire* in *Provence*, where he had an interview with *Alphonso* king of *Castile*, who came thither in hopes of prevailing with the pope to revoke the confirmation of the empire, given to *Rodolphus*. But *Gregory* being unmoved by his representations, he departed greatly dissatisfied, and, upon his return to *Spain*, re-assumed the imperial ensigns. Before he removed from *Beaucaire*, *Gregory* wrote to the king of *Arragon*, reproving him for taking away the wife of one of his nobles, and threatening him with excommunication if he did not dismiss her. He likewise threatened the king of *Portugal* with an anathema, for violating the liberties of the church, and refusing to pay the accustomed tribute to the holy see. Advancing afterwards to *Lausanne*, in his way to *Italy*, he had an interview in that city with the emperor *Rodolphus*, who confirmed by oath what his ambassador had sworn to at *Lyons*, and promised to undertake an expedition into *Syria* against the *Saracens* without delay. Upon his arrival at *Milan*, he desired the archbishop *Otho* still to continue in exile; and proceeding from thence to *Arezzo*, he died in that city the following year on the 10th of *January*, being prevented from executing his purpose of returning to the *Holy Land*.^b

The king of Castile has a conference with Gregory; A. D. 1275.

who dies at Arezzo;

TEN days after the death of *Gregory*, the cardinals elected the bishop of *Ostia*, called *Peter* of *Tarantaise*, from the place of his birth. He was consecrated at *Rome* on the 22d of *February*, took the name of *Innocent V.* and immediately applied himself to put an end to the factions and civil dissensions in *Italy*. He absolved the *Florentines* from the interdict of *Gregory*, and sent an embassy to the *Greek* emperor; but he was prevented from reconciling the *Genoese* and *Venetians* by death, which happened to him at *Rome* on the 22d of *June*, in the sixth month of his pontificate.^c

Innocent V. elected pope.

AFTER a vacancy of nineteen days, *Othobonus*, a native of *Genoa*, and nephew of *Innocent IV.* was elected pope, and took the name of *Hadrian V.* Immediately after his election, *Blondus* and *Trithemius* affirm, that he secretly solicited the emperor *Rodolphus* to come into *Italy*, to repress the exorbitant power of *Charles*, who acted very arbitrarily at *Rome*. While he was expecting the answer of *Rodolphus*, he died at *Viterbo*, in the thirty-seventh day of his pontificate.^d

Hadrian V.

TWENTY-FIVE days after the death of *Hadrian*, *John Peter*, born at *Lisbon*, and cardinal bishop of *Tusculum*, was elected pope at *Viterbo*, and took the name of *John XXI.* *Stero*, *Bernardus*, *Guido*, *Platina*, and other authors, relate, that, though he was accounted a learned man, he disgraced the pontificate, by the inconstancy and levity of his behaviour; yet they reckon him worthy of praise for assisting poor scholars with pensions and preferments. The following year he put the emperor *Rodolphus* in mind of his vow of a crusade, and sent the archbishop of *Corinth* for the same purpose to *Philip* king of *France*. He likewise sent nuncios to the great cham of *Tartary*, for the confirmation of the faithful in his dominions. He is accused by *Platina* of neglecting to assist the inhabitants of *Ancona* against the exactions of the *Venetians*, who would not allow the others to trade to *Dalmatia*, unless they paid high duties to their republic.^e Another author likewise affirms, that he published some decrees to the prejudice of the monks, and that he neglected and despised the constitutions of the council of *Lyons*, particularly that relating to conclave of cardinals, which had been suspended by his predecessor *Hadrian*. While he was promising himself a long life, he was killed in the ninth month of his pontificate, by the fall of the roof of a chamber, which he had caused to be built at *Viterbo*.^f

John XXI. chosen pope.

He sends nuncios to the cham of Tartary.

He is killed at Viterbo.

MEAN while the war was renewed betwixt the two factions of the *Visconti* and *Turriani* in *Milan*. *Otho Visconti* the archbishop, immediately upon the death of *Gregory*, consulting with the other noble exiles at *Pavia*, they assembled a body of forces, and gave the command of them to count *Godfrey* of that city. Their troops were twice defeated by the *Turriani*; but the cities of *Como*, *Novara*, and *Pavia*, declaring in their favour, they in their turn gained a signal victory, and made themselves masters of several towns in the territory of *Milan*, which occasioned another engagement, in which the *Turriani* were entirely defeated, and *Napus* the

Otho Visconti obtains possession of the archbishopric of Milan.

^a Vita Greg. apud MURATOR. t. iii. PLATINA. Chron. Parmens. SPOND. Annales. STRUV. period. ix. p. 518. ^b SIGON. l. xx. p. 113. ^c Chron. Parmens. ^d SIGON. ubi supra. ^e Vita Greg. apud MURATOR. ^f Vita Innoc. ap. eund. ^g BLOND. Dec. ii. l. 8. TRITHEM. in Chron. Hirfang. ^h PLATIN. in Vit. Joan. ⁱ PTOL. Lucens. in Annal. SPOND. Annales.

prefect, and several other nobles of his party, taken prisoners. *Otho* used this victory with a great moderation. Being now invited by the inhabitants of *Milan* to take possession of the archiepiscopal dignity, he entered the city, and proceeding to the church of *St. Ambrose*, was there declared their spiritual and temporal sovereign ^d.

Nicholas III. ^a
elected pope.
A. D. 1278. At the death of *John*, the college of cardinals was reduced to seven, three of them *Frenchmen*, and four *Italians*; but notwithstanding the smallness of their number, it was more than six months before they determined upon their choice of a pope, being chiefly interrupted by the intrigues of the king of *Sicily*, who laboured earnestly to have one of the *French* cardinals elected ^c. At length *John Cajetan* a *Roman*, of the family of the *Orsini*, and cardinal archdeacon, was elected, and took the name of *Nicholas III*. He was consecrated soon after at *Rome*; but before he left *Viterbo*, he sent a *Dominican* and *Franciscan* as his legates into *France* ^b and *Spain*, to reconcile *Philip* and *Alphonso* king of *Castile*, who both pretended to the kingdom of *Navarre*. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he dismissed those legates to *Tartary*, who had been ordered thither by his predecessor; and having received an embassy from the *Greek* emperor, he sent the bishop of *Grasseto* in *Tuscany*, with three *Franciscans*, as his nuncios to that emperor, to satisfy the scruples of those *Greek* bishops who still continued in the schism, and to confirm the peace betwixt *Palæologus* and *Charles* king of *Sicily*, and *Philip* the successor of *Baldwin*, commonly stiled emperor of *Constantinople*, who still possessed *Negroponte*, and some other places on the coasts of *Greece*.

Rodolphus ^c
confirms the
articles which
he had sworn
to at Lau-
sanne. MEAN while *Nicholas* was very importunate with the emperor *Rodolphus* to fulfil what he had promised to *Gregory* at *Lausanne*. The emperor justified his delay, by alleging, that the king of *Sicily* had not yet been obliged to quit the title of vicar of *Tuscany*; however, he sent *Conrad* of *Tubingen* as his plenipotentiary to *Rome*, who, in the presence of *Nicholas*, twelve cardinals, and a great many bishops and nobles, ratified the articles formerly agreed to by *Rodolphus* at *Lausanne*, whereby he ceded to the holy see all the fiefs situated betwixt *Radicophani* and *Cepperano*, the exarchate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis*, the march of *Ancona*, the duchy of *Spoleto*, the estate of the countess *Matilda*, the county of *Bertinoro* in *Romania*, and all the lands granted by the emperors to the holy see since the time of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*. *Rodolphus*, by these concessions, only parted with a right to receive homage from subjects who had been contesting that privilege for near 100 years with the emperors, and who, in their submissions to the pope, reserved all the privileges they were then in possession of, which rendered them ^d almost entirely independent and sovereign. During these transactions, *Charles* was prevailed upon to resign the vicariate of *Tuscany* and the senatorial dignity to the pope, who immediately published a decree, that no emperor, king, or any person possessing an eminent title, or any relations of such, should be capable of enjoying the senatorial dignity, which, for the future, should only be an annual office ^e.

Charles re-
signs the sena-
torial dignity
and title of
vicar of Tus-
cany.

The pope sends
an army to re-
duce Romani-
ola.

SOME authors affirm, that *Nicholas* reserved the senatorial dignity to himself during his life; and he is accused by several historians of having had ambitious views in his transactions with the emperor and king of *Sicily*, the last of whom he had resolved to repress, because he had disdainfully refused to give his grand-daughter in marriage to one of his nephews, declaring, *that though the pope wore red shoes, yet his blood was unworthy to be allied with that of kings*. ^e *Nicholas* is likewise said to have intended to have created two kings of the family of the *Orsini*, one in *Tuscany*, and another in *Lombardy*; but his short pontificate prevented the execution of his schemes ^f. About this time he sent his brother, whom he had created count of *Romaniola*, with an army into that country, to reduce some cities that refused to submit to the church. He likewise sent his nephew *Latinus*, a *Dominican* friar, and bishop of *Ostia*, as his legate into *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*, to reconcile the contending factions in those parts. Mean while *Philip*, bishop of *Formo*, who had been sent as legate into *Germany*, reconciled some of the princes to *Rodolphus*, and proceeding to *Hungary*, excommunicated *Ladislus* the king, who oppressed his Christian subjects, and plundered the churches and monasteries. This sentence produced a reformation in the king, who was thereupon absolved by the legate ^h. About the same time cardinal *Jerom*, general-minister of the *Franciscans*, while he was exercising his office of legate in *Paris*, by the advice of a great many of his brethren, condemned the doctrines of *Roger Bacon*, a friar of the same order, who, for his surprising knowledge in divinity, natural philosophy, and mathematics, had acquired the title of the *wonderful Doctor*. According to *Pitseus*, *Roger's* great merits having drawn upon him the envy of his ignorant brethren, his doctrines were not only condemned, but he himself was likewise imprisoned by order of his general ⁱ.

^d SICON. l. xx. p. 116, & 117.
supra.

^e Vita Nicol. ap. MURATOR. SPOND. ANNAL. PLATIN. BLOND. Istor. di Ricordan. ap. MURATOR, t. viii.

^h SPOND. ANNAL.

^f PLATIN. in Vita Nicol. BLOND. D. 2. l. viii.

^g SICON. ubi

ⁱ WADDING. ANNAL. t. ii. PITSEUS de script. Angl. hoc an.

^a THE following year *Nicolas* received an embassy from the *Greek* emperor, informing him of what he had done, to prevail with his subjects to acknowledge the supremacy of the *Roman* church. But notwithstanding all his endeavours, the greatest part of his own relations and kindred still violently opposed the union of the two churches, and had broke out into an open rebellion, which his army had not then been able to quell. He informed him besides, that a synod of 100 monks, a few abbots, and eight bishops, had assembled, and excommunicated the pope, the emperor, and the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and all those adhering to them; therefore that he could not urge the intended union any further at that time, lest he should be deposed by his rebellious subjects ^k.

He receives an embassy from the Greek emperor.
A. D. 1279.

^b AT the same period *Latinus*, the legate in *Lombardy*, denounced a sentence of interdict and excommunication against the city of *Parma*, on account of a violent outrage committed against the inquisitors of that city, who having ordered a certain noble lady to be burnt for heresy, were attacked by the mob, and one of them killed, and many of the rest greatly wounded. The house was likewise plundered and pulled to the ground. The magistracy of *Parma* sent ambassadors to the pope, begging absolution; which they could not at that time obtain ^l. *Nicolas* was then engaged in reconciling the emperor and the king of *Sicily*; *Rodolphus* having given the investiture of the counties of *Provence* and *Forcalquier* to *Margaret*, widow of *St. Lewis*, in opposition to the pretensions of *Charles*, which were founded on his contract of marriage, and the last will of his deceased father-in-law. After several months spent in the negotiation, *Nicolas* at length being appointed arbitrator, the peace was signed in the month of *April*, when it was agreed, that the counties above-mentioned should be ceded to *Charles* as fiefs of the empire; and that a marriage should be concluded betwixt his grandson *Charles Martel*, and *Clemence*, the emperor's daughter ^m.

He reconciles Rodolphus and the king of Sicily.
1280.

^c THE pope seems to have engaged in this affair more from a regard to the emperor than to *Charles*; for he entered into the conspiracy which the *Sicilians* were forming against their king. The chief promoter of this conspiracy was *John de Procida*, of *Salerno*, formerly one of the counsellors to the emperor *Frederic*, and his son *Manfred*, who, knowing the great aversion of the *Sicilian* nobles to the *French* government, concerted with him the plan of a revolt in favour of *Peter* king of *Arragon*, who had married the only daughter of *Manfred*. *John Franciscan*, and obtained the consent of the pope. *Nicolas* likewise gave him letters to the king of *Arragon*, to whom he promised the investiture of *Sicily* and *Naples*; but before the plot could be put in execution, he died of an apoplexy, on the 20th of *August*, at *Suriano*, in the diocese of *Viterbo* ⁿ.

Nicolas enters into a conspiracy against Charles.

He dies at Viterbo.

^d IMMEDIATELY upon the death of *Nicolas*, the inhabitants of *Viterbo* expelled his nephew *Ursus*, who had been appointed their pretor; and the family of the *Hannibali* at *Rome*, having assembled their party in the capitol, deprived the *Orsini* of part of their authority. These disturbances occasioned great contests in the conclave at *Viterbo*; for two of the cardinals of the *Orsini* family declared, that they would not allow an election to be made, till their relation *Ursus* was restored to his pretorship. But the inhabitants of *Viterbo*, at the instigation of the king of *Sicily* and *Richard*, of the family of the *Hannibali*, who had the guard of the conclave, broke in upon the cardinals, and carrying off the two *Orsini*, kept them prisoners in irons; upon which the others, on the 21st of *February*, elected *Simon de Brio*, a *Frenchman*, and cardinal of the title of *St. Cecilia*, who took the name of *Martin IV.* and was consecrated at *Orvieto*, having laid the city of *Viterbo* under a sentence of interdict and excommunication, on account of the violence they had committed against the cardinals ^o. Immediately after his consecration, having received the senatorial dignity from the *Romans*, he appointed the king of *Sicily* as his deputy. He likewise recalled *Berthold* from *Romaniola*; and sent *John Eppa*, his nephew, to carry on the war in that province, against those who still refused to submit to the church. Great confusions still continuing at *Rome*, cardinal *Orsini*, the late pope's brother, was sent thither to compose the factions. Upon his arrival, he found his family in possession of the chief authority, and the *Hannibali* banished; but both parties referring their disputes to his arbitration, peace was restored; upon which *Martin* granted the *Romans* a power of chusing annually two senators from among themselves to govern the city.

A. D. 1281.

Martin IV. is elected.

He confers the senatorial dignity on Charles.

^e *MARTIN* in the mean time being alarmed at the great preparations of the king of *Arragon*, who was fitting out a formidable fleet, under pretence of invading the *Saracens*, he sent a legate to him, to enquire against what *Saracens* his expedition was intended, with an offer of assistance. But *Peter* replying, that if he thought his shirt knew his intentions he would tear it off and burn it, the legate took his leave, but prohibited him, under pain of excommu-

^k WADDING, t. ii. hoc an. SPOND. Annal.

Lucens. VILLAN. l. viii. c. 55. RAINER. ad an. 1279. p. 10.

206 & 207. FAZELL, Dec. ii. l. viii. c. 4

COLLEN. Hist. Neap. l. v. Vit. Nicol. apud MURATOR. See also the History of Naples.

^l Chron. Parmens. SIGON. l. xx. p. 119.

^m PTOL.

ⁿ Istor. di Ricord. ap. MURATOR. t. viii. c.

^o Vita Nicol. ut supra. BLOND. D. ii. l. viii.

and at his desire excommunicates the Greek emperor.

nication, from turning his arms against any christian prince. *Charles*, however, instead of guarding his own dominions, was preparing to invade those of the *Greek* emperor, against whom he solicited the pope to publish a sentence of excommunication. *Martin*, who was only a tool to his ambition, accordingly excommunicated *Michael*, upon pretence of his not observing the articles of union agreed to at the council of *Lyons*, and his unjustly possessing the empire belonging to the son of *Baldwin*. He likewise prohibited all kings and princes from entering into any alliance or society with the *Greek* emperor, under pain of excommunication^p. Mean while the emperor *Rodolphus*, at the solicitation of the *Gibelines*, sent his chancellor *Otho*, with 300 horse, to demand the allegiance of the cities of *Tuscany*. But none consenting to swear allegiance but *Pisa* and *Sauminiano*, by their assistance he attacked the inhabitants of *Lucca* and *Florence*, and the other *Guelphs* in those parts; but after some unsuccessful skirmishes, an accomodation was agreed to, and he returned to *Germany*^q.

The French massacred by the Sicilians; A. D. 1282. who are excommunicated by the pope.

THE following year, while *Charles* was with the pope at *Orvieto*, they were alarmed with the news of the revolt of the *Sicilians*, who, on *Easter Monday*, on the ringing of the bells for the vespers, had surprised and massacred all the *French* in their island, not sparing even their own countrywomen, whom they suspected to be with child by *Frenchmen*^r. Upon receiving the news of this massacre, the pope made a public procession through the streets of *Orvieto*, excommunicated the *Sicilians*, and laid their island under an interdict. To those likewise who assisted *Charles* against the *Sicilians*, he granted the same indulgences as the crusards had formerly enjoyed. Soon after, hearing that the king of *Arragon* had landed with an army in *Sicily*, to take possession of it in right of his wife, he excommunicated him and all his adherents, and laid his kingdom of *Arragon* under an interdict (P). This sentence having no effect upon the king, a few months after *Martin* deposed him from the kingdom of *Arragon*, which he gave to *Charles* of *Valois*, the youngest son of the king of *France*. He likewise sent cardinal *Coletus* to the king of *England*, desiring him to prohibit the kings of *Sicily* and *Arragon* from fighting the duel which they had agreed to at *Bourdeaux*. *Peter* still continuing his hostilities against *Charles* in *Sicily*, and appealing for the justice of his cause to the decision of a future pope, *Martin* ordered cardinal *Coletus*, his legate in *France*, to confirm the cession of *Arragon* to *Charles* of *Valois*, and to preach a crusade against *Peter*, with the usual indulgences. Being informed likewise, that *Edward* king of *England* proposed to give his daughter *Leonora* to *Peter*'s eldest son, he prohibited the alliance, under pain of excommunication^d.

The king of Arragon is deposed for invading Sicily. A. D. 1283.

The prince of Castile excommunicated for rebelling against his father.

AT the same time *Sancho*, eldest son of the king of *Castile*, having rebelled against his father, he excommunicated him and his followers, and laid those cities that favoured his party under an interdict. Mean while *Michael Palæologus* dying at *Constantinople*, his son *Andronicus* succeeded to that empire, and quickly discovered his attachment to the *Greek* ceremonies; for because his father had adhered to the *Roman* church, he buried him at night in a private manner in the fields. He likewise ordered a *Greek* patriarch to be elected, who restored the exiles, and oppressed those who adhered to the union of the *Latins*^s.

A. D. 1284.

DURING these transactions at *Constantinople*, *Charles the lame*, eldest son of the king of *Naples*, was defeated at sea by the *Sicilian* admiral, and carried prisoner to *Sicily*. *Martin* immediately sent two cardinals as his legates into that kingdom, to demand the liberty of the prince, and to mediate a peace between the *Sicilians* and *Charles*; but the rebels refusing all accommodation, the legates renewed the sentence of excommunication, and left the island.

The death of the king of Naples, and the pope. 1285.

A few months after, *Charles* dying at *Foggia*, while his son was still in captivity, the pope appointed his legate cardinal *Gerard*, bishop of *Parma*, as baillie or administrator of the kingdom, in conjunction with *Robert* count of *Artois*, and *Mary* of *Hungary*, the wife of the captive prince. *Martin* survived the king of *Sicily* only a few weeks. He died at *Perugia*, on the 28th of *March*, and was buried in the cathedral church of that city.

Honorius IV. is elected pope; and

FOUR days after the death of *Martin*, *James Sabellus*, a *Roman*, and cardinal deacon, of the title of *St. Mary*, in *Cosmedin*, was elected pope, and took the name of *Honorius IV.* Before his consecration, which was performed at *St. Peter's*, on the 16th of *April*, he gave

^p Istor. di Ricord. ubi supra. PLATIN. FAZEL. 2. D. viii. c. 4.

^r Istor. di Ricord. FAZEL. See the History of Naples. Eccles. Gregoras, l. v. ad finem.

^q SICON. ubi sup. VILLAN. l. viii. c. 55.

^s FAZEL, ut supra.

^t ONUPHR. in Chron.

(P) *Spondanus* complains, that, to the great disgrace of Christianity, the *Paduans* this year shewed, that they valued their priests no more than a penny; their senate, upon account of the great insolence and profligacy of their clergy, having made a decree, that whoever should kill a priest, should only be fined in one gross, which is a penny; in consequence of this edict, many persons

quickly forfeited their penny; which the pope being informed of, he ordered the patriarch of *Aquileia* to excommunicate the senate of *Padua*, and to lay the city under an interdict: though the senate quickly repealed the decree, yet they were not absolved from the sentence of the patriarch till seven years afterwards (1).

a an answer to the ambassadors of the king of *England*, who requested, that in his expedition against *Scotland*, he might be allowed to raise the tythes granted for the crusade by the synod of *Lyons*. *Honorius* refused to allow him any authority over his neighbouring kingdom; and at the same time appointed him a limited time for performing his expedition into *Syria*. He likewise renewed the sentence of his predecessor against the king of *Arragon*; and in order to carry on the war against the *Sicilians*, he raised the tythes in the dioceses of *Liege*, *Metz*, *Basil*, and in some others in their neighbourhood, notwithstanding the petition of the imperial ambassadors, who requested an exemption from that tax. This same year also, he wrote to his legate in *France*, desiring him to appoint masters in the university of *Paris* for teaching the *Arabic* and other eastern languages, in order to convert the *Saracens*, and re-
b claim the schismatics of the east. Soon after, being informed of the death of *Peter* king of *Arragon*, which happened in the beginning of *November*, he excommunicated both his sons, *Alphonso*, the eldest, for detaining *Charles the lame*, king of *Naples*, and *James*, for usurping the kingdom of *Sicily*. A. D. 1285.

Honorius likewise solicited the emperor *Rodolphus*, to come and receive the imperial crown at *Rome*; but that emperor, more intent upon establishing his family, and providing honours for his children, thought it not prudent to march into *Italy*, where he knew he would meet with great opposition, if he should insist upon the rights of the empire, which for more than 100 years had been contested by the powerful cities of *Lombardy*. However, he pretended still an intention of visiting *Italy*, as soon as his affairs would permit; and in
c the mean time sent the bishop of *Basil*, as his chancellor, to receive the allegiance of the *Italian* cities. But the greatest part of them, during the troubles that succeeded in *Germany* upon the death of *Frederic II.* having acquired a kind of superiority and independency, they refused to take the oath prescribed by the chancellor. *Rodolphus* being informed by him of their opposition, and finding himself unable to reduce them by force, wrote to his chancellor to confirm their privileges in their full extent, on condition of their paying certain sums of money as an equivalent. This condition was very acceptable to the *Italian* cities; accordingly *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Bologna*, and *Lucca*, obtained the confirmation of their liberties, upon payment of the sums specified by the chancellor; while several others, sensible of the small authority of the empire in *Italy*, asserted their independency, but refused to give any
d money for the liberty of which they were then in possession. Though *Rodolphus*, by this accommodation, only extended the privileges which the cities had obtained from *Frederic Barossa*, and did not absolutely separate them from the empire, which they even then acknowledged, yet this period is reckoned the beginning of the *Italian* independency and liberty, for the *German* emperors afterwards had but the mere shadow of authority in *Italy*.
The Italian cities purchase their liberty from Rodolphus.

The pope was greatly pleased with this proceeding of the emperor, as he foresaw that it would be a strengthening of the authority of the holy see, which, by the assistance of *Guido Montfort*, the *English* refugee, had at last reduced *Romaniola*. As another accession of power, the chancellor at this time, in the name of *Rodolphus*, made a new cession of the exarchate of *Ravenna* to the apostolic see. *Honorius* in return, as a mark of his regard for the chancellor,
e created him archbishop of *Mentz*, and, upon his departure from *Italy*, sent *John Buccamali*, bishop of *Tusculum*, along with him, as legate into *Germany*. The pope likewise wrote to the archbishop of *Strigonia*, to reprove the king of *Hungary* for his attachment to the pagan rites of *Cumani* or *Culmacks*. Soon after, being informed that *Edward I.* king of *England*, had acted as mediator betwixt the king of *Arragon* and the king of *France*, and had proposed that *Sicily* should be ceded to *James*, the brother of the king of *Arragon*, on condition that *Charles the lame* should be set at liberty, and left in quiet possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, he disapproved of their disposing of *Sicily*, which was a fief of the apostolic see, without his consent, and prohibited them, under pain of excommunication, from proceeding further in that treaty. Mean while *John Buccamali*, legate in *Germany*, held a council at
f *Wirtzburg*, and having published several canons, to be observed in *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Denmark*, and the other northern provinces, made a demand of the fourth-part of all ecclesiastical revenues in *Germany* for four years. *Conrad*, bishop of *Toul*, opposed this demand; and after severely exclaiming against the court of *Rome*, appealed to a future general council: his opinion was seconded by the whole assembly, which, immediately fell into great confusion and uproar; so that *Rodolphus* was obliged to send soldiers into the church to rescue the legate from their fury. The legate did not appear abroad for several days; and soon after being informed of the death of *Honorius*, which happened at *Rome*, on the third of *April*, he immediately departed for *Italy*.
A. D. 1287. Honorius disapproves of the mediation of the king of England betwixt the kings of France and Arragon. He dies at Rome.

Upon the death of *Honorius*, the *Roman* see continued vacant almost eleven months; for an earthquake happening soon after his death, and several cardinals dying of an epidemical
Nicolas IV. is elected pope;

^a SPOND. Annales.

^w SURIT. Indic. l. ii.

STRUV. period. ix Catena Histor. l. xxix. c. 2.

^x SIGON. l. xx. p. ult. BLOND. ut supra. KRANTZIUS.

^y AVENTIN. l. vii. p. 572 & 573 SPOND. Annal.

A. D. 1218. sickness, they delayed the election till the 22d of *February*, when they chose cardinal *Jerom*,^a bishop of *Pilastrina*, who took the name of *Nicolas IV.*; and immediately after his consecration, sent two nuncios to the king of *Arragon*, to intercede for the liberty of *Charles the lame*, and to summon the king to appear at *Rome* within six months, to justify his conduct to the pope. As *Alphonso* gave his consent, provided he might come with security to himself, *Nicolas* granted him a safe conduct, and prevailed with the king of *France* and his allies to do the same. He likewise desired the kings of *France* and *England*, together with his legate, to endeavour in the mean time to procure the liberty of *Charles*, which they accordingly effected, by a treaty concluded in a village of the *Pyrenees*. *Nicolas* in the mean time wrote to the king of *France*, for the immunity of the clergy in his dominions, that they might not be oppressed by the exactions of those who collected the taxes. He likewise published a^b decree to be observed by the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* inquisitors, in their proceedings against those Christians who should embrace judaism, or those *Jews*, who, having once embraced Christianity, should return to their former religion^c.

Receives an embassy from the Tartars of Lesser Tartary.

A. D. 1289.

The king of Portugal makes satisfaction for the injuries done to the clergy.

ABOUT the same time, having received an embassy from the king of the *Tartars* in *Lesser Tartary*, expressing his affection for the Christian religion, and desiring to receive baptism in the city of *Jerusalem*, which he intended to take from the *Saracens*, *Nicolas* wrote to him not to delay his baptism, and granted large privileges to the *Franciscans* in that kingdom, to encourage them in their labours^d. He likewise ordered *Latinus*, bishop of *Ostia*, with two other cardinals, to judge of the complaints of the archbishop of *Braga* against the king of *Portugal*, who was accused of violating the immunity of the ecclesiastics in their persons and revenues, and of publishing some decrees against the authority of the church. The ambassadors of the king and the clergy appearing at *Rome*, it was agreed, that the laws to the prejudice of the ecclesiastics should be repealed, and heavy penalties were decreed against the king or any others, who, for the future, should infringe the privileges of the clergy. *Nicolas* having confirmed this decree of the cardinals, sent it to the prior of the *Dominicans* and the *Franciscans* at *Lisbon*, with orders to take off the sentence of interdict upon the king's swearing to submit to the apostolic mandate^e. A few weeks after, the pope having gone to *Rieti*, there crowned *Charles*, king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, upon his submitting to the same conditions which his father had sworn to upon receiving the investiture from *Clement IV.* The pope likewise annulled all the pactions which he had agreed to^d with the king of *Arragon*, as prejudicial to the rights of the *Roman* see^e. About the same time he erected an university at *Montpellier*; and having received another embassy from the king of the *Tartars* of *Lesser Tartary*, informing him, that the great cham, the emperor of all the *Tartars*, was desirous of having some *Latin* priests in his dominions, he wrote to the cham, and exhorted him immediately to receive baptism.

The Saracens take and destroy Tripoli.

MEAN while the sultan of *Egypt*, after a long and difficult siege, surprised and took *Tripoli*, which he entirely destroyed, killing 7000 Christians, and carrying the rest into captivity, excepting a few that fled to *Acon* and *Cyprus*. He seized some other christian garrisons; but that he might not awaken the resentment of the *European* powers against him, he concluded a truce with the other Christians in *Palestine*. However, *Nicolas* immediately sent considerable succours thither on board some *Venetian* ships at his own expence; but as the sultan had withdrawn his forces, they came too late to be of any great service. He likewise exhorted the christian princes to another crusade, but without effect; for since the misfortunes of *St. Lewis*, the zeal for that foreign expedition was greatly abated in *Europe*^d.

A. D. 1290. The pope appoints a legate in Africa.

THE following year *Nicolas* published another decree against the *Jews*; and likewise against some Christians, who, as a protection against diseases and other misfortunes, frequented the synagogues of the *Jews* with lamps and lighted candles. He likewise created *Roderic*, a *Franciscan*, archbishop of *Morocco*, and appointed him apostolic legate in all *Africa*. Having also received many complaints of the great oppression of the clergy in *England*, he sent a legate into that kingdom, to reform the abuses and discipline of the church, and to prohibit the oppression of ecclesiastics, under pain of excommunication. About the same time, being informed of the death of *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary*, he allowed his legate at *Naples* to crown *Charles Martel*, son of *Charles the lame*, king of *Hungary*, in his mother's right, who was only sister to *Ladislaus*, who died without issue. He delayed sending him into *Hungary*, because the *Hungarian* nobles, even before the death of *Ladislaus*, had chosen another king, from another branch of the royal family; but he sent two nuncios to *Rodolphus*, to prohibit him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the rights of *Charles Martel*, in favour of his own son *Albert*, duke of *Austria*^e.

^a Ap. EYMER. Director. inquis. par. ii. p. 44.

& WADDING. hoc an.

Bell. Sac. &c.

^c SURIT. Indic. l. ii. MARIAN. l. xiv. c. 11. NANG. in Chron.

^e SPOND. Annal. See also the History of Hungary.

^a Annales MINOR. t. ii. hoc an. SPOND. Annal.

^b BZOV.

^d SANUT. contin.

^a MEAN while the king of *Arragon*, being still attacked by the *French* and their allies the *Castilians*, in consequence of his deposition by *Martin IV.* was now very desirous of being reconciled to the apostolic see, and sent an ambassador to the pope, intreating his mediation to procure a peace. *Nicolas* was likewise solicited to the same purpose by *Edward*, king of *England*, who, as he had been the chief instrument of procuring the liberty of *Charles*, thought himself obliged to see the articles performed. Accordingly the pope, at his intreaty, granted a commission to two legates to compose all differences, who, holding a congress at *Tarasco*, in *Provence*, with the ambassadors of the kings of *France*, *Arragon*, and *Sicily*, and of *Charles Valois*, pretender to the crown of *Arragon*, concluded a peace on these conditions; that the king of *Arragon* should pay, according to the agreement of his ancestors, an annual tribute of thirty ounces of gold to the see of *Rome*; should restore the hostages of *Charles* king of *Naples*; should oblige his mother and brother to restore *Sicily*; should go to *Rome* and ask pardon of the pope, and afterwards lead an army to the assistance of the Christians in *Palestine*. On performance of those conditions, *Charles Valois* agreed to quit his pretensions to his kingdom, and the pope promised to take off the sentence of interdict^f. *Alphonso* was prevented from fulfilling the conditions of the treaty by death, which happened to him a few months afterwards.

The king of Arragon is reconciled to see of Rome. A. D. 1291.

^b DURING these transactions in *Provence*, *Nicolas*, at the desire of the king of *Servia*, appointed inquisitors of the faith in *Bosnia*, against the heretics in that principality; and wrote to *George*, emperor, as he stiled himself, of the *Bulgarians*, to invite him to an union with the *Roman* church. But his attention was chiefly engaged in opposing the *Saracens*, who had lately taken *Ptolemais* or *Acon*, and intirely expelled the Christians from *Asia*. Upon receiving this melancholy news, he ordered a crusade to be preached every where, and earnestly exhorted the christian princes to lay aside their mutual divisions, and to turn their arms against the Infidels. He not only wrote to the western princes, but likewise to the emperors of *Constantinople* and *Trebisond*, to the king of the eastern *Tartars*, and to the king of the *Armenians*, *Iberians*, and *Georgians*, soliciting them to give their assistance against the *Saracens*; and informing them, that *Edward*, king of *England*, had already taken the cross, and was to sail in a short time for *Syria*. He also prohibited, by a very severe edict, any one from carrying arms, timber, iron, or any other merchandize, into any other port belonging to the *Saracens*^g. As the knights *Templars* and *Hospitallers*, the two most powerful orders, harrassed each other with perpetual animosities and dissensions, he consulted with the emperor of *Constantinople*, the kings of *England* and *France*, and with the masters of the orders, and the bishops, about uniting the orders under one general, and under the same regulations. Councils were likewise ordered to be celebrated through the different provinces of *Europe*, in order to hasten the succours; but nothing was effected that year, on account of the death of the emperor *Rodolphus*, who had declared himself the most forward to undertake the sacred expedition. A few months after, *Nicolas* received an embassy from the king of *Armenia*, imploring the assistance of the *European* princes against the *Saracens*: as the ambassadors had likewise letters to the kings of *France* and *England*, he sent them to those princes, with letters also from himself; but he died quickly after at *Rome*, on the 18th of *April*, and was buried in the church of *St. Mary Major*.

The Christians entirely expelled from Syria.

A. D. 1292.

Nicolas dies at Rome.

^c UPON the death of *Nicolas*, the cardinals went to *Perugia* to chuse a successor; but two *Roman* cardinals, of the families of the *Orsini* and *Colonna*, from their antient rivalry, divided the college into factions, and delayed the election for more than two years. At length cardinal *Latinus* naming *Peter di Murro*, who lived a solitary life in a valley near *Sulmo*, they unanimously chose him pope, on the 5th of *July*, and sent the archbishop of *Lyons*, with four other persons, to acquaint him with his promotion. He, with great reluctance, accepted of the papal dignity; but being prevailed upon by the intreaties of king *Charles* and his son, the king of *Hungary*, and many other persons, he mounted on an ass, and set out for *Aquila*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, where he was consecrated, on the 28th of *August*, no less than 200,000 people being present on that occasion, according to the relation of *Ptolemy of Lucca*, who was an eye-witness^h. At his consecration he took the name of *Celestine V.* and having confirmed the order which he had lately instituted, he proceeded to *Naples*, where he created twelve cardinals, two of whom were monks of his own order, and some others *Frenchmen*, and friends of king *Charles*ⁱ. As he continued in his former manner of life, without assuming any thing of the splendor of a pope, and from his ignorance and simplicity conferred benefices on improper persons, and even granted the same things to different suitors, the cardinals quickly thought of deposing him. *Benedict*, cardinal *Cajetan*, being in hopes of the pontificate for himself, and having great influence with *Celestine*, who of himself was willing

Celestine V. is chosen pope. 1294.

^f SUMMONT. l. iii. c. 2.

^g SPOND. Annal. Cont. Bell. Sacr. l. v. c. 5. VILLAN. l. vii. c. 144.

^h PTOL. Luc. Hist. l. xxiv. c. 32. Vita. Celest. V. apud MURATOR. PLATINA.

ⁱ SPOND. Annal.

*He abdicates
the dignity.*

to abdicate, prevailed with him to hasten his resolution. Accordingly the pope, notwithstanding the opposition of king *Charles* and the people of *Naples*, on the 15th of *December* made a decree for his own abdication, which having read to the cardinals, he immediately pulled off his pontifical ornaments, and laid them at their feet^k. He is blamed by some authors for his abdication; but by others greatly extolled, especially by *Alvarus* and *Petrarch*^l (Q).

*Boniface VIII.
elected pope.*

THE cardinals having received a power to proceed to a new election, ten days after the abdication of *Celestine*, chose *Benedict*, who was born at *Anagni*, of the noble family of the *Cajetans*. He took the name of *Boniface VIII.* and, on the 3d day after his election annulled all the acts, not yet executed, of *Nicolas IV.* and his predecessor *Celestine*, and revoked all the dispensations, indulgences, and bulls of reversion granted by them. This proceeding created him a great many enemies, who accused him of arrogance and pride, and that he had acquired the pontificate by indirect and fraudulent means. To stop this clamour, he published a confession of his faith, which he presented at the altar of *St. Peter*, in which church he was consecrated, about the middle of *January*, in the presence of the kings of *Sicily* and *Hungary*, who, upon his return from the church, walked on both sides of his horse, which they held by the bridle.

*He imprisons
Celestine.*

As the legality of his election was greatly questioned, *Boniface* was afraid lest his enemies should oblige *Celestine* to re-assume the papal dignity; he therefore made diligent enquiry to find him out, while *Celestine*, on the other hand, as earnest to hide himself from the world, had thrice endeavoured to pass over into *Dalmatia*, but was prevented by the wind. Upon being discovered, he was carried back to the pope, who chid him in an arrogant manner for departing without his leave, and accepting of no excuse, confined him in a strong castle during his life^m. He likewise confirmed his abdication by a bull, and prevailed with a monk of the order of *St. Austin* to write a learned apology in his defence, proving him a true and lawful popeⁿ.

*Concludes a
peace betwixt
the French
and the Ar-
ragonians.*

AFTER he had thus provided for his own security in his new dignity, he sent the bishops of *Albano* and *Pilastrina*, as his legates, to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*; and being informed that the emperor *Adolphus* had accepted of a subsidy from the king of *England* to act against *France*, he sent two legates to him in *Germany*, to exhort him to desert that alliance, but without any effect at that time. He was more successful in concluding the peace betwixt the *French* and the *Arragonians* at *Anagni*; the king of *Arragon* promising to deliver up *Sicily*, and all he possessed in *Italy*, to the king of *Naples*, and to furnish forces against the *Sicilians* if they refused to submit. But these islanders thinking it the worst of evils to be again subject to the government of the *French*, immediately chose *Frederic*, brother to the king of *Arragon*, for their king, *Boniface* in vain opposing their proceeding by his nuncios, who were obliged to withdraw from the fury of the populace. The pope likewise resolving to procure peace in *Italy*, sent for the bishops and deputies from the republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, then engaged in a ruinous war, and earnestly persuaded them to a reconciliation; but as their demands on both sides were extravagant, an accommodation could not be effected^o. *Isarnus*, bishop of *Carcassonne*, was likewise sent as legate into *Denmark*, to procure the liberty of the archbishop of *Lunden*, whom the king had put in chains on account of a dispute about the different rights of the church and the crown.

A. D. 1296. THE following year *Boniface* again ordered his legates to exhort the kings of *France* and *England* to a reconciliation; and at the same time to appoint a truce to be observed by them under pain of excommunication. As *Edward* was engaged in a war with *Scotland*, he willingly accepted of the truce; but *Philip* having met with some success, refused to comply with

^k CIACON. in *Celest.* V.

^l PLANET. *Eccles.* l. ii. c. 11. PETRARCH. de Vit. Solit. l. ii. c. 18.

^m SPOND. *Annal.*

ⁿ ÆGID. de Renunciat. Pap. l. i.

^o FOLIET. *Hist. Gen.* l. vi.

(Q) During the pontificate of *Celestine*, the famous chapel of the Virgin *Mary* is said to have been transported by angels into *Italy*. According to the story, after the *Saracens* had made themselves entirely masters of *Palestine*, the pilgrims being denied access to the chapel at *Nazareth*, it was conducted, in the year 1291, at midnight, into *Dalmatia*, and placed upon a little hill near the shore of the *Adriatic*. At the same time it was revealed to a curate in the neighbourhood, that it was the chapel of *Nazareth*; upon which the governor of *Dalmatia* sent four persons of note into *Palestine*, to enquire into the truth of his assertion, who, upon their return, confirmed the revelation of the curate. Three years afterwards, the angels transported the chapel into

the march of *Ancona* again, at midnight, and placed it in a wood belonging to a religious lady. About eight months after, it was removed from the wood to a hill, about two miles distance, belonging to two brothers, who immediately quarrelled about the possession of the chapel; when it unexpectedly took another leap to the place where it now stands. Notwithstanding pope *Boniface* is quite silent with regard to this miracle, and it is never mentioned by *Dante*, *Petrarch*, *St. Antonin*, *Vincent*, *Ferrier*, or other authors of those times, nay, even though *Vincent* seems to mention the chapel as still in *Nazareth*, yet the story is firmly believed by many persons in the communion of the *Roman* church (2).

a the orders of the legates, alleging, that the temporal government of his kingdom belonged to himself alone. To assert his right, he published an edict, forbidding all strangers, ecclesiastics not excepted, from entering his kingdom, or any *Frenchmen* to go out without his express permission. Mean while *Boniface*, having received great complaints against the king of *England*, for obliging his clergy by force to submit to a new tax, together with the rest of his subjects; and other princes being likewise accused of oppressing their clergy, he published a bull, prohibiting all kings, princes, or nobles, from raising any subsidy, or tax, under any pretence whatever, from ecclesiastics, or the ecclesiastics from giving what was demanded of them, without the permission of the pope, under pain of excommunication, both against the givers and the exactors^p. But being informed of the edict of the king of *France*, he published another bull, somewhat more moderate, allowing, that sovereigns in great necessities of state had an authority to raise taxes, even upon ecclesiastics^q. About this time we are informed by *Spondanus*^r, that *Boniface* confirmed the vicariate of *Tuscany*, granted by the emperor, to *John de Cabilon*; but the cities of *Italy* being desirous of shaking off the yoke of the empire, drew the pope into their party by a present of 80,000 florins, who, in consequence of that sum, soon after persuaded the vicar to overlook the rights of the empire, by conferring the bishopric of *Liege* upon his brother.

He likewise began at this time to persecute the family of *Colonna*, in resentment of the opposition made to his election by two cardinals of that name, who had even published some libels against him, addressed to all christian princes, accusing him of pride, ambition, and avarice, and asserting, that none were obliged to obey him, as he was not a lawful pope. *Boniface* embraced the first opportunity of taking revenge; and *Stephen Colonna* seizing and carrying off some of the sacred utensils, the pope cited him, and his brother and uncle, both cardinals, to appear and justify themselves at *Rome*. But they neglected the summons, and trusting to the power of their family, and the strength of the *Gibeline* faction, fortified themselves in *Pilastrina*. The pope being informed of their contempt, called a council of the cardinals and bishops who were then at *Rome*. There he deposed the two cardinals from their dignity and honour, deprived them of their benefices, confiscated the estates of their relations, and declared their adherents excommunicated. Soon after he ordered a crusade to be preached against them and their adherents, as schismatics, took some of their castles and towns, which he pillaged and destroyed, and pursued them where-ever he suspected they had fled^s (R).

While he thus persecuted the two cardinals of the family of *Colonna*, that he might not raise the resentment of the rest of the college against him, he published a most severe bull, against any one that should injure a cardinal, adding some articles for the immunity of the clergy. He likewise canonized *St. Lewis*, late king of *France*; and expelled the regular canons from the *Lateran* church, upon account of the depravity of their manners, and neglect of discipline. Having also appointed *James*, king of *Arragon*, standard-bearer, general, and admiral of the church, upon his arrival at *Rome*, he crowned him king of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, which two islands he granted him as fiefs of the see of *Rome*, under an annual tribute of 2000 merks sterling, and a certain number of ships and land-forces, according to the necessities of the church^t. The design of the pope was to animate him against his brother *Frederic*, possessor of *Sicily*; accordingly *James* published an edict, ordering all the subjects of *Castile* and *Arragon* to quit *Sicily*, under pain of being accounted deserters and traitors^u. He likewise solicited his brother to a conference in the island of *Ischia* near *Naples*, but without effect: however, his mother *Constantia* and sister *Violante* came thither, and went with him to *Rome*, together with *John di Procida* and *Roger di Doria*, the famous *Sicilian* admiral, who both deserted the party of *Frederic*, on account of some affront they had received from him.

MEAN while the princes of *Germany*, dissatisfied with the government of *Adolphus*, sent the count of *Hohenberg* to *Rome*, to procure the consent of the pope to the deposition of

^p SPOND. Annal. & alii auctor.

^q Histor. Dissid. inter Bonif. & Philip.

^r SPOND. Annal. ex auctor.

Cod. MS.

^s VILLAN. l. viii. c. 21.

BLOND. D. ii. p. 334 & 335. SPOND. Annal.

^t SURIT. Indic.

l. li.

^u SUMMONT. Hist. Neap. l. iii.

(R) Being informed, though falsely, that they had fled to *Genoa*, he testified his resentment by his behaviour to the archbishop of that city, who being at *Rome* on *Wednesday*, came with others, according to custom, and kneeled at his feet. *Boniface*, when he addressed himself to him, instead of using the common form, Remember man that thou art ashes, and to ashes shalt thou

return; said, Remember man that thou art *Gibeline*, and with the *Gibelines* to ashes shalt thou return, and instead of crossing his head with the ashes, he threw them into his eyes. The same day he likewise deprived him of his archbishopric; but being soon after informed that the banished cardinals had never been at *Genoa* he restored him to his dignity (3).

(3) Blond. Dec. ii. l. 9, Platina in Vit. Bonif. & alii.

to the deposti-
tion of Adol-
phus.
A. D. 1298.

emperor; but notwithstanding the count's solicitations and presents, *Boniface* would not agree to the desire of the electors; but declared to the ambassadors of *Adolphus*, that if he would come to *Rome* he would confer upon him the imperial crown. About the same time he sent the general master of the *Dominicans*, and the general minister of the *Franciscans*, to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*, who prevailed with them to agree to a truce for two years, and to send deputies to the pope, who offered to negotiate a peace, not as judge, but as mediator^w. Soon after he was informed, that the electors had deposed the emperor *Adolphus*; and that he was killed in the battle by his competitor *Albert*; which news was quickly after confirmed by an embassy from *Albert*, desiring the confirmation of his election by the pope. *Boniface* refused the request of the ambassadors, and declared, that *Albert* ought to be accounted a traitor, for rebelling against his lawful sovereign. Mean while he applied himself to settle the articles of the treaty betwixt the kings of *France* and *England*, and the count of *Flanders*, the king of *England's* ally. He determined that the peace should be confirmed by a double alliance; namely, that the king of *England* and his son should marry, the one the sister and the other the daughter of the king of *France*, who should likewise restore the cities, and the captive daughter of the count *Flanders*. This last article greatly enraged king *Philip*, who declared that he would not observe it; and one of his nobles is said to have snatched the pope's letter from the hands of the archbishop of *Rheims*, to have torn it with his teeth, and to have thrown it into the fire. As this behaviour of the king, and the edict published by him three years before, tended to an open rupture with the pope, he concluded a treaty with the emperor *Albert*, which he strengthened by an alliance betwixt the emperor's son *Rodolphus*, and *Blanch* his own sister.

He disapproves
of the king of
England's in-
vasion of
Scotland,

DURING these proceedings of the king of *France*, *Boniface* ordered the king of *England* to set *John Baliol*, his prisoner, and king of *Scotland*, at liberty. He likewise ordained a truce to be observed for two years between *England* and *Scotland*; and declared to *Edward*, that the kingdom of *Scotland* was not subject to *England*, but belonged to the *Roman* see; he therefore required him to set the *Scotch* bishops and ecclesiastics, who had asserted the independency of their kingdom, at liberty; and, if he thought he had any claim to *Scotland*, he desired him to send deputies to *Rome*, to justify his pretensions before the apostolic see^x. Soon after being informed that the king of *Arragon*, after some successes, had deserted *Sicily*, he wrote to him, reproaching him with neglecting his engagements; he likewise reprov'd the king of *Naples* for trusting the command of his armies to his sons, who were without experience; and having sent for *Charles of Valois*, the brother of the king of *France*, to command in *Italy*, he strictly prohibited the king of *Naples* in the mean time from entering into any accomodation with *Frederic* and the *Sicilians*.

The first ju-
bilee held at
Rome.
A. D. 1300.

THE following year being accounted the beginning of a new century, *Boniface*, says *Spondanus*, opened a short way to heaven, and published a bull, promising a full pardon and remission of all things, to those who, being confessed and penitent, should visit the churches of the apostles *Peter* and *Paul* for fifteen days. From this general indulgence he excepted those who traded with the *Saracens*; and likewise *Frederic* the possessor of *Sicily*, with all those that adhered to him, especially the *Genoese*, whom, together with the cardinals of the family of *Colonna*, he excommunicated in the *Lateran* church on *Good Friday*. In consequence of this bull granted by the pope, such great numbers of people of all conditions flocked from all parts of *Europe* to *Rome*, that during the greatest part of the year there were reckoned no less than 200,000 strangers in the city; and the author of the chronicle of *Parma* declares, that the travellers on the *Claudian* road had the appearance every day of the march of a numerous army^y. Notwithstanding this great concourse of foreigners in *Italy* and at *Rome*, *Villani*, who was an eye-witness, relates, that there was the greatest abundance of provisions, which never rose above the common price^z (S).

The king of
the Tartars

DURING these rejoicings at *Rome*, *Boniface* received an embassy from *Casquus*, king of the *Tartars*, informing him, that, together with the kings of *Georgia* and *Armenia*, he had marched with an army of 200,000 men into *Syria*, and had defeated the sultan

^w WALSHINGHAM, in Edw. I. VILLAN. l. viii. c. 20. MURATOR. ^x SPOND. et regest. Vatic. ^y Chron. Parm. ap. l. ix. p. 842. ^z VILLAN. l. viii. c. 36. TRITHEM. in Chron. Hirsang. ANTON. tit. xx. c. 8. Sect. 11.

(S) This institution of *Boniface* afterwards got the name of *Jubilee*, and was kept up by his successors, who observed it every fifty years. But that *Boniface* may not be said to have first instituted it, in imitation of the Sæculum of the antient *Romans*, or the Jubilee of the *Jews*, *Spondanus* assures us, that the observation of this century indulgence was much more antient than that pope; and from a treatise of cardinal *Cajetan*, *Boniface's* nephew, concerning the jubilee, relates, that in the beginning of the year, the *Romans*, assembling of their

own accord in crowds at the *Vatican* church, the pope, moved by their devotion, made diligent enquiry, and found an old man of 107 years of age, who remembered to have heard his father say, that he went to *Rome* upon the institution of a general indulgence in the year 1200. This relation being verified by two old men in *France*, and others in *Italy*, the pope confirmed the antient institution by a bull, which he published on the 22d of *February*.

^a of *Egypt*, and afterwards taken possession of *Damascus*; but upon hearing that his own kingdom was invaded, he had marched back with his army, and therefore in-
treated the pope and the princes of *Europe* to send succours into *Syria*, to secure his conquests, before the *Saracens* should reinforce their army. This embassy caused great joy at *Rome*; but no succours were sent into *Syria*, the pope and the christian princes, according to *Villani* and *Antoninus*, being too much employed in prosecuting their own private resentments, to mind the public welfare^a. *Boniface*, however, prevailed with the king of *Naples* to permit a galley to be fitted out in *Apulia*, to carry back *Guiscard*, the *Tartarian* ambassador^b. He likewise confirmed the edict of *Charles* against the *Saracens* of *Lucera* or *Nocera*, obliging them to receive baptism upon pain of death,
^b in consequence of which, the greatest part of them quitted *Italy*, a few of them only, who were afterwards called *Marrani*, chusing to receive baptism^c.

THE pope likewise held a council at *Rome*, to deliberate upon the affairs of the *Holy Land*, and sent persons to preach a crusade in the different provinces of *Europe*; writing also to *Philip* king of *France*, exhorting him to take the cross. His exhortations with *Philip* had no effect; for that prince was animated against him, on account of his intermeddling in the dispute betwixt him and the king of *England*; he therefore afforded his protection to the banished cardinals, who were the occasion afterwards of widening the breach: however, at this time he allowed his brother *Charles* to raise the tythes that had been granted him by the pope for his journey into *Italy*. *Boniface* in the mean time received another embassy from
^c the emperor *Albert*, desiring his election to be confirmed by the apostolic see; but he would not even give audience to the *German* ambassadors; and appearing in public with a sword at his side, and dressed like a general, he affirmed, that he himself was both emperor and pope^d.

Soon after *Charles de Valois* arriving at *Anagni*, accompanied by his wife, and a great body of *French* nobility, the pope received him with great affection, and created him governor of all the territories of the church, pacificator of *Tuscany*, and vicar of the empire. He likewise gave him hopes of raising him to the empire of *Germany*, which he then reckoned vacant; and even talked of conferring upon him the empire of *Constantinople*, in right of his wife, who was grand-daughter to *Baldwin*, the last *Latin* emperor.
^d In the mean time he sent him to *Florence*, to compose the dissensions in that city, which was then divided into the factions of the *Whites* and the *Blacks*, who persecuted each other with as great animosity as the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* had done formerly. These two factions arose some years before, from the discords among the descendents of the same family, which the *Florentines* at first endeavoured to quell, but insensibly were led to patronize; and the *Whites* becoming inferior, had recourse to the party of the *Gibelines*, which drew upon them the hatred of the pope. *Charles*, upon his arrival at *Florence*, instead of acting as an impartial mediator, fomented the discords; and, after five months residence, left the city more embroiled than he found it at his arrival^e.

MEAN while *Boniface* sent the bishop of *Pamiers* as his legate to the king of *France*, to excite him to an expedition to *Syria*, and to prohibit him, under pain of excommunication, from appropriating the tythes raised for that purpose, from conferring vacant benefices without the consent of the pope, and from retaining the revenues of vacant bishoprics. As the legate a few years before had been created a bishop by the pope, contrary to the inclination of the king, he executed his commission with great indiscretion and insolence; and affirmed, that he was subject to none but the pope, both in spiritual and temporals. *Philip*, to repress his insolence, called an assembly of the nobles and bishops at *Senlis*; and producing several articles of accusation against the legate, committed him as a prisoner to the archbishop of *Narbonne*, his metropolitan. *Boniface*, informed of the imprisonment of his legate, sent a nuncio to order the king of *France*, in his name, to set him at liberty, and to desist from
^e oppressing the clergy, declaring at the same time, that the pope was sovereign of the whole world, both in temporals and spirituals, and to think otherwise was a heresy. The nuncio likewise had orders to summon the bishops and doctors to a council, to be held the following year at *Rome*; and if the king should refuse to set the legate at liberty, to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, and declare the kingdom of *France* fallen to the apostolic see.
^f

THE bull was no sooner produced, but the count of *Artois* snatched it from the nuncio, and threw it into the fire; and he, together with the legate, who was set at liberty, were ordered immediately to depart the kingdom. The king likewise called a parliament, and decreed, that no ecclesiastic should go to *Rome*; and that no person should carry any gold or silver out of the kingdom. Guards were also placed on the confines, to prevent any other

^a HAYTHON. c. 41. VILLAN. l. viii. c. 35.^b SUMMONT. l. iii. c. 2.^c BLOND. D. ii. l. 9. COL-

LENUF. l. viii.

^d SPOND. ANNAL. BAILLET, DEMALES. de Boniface, p. 69.^e VILLAN. l. x. c.

48. BLOND. ubi supra. Chron. Parmens.

letters to be brought from the pope; and *Peter Flota*, one of the king's counsellors, was sent to *Rome*, to defend the rights of the king; who is said to have behaved with great intrepidity; and upon the pope's threatening the king with excommunication, to have replied, *Holy father, your sword is only verbal; but that of my master is real.* The church of *Rome* being expressly specified in the prohibition for carrying gold and silver out of the kingdom, *Boniface*, on the 4th of *December*, published a suspension of all the privileges and favours conferred on the kings of *France* by the apostolic see; and prohibited the ecclesiastics from paying any tythes or subsidy whatever, without the express mandate of the same see; ordering, at the same time, the bulls, containing the aforesaid privileges and favours, to be laid before the future general council, to which he again summoned the clergy of *France*^f.

The bishops of Hungary excommunicate the pope.

A. D. 1302.
He receives an embassy from the king and the nobles of France.

DURING this dispute with the king of *France*, *Boniface* sent a legate into *Hungary*, to prevail with the nobles and bishops of that kingdom to chuse *Carobert*, the son of *Charles Martel*, for their king; but that kingdom being divided into factions, the most powerful party chose the son of the king of *Bohemia*; and the legate no sooner expressed his resentment at their proceeding, but they in their turn assembled, and excommunicated and banished the pope, and all his adherents^g. A few months after *Boniface* received an embassy from *France* by three bishops, who brought letters to him from the bishops, nobles, and the king. The bishops declared their astonishment at his unheard-of proposition, of the dependency of *France* upon the apostolic see, and excused themselves from leaving the kingdom. The letter of the nobles was in *French*, and in a stile much more severe than that of the bishops; and that of the king expressed his contempt of the pope, and his resentment for the injuries he had received. In answer to these letters, the pope wrote to the king, protesting, that he never intended to usurp his jurisdiction; and if he would send noblemen of probity to *Rome*, he would revoke whatever they should think had been said or done to the prejudice of the rights of the king or kingdom of *France*. At the same time he insisted that the bishops should obey his summons to the council at *Rome*, under pain of being deposed and deprived of their benefices. Soon after he published a bull, concerning the authority and power of the church, and the two swords granted to her by Christ; in answer to which several treatises were published in *France* concerning the papal and regal power, demonstrating, that the church had no authority in temporal affairs.

Confirms the election of the emperor.

1303.

MEAN while *Boniface*, being resolved to humble the king of *France*, at length consented to acknowledge the validity of the election of the emperor *Albert*, on condition that he renounced all treaties and alliances made with any princes to the prejudice of the holy see; that he took an oath of fidelity to the pope, and confirmed all the grants of his predecessors. During this negotiation with the emperor, he sent another legate into *France*, with twelve articles to be assented to and subscribed by the king; the chief of which were, that *Philip* should allow the ecclesiastics to come to *Rome*; that the conferring of benefices belonged to the pope, who had likewise an authority of sending nuncios or legates into any kingdom, without the request or consent of any one; that no layman had any authority of disposing of ecclesiastical revenues; that the supreme authority belonged to the apostolic see, which might impose a tythe or subsidy upon ecclesiastics, without the consent of any prince; that the king ought to appear by his proxy before the pope, to give satisfaction for the contempt of the apostolic see, in burning the bull sealed with the pictures of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; that the city of *Lyons* and its suburbs were not within the bounds of the kingdom of *France*; and that the spiritual sword ought to be restored to the clergy, notwithstanding any privileges of the king or his officers.

The king of France is excommunicated,

appeals to a general council.

THE king of *France*, to justify himself from the accusation of oppressing his clergy, published an edict for the reformation of his kingdom, by which he allowed all the ecclesiastics to enjoy the same privileges they were in possession of during the reign of *St. Lewis*; but he absolutely refused to sign the articles above-mentioned. On which account the pope, having then concluded his treaty with the emperor, published a sentence of excommunication against *Philip*, and ordered the bishops of *France* to appear personally, or by their proxies, within three months, at *Rome*, under pain of deposition. *Philip* immediately called a parliament at *Paris*, in which assembly the nobles drew up a long accusation against *Boniface*, accusing him of divers heresies, of the death *Celestine*, of intrusion into the apostolic see, of simony, sacrilege, magick, and other enormous crimes; and appealing to a future general council, they were joined in their appeal by the king and the bishops, with a salvo of the honour and reverence due to the *Roman* church, from which they had no intention to recede. The pope, who was then at *Anagni*, being informed of the proceedings of the parliament at *Paris*, cleared himself by oath of the crimes laid to his charge by that assembly; he then confirmed the censures against the king by another excommunication; he likewise laid his kingdom under an interdict, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, ordered the emperor to

^f DEMELES ut supra. SPOND. Annal. Vit. Bonif. ap. MURATOR.

^g BONFIN. D. ii. l. ix.

a take possession of *France*, and excited the king of *England* and the *Flemings* to make war upon *Philip*.

MEAN while the cardinals *Colonna* being still in *France*, formed a scheme with *William Nogaret*, one of the counsellors of the king, of seizing upon the pope: they accordingly set out for *Italy*, and arriving in *Tuscany*, *Nogaret* pretended that he came to treat of peace with the pope; but having some secret associates at *Anagni*, he privately hired three or four hundred *French* horse that had come into *Italy* with the count of *Valois*, who assembling in the neighbourhood of *Anagni*, on the 7th of *September*, surprized the town, and immediately took possession of the pope's palace. *Boniface*, on the first alarm, was deserted by all the cardinals except two; and *Nogaret* and *Sciarra Colonna* entering his chamber, used him with great indignity, and threatened to carry him bound to *Lyons*, to be deposed by a general council. After they had detained him three days, and plundered all his treasures, which were immense, the citizens of *Anagni*, awaking from their surprize, expelled the *French*, and set the pope at liberty. *Boniface* a few days after returned under a strong guard to *Rome*; but the grief and vexation of his imprisonment made such an impression on his spirits, that he was seized with a fever, of which he died on the 12th of *October*, and was buried the next day in the church of *St. Peter*^b.

Boniface is seized by the French and Colonna at Anagni;

and dies of grief.

A FEW days after the death of *Boniface*, the conclave assembled in the *Vatican* palace, and unanimously chose friar *Nicolas Bocasini*, bishop of *Ostia* (T), who took the name of *Benedict XI.* *Benedict*, by some reckoned the Xth, but by others the XIth of that name. Immediately after his election, he cited *Nogaret*, *Sciarra*, and all those concerned in seizing *Boniface*, to appear at *Rome*; and soon after he received letters of congratulation from the emperor and the king of *France*. An embassy likewise arrived from the *Tartars*, intreating a reconciliation among the christian princes, and succours to be sent into the *Holy Land*. About the same time *Benedict* also received a letter in the *Chaldaic* language from *Isibraim*, patriarch of the eastern christians, acknowledging the pope to be the chief pastor and judge of all christians, and the *Roman* church the mother of all other churches^c. In the mean time *Italy* being still harrassed by the opposite factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, *Benedict* sent a legate into *Tuscany* to procure a general peace. The legate appointed new officers in *Florence*; but having proposed to recall the *Gibelines* and *Whites* who were banished, the opposite faction rose against him, and in a violent manner obliged him to desist. On account of this insult, he laid the city under an interdict, and excommunicated the citizens, and then returned to the pope, who, by reason of the seditions at *Rome*, had gone to *Perugia*. While *Benedict* resided in that city, he absolved the king of *France* from the sentence of excommunication, and annulled all the acts of his predecessor against him, restoring likewise the cardinals of the *Colonna* family to the communion of the church, but not to their former dignity. He also endeavoured to reconcile the *Venetians* and *Paduans*; received homage from the king of *Aragon* for *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; sent a legate to compose the differences betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; and reproved *Frederic*, the possessor of *Sicily*, for not being contented with the title of king of *Trinacria*, according to the articles of the peace agreed to betwixt him and the king of *Naples*. At the same time he exhorted him to an expedition into the *Holy Land*; but while he was intent on animating the princes to a crusade, he died at *Perugia*, on the 7th of *July*, not without the suspicion of poison^e.

He endeavours to reconcile the factions of Italy;

A. D. 1304.

Annuls the acts of his predecessor against the king of France.

He dies at Perugia.

UPON the death of *Benedict*, the college of cardinals was divided into two parties, the one endeavouring to chuse a pope that would confirm the acts of *Boniface*, the other intent upon having one a friend to the king of *France* and the *Colonna* family. Each party persevered so obstinately in their purpose, that the papal see was vacant near the space of ten months. At length they agreed that the one party should name three *Frenchmen* that were not of the college, one of whom should be chosen pope by the other party within forty days after. According to this agreement, the party averie to the king of *France* named three *Frenchmen* who were known to be his enemies. *Philip*, being informed of the nomination, by his friends, immediately sent for the archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, one of the candidates, to *France*, who, upon his arrival, offered to agree to the terms proposed by the king, on condition of his procuring for him the pontificate. *Philip* then proposed that he should give a fuller pardon of the violence committed against *Boniface*, whose memory he should condemn;

A. D. 1305.

^b DEMELE ut supra. SPOND. Annal. Chron. Parmenf. VILLAN. See also the history of France. ex regist. Vatic. ^c Vita Benedicti. ap. MURATOR, PLATINA. WILL. Westmonast.

^d SPOND.

(T) He was born at *Trevifo*, of mean parentage, his father being a shepherd. At fourteen years of age he took the habit of a *Dominican*, and by the several decrees of preferment, arose to a general of the order. Upon his promotion to the pontificate, his mother came to visit him, richly dressed, by the presents she had re-

ceived from the *Roman* ladies; on which account, it is said, he pretended not to know her, affirming, that his mother was not a lady, but a poor washer-woman. But after she had laid aside her finery, and resumed her usual dress, he received her with great affection and respect.

The archbishop
of Bourdeaux
is elected pope,
and takes the
name of Cle-
ment V.

He revokes the
bulls of Boni-
face against
the king of
France.

A. D. 1306.

Sends a legate
into Italy, to
quiet the
troubles in
that kingdom.

1307.

He excommu-
nicates the
Greek em-
peror.

He creates
bishops in
Great Tar-
tary; and

that he should grant him the tythes of his kingdom for five years, and restore the cardinals of the *Colonna* family to their former dignity; which articles the archbishop swearing to perform, a messenger was dispatched to the cardinals at *Perugia*, who immediately declared the archbishop pope, and sent the decree of his election into *France*, intreating him to hasten his return into *Italy*. Upon receiving the decree of the college, he assumed the name of *Clement V.*; and, sending for the cardinals to *Lyons*, he was consecrated in that city on the 14th of *November*, in the presence of the king of *France*, the dukes of *Britany*, *Burgundy*, and *Lorraine*, and many other princes (A). *Clement*, immediately after his consecration, reconciled the king of *France* to the church in the fullest manner; and, in the *Advent* following, restored the cardinals of the *Colonna* family, and made a promotion of ten others, all of whom, except one, were *Frenchmen*¹.

THE following year he revoked the bulls of *Boniface* to the prejudice of the king of *France*, and granted him the tythes of his kingdom for five years. About the same time we find that he granted the tythes for two years to the king of *England*, for an expedition into the *Holy Land*; and afterwards he made the same concession in favour of other Christian princes, to assist them against the *Moors* and *Turks*, and, in general, all the enemies of the church. Having likewise created the bishop of *Durham* patriarch of *Jerusalem*, he ordered him to go the emperor, and the kings of *Hungary*, *Cyprus*, and *Armenia*, to implore their assistance in recovering *Palestine*; and, as he thought it would be of service to the affairs of *Syria* that *Constantinople* were recovered from the *Greeks*, he desired the count of *Valoris* to invade that empire, and not only assisted him with some supplies of money, but likewise prevailed with the *Venetians* to enter into an alliance with him, and to promise him the assistance of their fleet.

CLEMENT, being likewise desirous of quieting the troubles of *Italy*, which kingdom, during the vacancy of the pontificate, had been harrassed by the party of the *Guelphs*, he sent two nuncios to the *Florentines* and *Luccese*, who, under the command of *Robert*, eldest son to the king of *Naples*, were besieging the *Gibelines* in *Pistoria*. The nuncios, in the name of the pope, ordered the *Guelphs* to desist from the siege, but their remonstrances had no effect upon the troops of *Florence* and *Lucca*; only *Robert* left the command of the army, and went to congratulate the pope. *Clement*, being informed of the obstinacy of *Lucca* and *Florence*, appointed cardinal *Neapoleo Ursini*, a *Roman* of great reputation, as his legate over all *Italy* and the adjacent islands, with a most ample commission. But as *Neapoleo* seemed inclined to favour the *Gibelines*, and the *Albi* or *Whites*, the *Florentines* refused to admit him into their city; and he was expelled from *Bologna* with the hazard of his life, and the loss of all his furniture and baggage; on which account he not only laid that city under a sentence of excommunication and interdict, but also deprived it of the privilege of teaching, whereupon the greatest part of the professors went and fixed their residence at *Padua*^m.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, *Clement* went with his court to *Bourdeaux*, where he suspended the archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was accused by the king of raising disturbances in *England*, while he himself was absent in *Flanders*. After residing several months at *Bourdeaux*, the pope went to *Poitiers*, to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*; and as *Charles* of *Valois* and the *Venetians* were now prepared for attacking the empire of *Constantinople*, he excommunicated the emperor *Andronicus*, as the encourager of the *Greek* schism and heresy. Being likewise very earnest to recover the *Holy Land*, he published a severe edict, prohibiting the Christians from furnishing the *Saracens* with arms or military stores. About the same time frier *Haythoni*, a relation of the king of *Armenia*, coming to *Poitiers*, *Clement* received him with great affection; and, desiring him to declare his opinion of an expedition into *Syria*, he dictated a treatise of the affairs of *Armenia*, which was wrote by *Nicolas Salco*, and in which he proved that then was the most proper time for attacking the *Saracens*, because the Christian princes were not involved in war, and the *Saracens* were then engaged in civil wars, being likewise greatly weakened by the king of the *Tartars*, who still professed Christianity, and offered all the assistance in his power against the *Infidels*ⁿ.

NOTWITHSTANDING the arguments of *Haythoni*, and the intreaties of the pope, the princes of *Europe* could not be prevailed upon to engage in a new crusade. *Clement*, nevertheless, being informed of the great success of frier *John de Monte Corvino*, who eighteen years before

¹ Vit. Clement. ap. MURATOR. SPOND. ANNAL. PLATINA. tit. 20. c. 9. §. 2. & tit. 21. c. 1.

^m VILLAN. l. viii. c. 82. & 85. ANTON. ⁿ HAYTHON c. 55. SANUT. l. iii. par. 15.

(A) The court of the pope being thus translated to *France*, continued in that kingdom for more than 70 years, to the great detriment of *Italy* and *Rome*, in which city many of the churches fell to ruins by the absence and neglect of the priests. The *Italians* give the name of the *Babylonish Captivity* to this residence of the pope's court in *France* (1).

- a had been sent by *Nicolas IV.* as legate into *Ethiopia*, *India*, and *Tartary*, he ordered seven *Franciscans* to be consecrated bishops, and sent into *Tartary*, that they might consecrate the legate archbishop of *Cambalu*, in the kingdom of *Kathay*, and continue themselves in that kingdom as his suffragans. He likewise wrote to the great *Khân*, exhorting him to embrace the Christian faith, and thanking him for his kindness to the profelytes of that religion^o. About the same time he received a visit from the king of *France*, who intreated him, according to his oath, to condemn the memory of *Boniface* the eighth, and to order his bones to be thrown into the fire, as those of a heretic. *Clement* had no intention of fulfilling this part of his oath; but, that he might not give offence to the king, he declared to him, that *Boniface* could not be condemned without at the same time annulling the promotion of all those cardinals that had been made by him. Besides that, except in a general council, a pope could not be lawfully accused or convicted, he therefore would summon one for that purpose^p.

- The king, resting satisfied with this answer, transacted another affair with the pope, which at that time made a great noise in *Europe*. This was the extirpation of the knights templars, who were accused of horrid impieties, the discovery of which was owing to one of their order, who was imprisoned at *Paris* for some capital offence. He, in hopes of saving his life, informed the king of the wickedness authorized and practised by the order to which he belonged; and *Philip*, at this conference, acquainting the pope with the discovery made by the criminal, obtained leave from his holiness to seize upon all the templars in his kingdom, who were accordingly apprehended on the 10th of *October*, orders having been sent to the magistrates of all the cities to be ready with a body of troops to execute, the following night, an order contained in another letter, then only to be opened. *Clement* in the mean time wrote to all the bishops of Christendom, ordering them to make inquisition into the crimes of which the templars were accused, informing them in his letters, that, having received repeated accusations of that order, he had sent for a knight of eminent nobility and authority, who had secretly confessed upon his oath, that, upon receiving any one into their order, they obliged the initiated person to spit upon the cross, and to deny Christ, and that many other horrid crimes were allowed of, and generally practised, by the order. Upwards of seventy other knights having made the same voluntary confession, *Clement* ordered the possessions of all the templars to be confiscated, published a bull for the suppression of the order, and wrote to the ordinaries and inquisitors of the different provinces to imprison the templars, and to make inquisition into their crimes. He likewise sent two cardinals to *Paris*, who, publishing the bull against the order, condemned those templars, who had made a voluntary confession, to be burnt by a slow fire. The criminals recanted their former confessions; but acknowledged themselves worthy of death, because they had unjustly accused the order of crimes of which they were innocent. Several authors of those times wrote in defence of the order; and *Boccace* alleges, that its extirpation was owing to the avarice of the king of *France*, who coveted the rich possessions the templars then enjoyed in *France*. But as their extirpation extended to all Christendom, and their possessions were not secularised, there is no ground for this suspicion: nor is it probable that the pope would have consented to the suppression of an order which his predecessors had honoured with so many privileges, unless the evidence of their crimes had been very explicit^q (B). About the same time *Clement* sent a legate with an army against one *Dulcinus*, a leader of a sect of heretics, whose chief tenets were, that all things were common; that the pope and the bishops were not true pastors, because they did not live an evangelical life; that whatever action was done from charity was free from sin. After pursuing the heretics in the *Alps*, the legate at last dispersed them, and seized *Dulcinus* and some others, who were burnt at *Vercelli*.

- The following year the emperor *Albert* being murdered by his nephew, *Clement* was informed that the king of *France* intended to solicit him to transfer the imperial dignity to *France*, or to procure it for his brother *Charles*, according to the intention of *Boniface*. The pope, to free himself from the embarrassment of either disobliging the king of *France*, or offending the *Germans*, by the advice of one of his cardinals secretly informed the electors

suppresses the order of the templars.

A. D. 1308. He is solicited to transfer the empire to France.

^o WADDING. Annal. minor. t. 3. an. 1305, & 1307. sect. 2.

^p P. PUTEANUS, GAGUIN. l. vii. Hist. Franc. Contin. Bell. Sac. l. v. c. 13. VILLAN. l. viii. c. 92. ANTON. ut supra. BLOND. D. ii. l. ix. SPOND. Annal. BOCCAC. de casibus vir. illustr.

(B) The crimes of which they were accused were said to have been first introduced among them about forty years before their extirpation, by one of their masters, who, having been taken prisoner by the sultan, could not obtain his liberty on any other condition. But the corruption of the order may be justly attributed to the immense wealth of which it was possessed, which gave an opportunity to its members to indulge in

all manner of luxury and vice; for, instead of distinguishing themselves, as at their first institution, by their military exploits, they were then only remarkable for their arrogance and intemperance, so that it became a proverbial reproach against any one who wasted his time in gluttony and drunkenness, to say, that *he drank like a templar*.

of the intentions of *Philip*, and advised them to proceed to an election without delay, before a he should have time to negotiate the affair. The electors followed his advice; and, according to his recommendation, on the 27th of *November*, chose *Henry* duke of *Luxemburgh* for emperor, while the king of *France* was on the road to *Poitiers*, to solicit the interest of the pope^r. *Clement* in the mean time proposing to remove his court to *Avignon*, a city in *Provence*, under the dominion of the king of *Sicily*, he allowed his attendants then to disperse, but ordered them to assemble at *Avignon* about the middle of *January*, in the following year. Soon after his arrival at that city, being informed that the *Venetians* had taken possession of *Ferrara*, a city belonging to the church, he excommunicated them in a grand procession, deprived them of all commerce with other states, and granted all their dominions to any one who was able and willing to seize upon them^s. He received likewise an embassy from the emperor, desiring the confirmation of his election, and swearing fidelity to the apostolic see. b He granted the request of the ambassadors, on condition that the emperor should come to *Rome* within two years, to receive the imperial crown; and as a mark of his respect for *Henry*, he sent two cardinals into *Germany*, to accompany him in that journey. The *Venetians*, notwithstanding their excommunication, still keeping possession of *Ferrara*, he sent his relation *Arnald de Pelagria*, a cardinal deacon, against them, with an army of *French* crusaders, who, having entered into an alliance with *Bologna*, *Florence*, and the cities of *Lombardy*, defeated the *Venetians* near the *Po*, and recovered the city of *Ferrara*. In consideration of the assistance which the cities of *Florence* and *Bologna* gave to his legate, *Clement* absolved them from the sentence of excommunication and interdict which had been denounced against them c by *Neapoleo Ursini*.

He confirms the election of the duke of *Luxemburgh*.
A. D. 1309.

Gives the investiture of *Sicily* to *Robert*, the son of king *Charles*;

ABOUT the same time *Charles* king of *Naples* dying, *Clement*, upon receiving the homage of *Robert*, the king's eldest surviving son, crowned him king of both *Sicilies* at *Avignon*, on the 8th of *September*, setting aside *Charobert*, the king of *Hungary*, who pretended to the crown of *Sicily* in right of his father *Charles Martel*, *Robert's* elder brother. *Robert*, upon receiving the investiture of his father's dominions, declaring his desire to undertake a sacred expedition, the pope created him general vicar of the patrimony of the church in *Italy*, and count of *Romaniola*; he likewise remitted the debt which his father had contracted to the apostolic see during his war against the *Sicilians*; but he renewed the obligation to pay the annual tribute of 8000 ounces of gold, as an acknowledgement of his fief^t. d

and annuls all the acts of *Boniface* against the king of *France*.
1310.

Soon after, at the instance of the king of *France*, he published, in the consistory, that all persons, who had any thing to propose for or against the late pope *Boniface*, should appear at *Avignon* before the middle of *Lent*, after which time no accusation would be heard. This citation being pasted up in public places, *William Nogaret*, who had seized the pope, and *William Pleffianus*, the author of the appeal to a general council, renewed their accusations against *Boniface*, whose character was defended by one of the cardinals with great warmth. The accusation of *Boniface* gave offence to several Christian princes, particularly to the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, who sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring him to put a stop to the proceedings against the memory of *Boniface*. Besides, as both parties appeared at the consistory with numerous attendants, some tumult was apprehended. *Clement* therefore prevailed e with the king of *France* not to insist upon the present trial, but to refer the determination of the whole affair to the pope and his council of cardinals; and, having received a letter from *Philip*, signifying his consent, he published a bull, nullifying and declaring void all that had been transacted betwixt *Boniface* and the king of *France* since the beginning of the century, commanding all writings on that subject to be erased from the registers of the *Roman* see, and to be expunged from all books and tablets, prohibiting any one, under pain of excommunication, from retaining or concealing any originals or copies of the writings on that subject^u. From the general pardon granted to all persons concerned in the late dispute, *Clement* excepted *William Nogaret*, *Sciarra Colonna*, the citizens of *Anagni*, and those who were concerned in plundering the treasure of the church. He likewise declared *Boniface* a catholic, f free from all heresy, and a true pope. Soon after, upon the penitent submission of *Nogaret*, he absolved him from all censures that he had incurred, on condition that he should transport himself for life with arms and horses into the *Holy Land*, at the first general expedition thither, and in the mean time should undertake a pilgrimage to *St. James of Compostella*, and several other sacred places. About the same time he received an embassy from the *Venetians*, begging an absolution of the ecclesiastical censures, and offering to make reparation for the damages they had done to the territories of the church. *Clement* delayed granting their request; and, being resolved to put off the meeting of the general council, which, according to the citation, was to assemble in *October*, he published letters addressed to all the prelates, ordering them to

^r VILLAN. l. viii. c. 101.
^s SPOND. Annal.

^t Id. ibid. Bzov. hoc anno.

^u VILLAN. vit. Clem. ut supra.

a assemble the following year at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, on the 1st of October^w. Mean while the knights hospitallers, who, upon the loss of *Palestine*, had retired to *Cyprus*, having for two years attacked the *Turks* in the island of *Rhodes*, at length expelled the infidels, and made themselves masters of the island, which had before been granted to them by *Andronicus*, the emperor of *Constantinople*. *Rhodes taken from the Turks by the knights hospitallers.*

ABOUT the same time the emperor *Henry*, according to his agreement with the pope, and at the intreaty of the *Gibelines*, assembled a considerable army, and set out for *Italy*. Upon his arrival at *Lausanne*, he sent commissaries to the pope, who renewed the oath of fidelity, and confirmed, in the name of their master, the donations of former emperors to the *Roman* church. From *Lausanne* he advanced, in the month of *November*, to *Turin*, where he was joined by the militia of several *Italian* cities, particularly of *Pavia*, *Vercelli*, and *Lodi*, the chief of the faction of the *Guelphs*, who were then greatly pleased with his conduct, as he refused to hearken to some accusation of the *Gibelines*, declaring that he had no party in *Lombardy*, but came to receive homage for the whole. The *Guelphs* likewise then advised him not to restore any of the exiles till after his coronation; but he followed the advice of the *Germans*, and restored the *Gibelines* at *Hiericuri*. At *Asti* having heard the dispute betwixt the marquis of *Saluzzo* and *Montferrat*, about the territory of *Montferrat*, he decided in favour of the latter, which sentence greatly offended the *Gibelines*. *Henry* soon after marched to *Milan*, where he kept his *Christmas*, and surprised the *Italians* with his moderation, as he allowed *Guido Turriceno*, the chief of the *Guelphs*, and his enemy, still to reside in the common palace. A few days after he concluded a peace between him and the family of the *Vicenti*; and, on the 6th of *January*, receiving the iron crown from the hands of the archbishop, he afterwards restored many of the *Guelph* and *Gibeline* exiles in several cities of *Lombardy*. This calm was of very short continuance; for, a violent sedition arising in *Milan*, the emperor was in great hazard of his life, and, with great difficulty and much bloodshed, quelled the tumult. Upon the news of this sedition, the faction of the *Guelphs* openly revolted from the emperor, and expelled his vicars from their cities, and entered into an alliance with *Robert* king of *Sicily*, to prevent his journey to *Rome*^x. *The emperor enters Italy with an army, and is crowned at Milan. A. D. 1311.*

CLEMENT in the mean time wrote to the cities of *Italy*, to receive the emperor with honour, and gave a commission to five cardinals to crown him at *Rome*, he himself being engaged to attend the general council at *Vienne*. He soon after went thither with the cardinals, and the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and opened the council, at which were present, according to *Villanius* and *Antoninus*, upwards of 300 archbishops and bishops, though others say only 114, and a great number of other prelates and abbots. The first session was held on the 16th of *October*, and it was then determined that a crusade should be preached all over *Christendom*. The king of *France* was present at the second session, which was held the following year in the month of *April*, and in which the council approved of the suppression of the order of templars, and agreed that all their possessions should be given to the knights hospitallers, now called the knights of *Rhodes*^y. But their possessions in *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Portugal*, and *Majorca*, were given to other orders of knights in those kingdoms, who were employed against the *Moors*. The king of *France* likewise obtained from the council the tythes of his kingdom for six years, having engaged to take the cross within that time, and obliged his son, in case of his death, to fulfil his vow. At the third session, which was held on the 7th of *May*, several canons were ordained against heretics, and for the reformation of manners; after which *Clement* dismissed the council^z. The pope likewise confirmed the decree of *Gregory X.* concerning the election of a bishop of *Rome*, and, at the solicitation of *Raymund Lully*, who was present at the council, he ordained, that the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, and *Greek* languages, should be publicly taught at *Paris*, *Oxford*, *Bologna*, and *Salamanca*, and where-ever the pope should keep his court; and that the books in those languages should be faithfully translated into the *Latin* tongue. *The pope holds a general council at Vienne. 1312.*

f MEAN while the emperor *Henry*, notwithstanding the great opposition of the *Guelphs*, and *Robert* king of *Sicily*, having marched with his army to *Rome*, took possession of part of the city on the north side of the *Tiber*, the greatest part being still in possession of the *Guelphs*, headed by the family of the *Ursini*, and supported by *John* prince of the *Morea*, brother of the king of *Sicily*. As the opposite faction were in possession of *St. Peter's* church, the emperor made several attempts to expel them, but, after skirmishing in vain for two months, a messenger was sent to the pope, to obtain the consent of his holiness to the performing of the ceremony in the *Lateran* church. The time for the return of the messenger being elapsed, and the tumults still increasing in the city, the cardinals were prevailed upon, by the intreaties of the emperor, to perform the ceremony without waiting for the pope's consent. Accordingly, on the 1st of *August*, the three cardinals who survived, having received a new oath of

^w Idem ibid.^x Iter Italic. Hen. VII. apud MURATOR. l. ix.l. ix. ^y BOSIUS, Histor. Hospital. t. ii. lib. i. Continuat. Nangii.

Hist. Luxemb. l. xlv. BLOND. D. ii.

^z SPOND. Annal.

fidelity from *Henry*, conferred upon him the imperial crown. Immediately after his coronation, the emperor sent ambassadors to *Frederic*, king of *Trinacria* or *Sicily*, and entered into an alliance with him against *Robert*, king of *Naples*, whom he intended to have attacked, in return for the assistance that he had given to the faction of the *Guelphs* in *Rome* and in *Tuscany*. But, the *Germans* insisting upon returning into their own country, he marched with his army to *Tivoli*, from whence the duke of *Bavaria*, and several nobles, with their troops, set out in their return to *Germany*. After their departure, the messenger arrived from the pope, with the permission to crown the emperor, at the same time ordering a new oath to be taken by him, and likewise commanding him to agree to a truce with the king of *Naples* for a year. *Henry* refused to take the oath, as he was already crowned; and, by the advice of his counsellors, he affirmed, that the pope, neither by the canon or civil law, had any power to command a truce betwixt the emperor and his vassal. However, from his regard to the pope, he promised not to attack the king of *Naples* for a twelvemonth; and, after a second journey to *Rome*, to quell the disturbances raised by the prince of *Morea*, he marched with his army towards *Perugia*, and from thence to *Florence*, the territories of which city he ravaged^a.

The pope grants indulgences to those who would engage against the Turks.
 A. D. 1313.

WHILE the emperor was thus punishing the perfidy and ingratitude of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, *Clement* wrote to *Frederic* king of *Trinacria*, and *Philip* prince of *Taranto*, desiring them to assist the emperor *Andronicus* against the *Turks*, and, for that purpose, he granted them the tythes of all the ecclesiastical revenues in their dominions: to all those likewise who would engage in that war, he granted the same indulgences as the crusaders had formerly enjoyed. About the same time, being informed of the dissensions betwixt the king and the barons of *England*, he sent two legates into that kingdom to reconcile the contending parties. But the barons refusing to receive the pope's letter, or accept of their mediation, they were obliged to quit the kingdom. Soon after *Clement* received from the emperor a copy of his sentence against the king of *Naples*; *Henry* had declared him an enemy of the empire, and guilty of treason, and therefore deprived him of all authority, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. This proceeding of the emperor was not agreeable to the pope; however, he did not then openly condemn it, but declared that he would consider of the affair. Not long after, the great preparations of the emperor then at *Pisa*, and of *Frederic* of *Sicily*, equally alarming the kings of *Naples* and *France*, *Clement* was prevailed upon, by the solicitation of *Philip the Fair*, to publish a bull, prohibiting any one, under pain of excommunication, from attacking the kingdom of *Naples* by land or by sea, under any pretext. However, *Henry*, being privately assured by the pope that he would not be displeased at his conquest of *Naples*, he continued his preparations, and marched towards *Gaeta*, where he was to be joined by *Frederic*; but, being seized with a violent fever, he died on his road at *Bonconvento*, and was buried at *Pisa*^b. Upon the death of the emperor, *Clement*, considering that the intended expedition against *Naples* would not take effect, published a bull, condemning the sentence of the emperor against the king of *Sicily*, because that kingdom was a fief of the apostolic see, and *Robert* had been condemned in his absence, without a fair trial^c. He likewise created *Robert* vicar of the empire in *Italy*, and senator of *Rome*; and, being informed, that *Frederic* had seized *Reggio*, he excommunicated all those who should attack the kingdom of *Puglia*. About the same time he sent a legate to *Paris* about the affairs of the *Holy Land*, who gave the cross to the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Navarre*, and to many other nobles then assembled in that city. Soon after, being seized with a dysentery, and several other distempers, he proposed to go for his health to his native air of *Bordeaux*; but he died on the road the following year, on the 19th of *April*.

The emperor dies at Bonconvento.

Clement dies upon the road to Bordeaux.

1314.
 A dissension in the conclave.

UPON the death of *Clement*, a dissension arose among the cardinals about electing a successor; those of *Guienne*, or *Gascony*, desiring one of their own country to be chosen pope, while the other *French* cardinals, together with the *Italians*, wanted to elect another. After the contest had continued several months, the *Gascons*, to oblige the other party to desist from their opposition, set fire to the conclave; which had a greater effect than they intended, and burnt a great part of the city. This calamity obliging them to separate, they dispersed themselves into different cities, and delayed assembling again for more than two years, notwithstanding the intreaties of several princes and bishops. Mean while hostilities still continued between the two factions in *Italy*. The *Pisans*, being afraid of the resentment of the *Guelphs*, on account of their attachment to the late emperor, took into their pay all the *Germans* that chose to continue in *Tuscany*, and, by their assistance, made themselves masters of the rich and populous city of *Lucca*, where they seized the treasure of the *Roman* church, to the value of one million of florins of gold^d, which was deposited there in a monastery, those

^a Iter Ital. ut supra.

^c SPOND. Annal.

^b Iter Ital. ut supra, FERRET. VICENT. Hist. ap. Murator. t. ix. p. 1112, &c.

^d ALBERT. MUSSAT. de Gest. Ital. ap. Murator. t. x. FERRET VICENT. ut supra.

a had the charge of it being afraid to proceed to *Avignon*, on account of the depredations of both the factions. In *Lombardy* likewise, *Guido Turriano*, being assisted by *Robert* king of *Sicily*, defeated the troops of the *Vicenti*, which victory occasioned *Guido's* brother, the archbishop, to be expelled from *Milan* by *Mapheo Vicenti*, who, though almost seventy years of age, despised the sentence of excommunication denounced against him by the archbishop, and assumed the title of prince of *Milan*.

ABOUT this period the sect of *Lollards* began to appear in *Austria* and the neighbouring countries, taking their name from one *Walter Lolhard*, whose doctrines they followed, the chief of which are mentioned by *Spondanus*, namely, That mass, baptism, and extreme unction, are useless ceremonies; that the virgin *Mary*, after she was a mother, was not a virgin; that the real presence in the sacrament was a falsehood; that it was lawful to eat flesh on any day; that the *Roman* church was not the church of Christ; that the merits and intercession of saints ought to be despised, and likewise the observation of holidays and canons of the church; that perjury was no sin; that the devils would be re-admitted into heaven, and *Michael* and other angels thrust down to hell; that God did not punish any crimes that were committed under the earth; from whence they are accused of committing all manner of wickedness in caverns under-ground. These, and several other such tenets, they are said to have professed with such obstinacy, as to have suffered death rather than forsake them.^c

The sect of the Lollards appears in Germany.

A. D. 1315.

b virgin; that the real presence in the sacrament was a falsehood; that it was lawful to eat flesh on any day; that the *Roman* church was not the church of Christ; that the merits and intercession of saints ought to be despised, and likewise the observation of holidays and canons of the church; that perjury was no sin; that the devils would be re-admitted into heaven, and *Michael* and other angels thrust down to hell; that God did not punish any crimes that were committed under the earth; from whence they are accused of committing all manner of wickedness in caverns under-ground. These, and several other such tenets, they are said to have professed with such obstinacy, as to have suffered death rather than forsake them.^c

THE cardinals still continuing dispersed in different places, and, notwithstanding the solicitation of *Lewis* king of *France*, delaying to proceed to an election, that prince sent his brother *Philip*, count of *Poitiers*, to *Lyons*, who prevailed with them singly to come to that city, under pretence of a negotiation, and, upon their arrival, shut them up, against their inclination, in a convent of the *Dominicans*, threatening them with confinement till they had finished the election. After they had been shut up forty days, they at last came to an agreement to receive him as pope who should be named by the bishop of *Porto*. That cardinal, at the persuasion of *Neapoleo Ursini*, named himself; and, his brethren giving their consent, he assumed the name of *John*, by some reckoned the 20th, by others the 21st, but commonly called the 22d of that name.^d He was consecrated in the cathedral church of that city, on the 9th of *September*, and immediately published the residence of his court to be at *Avignon* (C).

The cardinals confined in Lyons.

1316.

John XXII. chosen pope.

d The news of his election reaching *Germany*, he soon after received an embassy from *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*, and *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, both competitors for the empire, and each demanding a confirmation of his election by the apostolic see. *John* delayed declaring in favour of either of them, under pretence of considering which of them had the preferable right. At the same time he annulled the election of *John*, the king of *Arragon's* son, to the bishopric of *Tarragona*, but translated thither the bishop of *Saragossa*.

He receives an embassy from the competitors to the empire.

THE following year, taking the advantage of the civil dissensions in *Germany*, he resolved effectually to crush the *Gibelines* in *Italy*, and to confirm the usurpations of his predecessor *Clement* upon the rights of the empire. He therefore published the constitutions of *Clement*, and appointed schools where they should be read and explained. Among these constitutions there were some that asserted, that the emperors were vassals of the holy see; and that the oath taken by them at their coronation was not only a promise of defending the church and the pope, but an oath of allegiance and homage; and that, during an interregnum, it belonged to the pope to dispose absolutely of all affairs of the empire, not only as superior of the empire, but from the plenitude of power which he possessed as successor of *St. Peter*, and vicar of Christ.^e To confirm these claims of his predecessor, on the 31st of *March* he published a bull, declaring, that, as the empire was vacant, the administration of it, both by right and custom, belonged to the pope; he therefore prohibited, under pain of excommunication and interdict, any one, of what dignity soever, from assuming the title of vicar of the empire, without the leave of the apostolic see. At the same time he granted the vicariate of the empire in *Italy* to *Robert* king of *Naples*, till the coronation of the emperor, and cited the two competitors to justify their claims before the apostolic see. By this bull the pope hoped to ruin the power of *Mapheo Vicenti* at *Milan*, *Canis Scaliger* at *Verona*, *Passerini Bonacossi* at *Mantua*, and other chiefs of the *Gibelines* in other places of *Italy*, who, in their several territories, assumed the title of vicars of the empire, and generally favoured the interest of *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*. *John* likewise about the same time erected several new bishoprics in *France*,

1317.

He claims the administration of the empire during the interregnum;

^c SPOND. Annal. TRITHEM. in Chron. hoc an. HOESEM. de Gest. Pontif. Leodicus. MURATOR. VILLAN. lib. ix. cap. 79.

^d Vit. Joan. apud

^e SPOND. Annal ad an. 1313.

(C) *John XXII.* was formerly called *James de Ossa*, and was born at *Cabors* in *France*. He was the son of a taylor, but, distinguishing himself in his youth in the service of the archbishop of *Arles*, chancellor of the king of *Sicily* in *Provence*, by his assistance he found means to

accomplish his studies, and procured the bishopric of *Frejuli*. He afterwards succeeded him as chancellor, was created bishop of *Avignon*, then cardinal bishop of *Porto*, and, when he was chosen pope, he was upwards of seventy years of age.

by dividing several dioceses; and, at the request of the king of *Arragon*, he created a new order of knights, under the title of *St. Mary* and *St. George*, and conferred upon them the revenues of the knights templars in *Valentia*. This same year also he made inquiry into the accusations of several persons who were said to have conspired against his life, and those of the whole cardinals. Among the conspirators was found *Hugh* bishop of *Cabors*, who, after his conviction and degradation, was delivered over to the secular magistrates, by whose sentence he was first partly flayed, and afterwards burnt alive^a. The pope then published several bulls against necromancy, and those who practised magical arts. Being likewise informed of great disturbances in *England*, he sent two legates into that kingdom to compose the dissensions, and to receive the tax of *St. Peter*, and the oath of homage for the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, which had been formerly given to *Innocent III.* The legates were also commissioned to settle the disputes with *Scotland*; and carried letters from the pope to *Robert Bruce*, who was only styled governor of *Scotland*. *Robert* at first refused to allow the legates to enter his kingdom; but afterwards, sending for them, he declared, that he would neither treat of peace nor a truce with *England*, unless he had the title of king from the pope. Upon receiving this declaration from the king, the cardinals returned to *London*; and *Robert* still refusing to agree to a peace, they excommunicated him and all his adherents, and laid the kingdom under an interdictⁱ.

and sends two legates into Britain.

He condemns a sect of Franciscans. A. D. 1318.

Soon after the pope published a bull against a sect of *Franciscans*, who had proposed to live up to the rigour of the rules composed by *St. Francis*, neglecting the dispensation of those rules by the popes *Nicolas III.* and *Clement V.* They were not only accused of being schismatics, but also of being heretics; and were said to have asserted that there were two churches, one carnal, abounding in wealth and wickedness, at the head of which was the pope and prelates; the other spiritual, adorned with poverty and sanctity, in which they and their followers were included; that an oath at all times was unlawful; that the gospel of Christ, till they appeared, lay hid, and was even lost; with several other tenets. In consequence of the pope's bull, these friars were persecuted in *Sicily*, and four of them were burnt at *Marseilles*. However, they were protected in some places of *Italy*, and especially at *Milan*, by *Mapheo* or *Matthew Viconti*, who was himself accused of being a heretic, and believing erroneously of the resurrection of the dead, and some other articles, of plundering monasteries, violating the chastity of nuns, and stopping the office of the inquisition, on which account the pope renewed the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him and his followers by his archbishop. *Mapheo*, in resentment for this proceeding of the pope, prevailed with *Canis Scaliger*, *Passe-rini*, and other chiefs of the *Gibelines*, to form a league against him and his party, and appointed *Canis* the general of the alliance, who attacked several cities of the *Guelphs*, while *Mapheo* sent an army, commanded by his son, against *Genoa*. In consequence of this league, hostilities were renewed in *Italy* with great fury; and *Genoa* and its territory, for several years, were so exposed to the ravaging of both friends and foes, that, according to *Petrarch*, its shore, which was formerly covered with palaces, appeared a desert^k. In the mean time the pope, being informed that several cities in the ecclesiastical state, encouraged by the league of the *Gibelines*, had expelled the governors appointed by him, and had chosen others, he published a severe edict against them, and likewise excommunicated the family of *Este*, who had accepted the government of *Ferrara*.

He sends a legate into Italy. 1319.

THE following year he sent his nephew cardinal *Bertrand*, as his legate, into *Lombardy*, to assist the *Guelphs* against the *Gibeline* faction; and being informed that the sect of the *Waldenses* began again to appear in *France*, he ordered those convicted of that heresy to be delivered to the secular magistrate. About the same time he renewed the edicts of his predecessors against the *Jews*, and ordered the books of their talmud to be sought out and burnt. He likewise granted a power to some bishops of *Denmark* of taking off the interdict which *Boniface VIII.* had laid upon that kingdom, on account of the imprisonment of the archbishop of *Lunden*. Mean while, finding that his spiritual arms had no effect upon the *Gibelines* in *Italy*, he sent *Philip* of *Valois*, son of *Charles*, and cousin of the king of *France*, with a body of French troops into *Lombardy*, against *Mapheo*. *Philip*, upon his arrival at *Asti*, was joined by the legate with some horse, and marched from thence to relieve *Vercelli*; but, being opposed by a superior army of the *Gibelines*, he was obliged to halt; and, having a conference with *Galeatius*, *Mapheo's* eldest son, he was persuaded by him to return to *France*, excusing himself to his father and the king, by alleging the delay of the money and succours promised him by the pope and the king of *Naples*^l.

A body of French march to the relief of the Guelphs. 1320.

THE sudden departure of *Philip* encouraging the *Gibeline* faction, *John* entered into a stricter alliance with the kings of *France* and *Naples*, and, to supply the expences of the war,

^a Vita Joan. ut supra. l. ix.

ⁱ SPOND. Annal. ex Regest. Vatic. VILLAN. l. ix c. 108. CORIUS, Par. iii.

^k Verba Petrarch. ap. BLOND. D. ii.

- a assumed to himself the first-fruits of all vacant benefices for three years. At the same time he renewed his anathema against the rebels in *Italy*, and particularly excommunicated *Frederic* king of *Trinacria*, and laid his kingdom under an interdict, because he had not observed the truce appointed by the pope betwixt him and the king of *Naples*, and, upon his return from his expedition against *Genoa*, had seized some of the ecclesiastical revenues in *Sicily*^m. Soon after *John* returned an answer to the ambassadors of *Poland*, and commissioned the archbishop of *Gnesna*, with two other prelates, to examine the complaints against the *Teutonic* knights, who were accused of unjustly seizing all *Pomerania*. The pope at the same time refused to grant the title of king to *Uladislaus*, lest he should offend the kings of *Bohemia* and *France*; but he declared secretly to the ambassadors, that he would not hinder the *Poles* from using their own right. A few months after he condemned the doctrines of *John a Polinco*, a *Parisian* divine, who asserted, that those who confessed their sins to the monks were likewise bound to confess them over again to their parish-priest. Having published a bull against that doctrine, he commissioned other *Franciscans* to go to *Tartary*, *Ethiopia*, and *Armenia*, and other eastern nations, writing by them to *George* king of the *Georgians*, and to the princes of *Tartary*, exhorting them to return to the unity of the *Roman* church. He likewise restored the bishop of *Kiovia* in *Russia*, and created a *Dominican* bishop of *Armenia*. Mean while the war still continuing in *Italy*, and *Frederic* king of *Trinacria*, in resentment for the sentence of excommunication denounced against him, granting fresh succours to the *Gibeline* faction, *John* renewed his anathema against *Mapheo Visconti* and his adherents, and promised to confirm the election of *Frederic* duke of *Austria* to the empire, if he would send an army to the assistance of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*. *Frederic* willingly embraced the offer of the pope, and sent his brother *Henry* into *Italy* with 2000 horse; but *Mapheo* represented to him, that, if he aspired to the empire, he was acting against his own interest, by endeavouring to ruin the *Gibelines*, who were only engaged in supporting the rights of the empire; and that, if their faction were extirpated, *Italy* would then become subject to the popes. Upon this representation, *Frederic* wrote to his brother to quit *Italy*; and to appease the pope, who was highly offended at that proceeding, he sent commissaries into *Italy*, to procure a truce betwixt the contending parties, but without any effect, he himself being defeated and taken prisoner a few weeks after by his rival *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*ⁿ.
- d JOHN in the mean time received an appeal of the *Franciscans* from a sentence of the inquisitor at *Narbonne*, who had accused one of their order as a heretic, for asserting, that Christ and his apostles had no property either in common or in part, which opinion was justified by a decree of *Nicolas III*. The pope proposed the affair to the universities and learned men in *Europe*; and, till he should receive their decision, he superseded the decree of *Nicolas*. The *Franciscans* soon after, holding a general chapter at *Perugia*, declared that they adhered to the decree of *Nicolas*; and that to renounce the propriety of all temporal goods was pious and meritorious, as it was following that perfection which was taught by Christ and his apostles, and confirmed by their example. The pope, being informed of this determination, published a bull, affirming, that the obstinate asserting of the opinion, that Christ and his apostles had no property, was erroneous and heretical; and in another bull he prohibited the *Franciscans* from asking any thing for the future in the name of the *Roman* church^o. As the pope, and several of them went over to the party of the *Gibelines*, notwithstanding the strength of that faction appeared then on the decline, owing in some measure to the death of *Mapheo Visconti*, which happened a few months before. The pope's general soon after defeated *Mark Visconti*, and in the month of *June* besieged *Milan*. However, the *Gibelines* had sent into *Italy*, and marching to the relief of the city, the *Guelphs* were obliged to raise the siege, which had continued near two months^p.
- f THE pope, in resentment for the assistance given to the *Gibelines* by the emperor, wrote a monitory to him, which he likewise sent to be published in *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, *England*, and in other kingdoms. In this writing the pope declared, that *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had, without the approbation of the apostolic see, not only assumed the title of king of the *Romans*, but also usurped the administration of the empire in *Germany* and *Italy*, to the manifest prejudice of the *Roman* church, to whom that right belonged during an interregnum; that as he had assisted the *Visconti*, though condemned for heresy, and had likewise aided the other rebels of the church, and done many other things to the detriment of Christianity, he therefore warned him, under pain of excommunication, to desist from all exercise of the functions

^m VILLAN. l. ix. c. 133. FAZEL. D. ii. l. ix.
 Empire. ^o SPOND. Annal. WADDING. Annal. minor. t. iii. hoc. an.
 196. 211, 212.

ⁿ VILLAN. l. ix. c. 174. See also the History of the
^p VILLAN. l. ix. c. 195,

of an emperor within three months, and not to resume the same without the approbation of the apostolic see. He likewise prohibited any one, of what character or dignity soever, from assisting him in any thing relating to the administration of the empire^a. About the same time, being informed that the siege of *Genoa*, after continuing five years, was at last raised, he sent for deputies from both the factions in that city, and in vain endeavoured to reconcile them. He sent messengers also to the king of *Servia*, to exhort him to return to the unity of the *Roman* church; renewed the bulls of his predecessors against carrying arms or warlike stores to the *Saracens*; and entered into an alliance with the king of *France* and the *Venetians*, to oppose the progress of the *Turks* in *Syria*.

A.D. 1324.

The emperor is excommunicated, and deposed by the pope.

MEAN while the monitory being published in *Germany*, the emperor sent three messengers to the pope, to know the reasons of his proceeding, and to ask some delay; and, in a diet at *Nuremberg*, drew up a protestation against the assertions contained in the monitory, appealing to the see of *Rome*, and a future general council; and declaring, that the pope himself was a favourer of heresy, as he discouraged penitents to come confession, and endeavoured to abolish the sovereignty of kings. The deputies, upon their arrival at *Avignon*, pretended to believe, that the monitory was a forgery; but being assured that it was real, they asked a delay of two months, which was granted by the pope, to allow the emperor time to repent. The two months elapsing without any submission on the part of the emperor, *John* declared him fallen under the sentence of excommunication; but granted him three months longer, within which time he ordered him, under pain of deposition, to appear personally, or by his proxies, before the apostolic see. At the same time he declared all those prelates and ecclesiastics, who had acted against the monitory, to have fallen under the sentence of suspension from their offices and benefices. The emperor still continuing to despise his fulminations, the pope at length, on the 20th of *July*, denounced a definitive sentence against him, and declared him deprived of all sovereignty which he might pretend to in right of his election, and summoned him to appear at *Avignon* before the 1st of *October*. Mean while the *Vicenti* in *Italy* having defeated the troops of the church, and taken two of their generals prisoners, *John* renewed the censures against the *Gibelines*, and ordered a new crusade to be preached against them. However, their arms still continued successful, and towards the end of the year they made themselves masters of *Monza*.

He publishes a manifesto in his own defence.

THE emperor, upon being informed of the sentence of deposition denounced against him by the pope, resolved vigorously to defend his authority and character; and several of the *Franciscans*, who, upon account of adhering to the primitive institutions of their order, were reckoned schismatics, from their hatred to the pope, repairing to the emperor's court, *Lewis* made use of their pens in defending his cause; and a few months after published a long manifesto, which is preserved in *Aventine*^r, in which he accuses the pope of sowing discord and sedition among all Christians; of publicly boasting, that, when the Christian princes were at war, then the bishop of *Rome* was truly pope; that he would bruise the brazen serpent, meaning the empire of the *Germans*, to the dust; and that he would not leave one in *Italy* who acknowledged the empire. He likewise asserted, that he was antichrist, and had the spirit of satan, in allowing himself to be worshipped, which even an angel would not accept of from *St. John*; that the temporal jurisdiction, which the pope possessed, was owing to the liberality, or rather the weakness, of the emperors; that, if he was the servant of the servants of God, he ought not to be of all men the most ambitious of honours and wealth; that he was a heretic, by condemning the orthodox opinion of the poverty of Christ and his apostles; from him therefore he appealed to the sentence of a general council (D). The pope, to defend himself from the accusation of heresy, published

^a Bzov. hoc ann.

^r AVENT. l. vii. p. 610—613.

(D) This manifesto was supposed to have been written by *John di Gadone* or *Ghent*, and *Marsilius de Menandrino* of *Padua*, the last of whom published a book this year concerning the imperial and pontifical jurisdiction, which he dedicated to the emperor, and intitled, *Defensor pacis*, or, An advocate for peace. *John* also published a book concerning the ecclesiastical power. They both affirmed, that when Christ paid tribute to *Cæsar*, he paid it as a debt due to the emperor for his civil protection; therefore the temporal possessions of the church were subject to the emperor. 2dly, That Christ, at his ascension into heaven, left no visible head of his church, and appointed no vicar, nor had *Peter* any more authority than any other of the apostles. 3dly, That it belonged to the emperor to appoint or depose, and punish, the pope, since Christ, as a subject, was crucified by *Pilate*; and *Marsilius* added, that, during a vacancy of

the apostolic see, the emperor might succeed the pope, and govern the church. 4thly, That all priests, whether the pope, archbishops, or simple priests, according to the institution of Christ, were equal as to authority and jurisdiction; and that one of them possessed more than another was owing entirely to the gift of the emperor. 5thly, That the whole church united could not inflict a coercive punishment upon any one, without the authority of the emperor. In answer to these books, others were likewise published that same year, particularly by the archbishop of *Ravenna*, concerning the jurisdiction of the empire, and the authority of the pope. *Pelagius Alvarus*, a *Spaniard*, and bishop of *Sylves*, published another work in justification of the pope; and *Peter de Palude*, a *Dominican*, wrote a treatise on the immediate origin of ecclesiastical power (1).

(1) *Possess. Appar. Sac. t. i. Bzov. an. 1327. Præfat. & Gualter. de Hæres. Alvar. de Planctu Eccles. l. i. c. 68.*

another

a another bull, explaining his former decrees against the *Franciscans*, many of whom, for adhering to the opinion of the council of *Perugia*, were then burnt as heretics in different parts of the world^a.

Not finding likewise that ready submission from the prelates of *Germany* that he expected, in publishing his monitory, he resolved to raise up a powerful competitor against the emperor; he accordingly negotiated with *Leopold*, brother of the duke of *Austria*, in favour of *Charles the Fair*, king of *France*; and it was stipulated, that *Charles* should compel *Lewis* of *Bavaria* to quit his pretensions to the empire; and, after his election, give 30,000 marks of silver to *Leopold*, on condition that his brother, *Frederic* of *Austria*, would likewise quit his claim to the empire. In consequence of this agreement, the pope exerted himself to procure the votes

The king of France, at the desire of the pope, solicits the empire.

b of the electors in *Germany*; and *Leopold*, having solicited the princes in the interest of his brother, and receiving a favourable answer from others that had hitherto embraced no party, wrote to the king of *France*, desiring him to repair to *Bar-sur-Aube*, on the confines of the empire, to have a conference with the *German* princes, who had promised to go thither. *Charles* accordingly went to that city with a splendid retinue, but, to his great disappointment, found only duke *Leopold*^b. This affront greatly cooled the ardour of the king of *France*; and, notwithstanding the pope and *Leopold* assured him that a little money would procure him the interest of a great many princes, who had but a weak attachment to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, on account of his being excommunicated, yet *Charles* refused to concern himself any farther in the affair, and intirely dropt his pretensions. The pope was soon after greatly sur-

Frederic of Austria is reconciled to the emperor, and resigns in his favour.
A. D. 1325.

c prised with the news of an accommodation betwixt the emperor and his competitor *Frederic* of *Austria*; *Frederic*, in consideration of his renouncing all pretensions to the empire, being set at liberty, and not only allowed to retain the title of king of the *Romans*, but also appointed to govern *Germany* during the emperor's absence in *Italy*, whither he intended to march with an army to the assistance of the *Gibelines*^c. As this agreement intirely broke the measures of the pope, he immediately declared it null and void, absolved *Frederic* from the obligation of his oath, and prevailed with several electors to deny their assent to the accommodation, asserting, that neither of the competitors had a right to resign in favour of the other. To support the expences of the war in *Italy*, he likewise solicited the payment of the penny of *St. Peter* in the kingdoms of *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Portugal*, and *Sicily*; but in *Poland*, instead of the usual tax of three-pence a measure of oats for each house, he only exacted a penny, because

d the kingdom was weakened by the revolt of *Silesia* to the king of *Bohemia*^d.

ABOUT this time he likewise condemned some propositions of *Peter John Olive*, a *Franciscan*, who, in his comments on *St. Matthew's* gospel, the canonical epistles, and the revelations, had advanced some doctrines which were interpreted by the schismatic *Franciscans* to favour their opinion (E). The pope, to prevent the propagation of those doctrines into the distant provinces, published a bull, denouncing an anathema against the monks, of whatever order, who should dare to go beyond seas without letters patent from their superiors, charging the superiors not to grant those letters but to men of learning and experience. At the same time, at the request of the *Dominians*, he granted a power to the general of their order to appoint a vicar over all the monks who were employed in preaching the gospel among the infidels, from whence is generally dated the original of the society of missionaries^e, though some refer it to the time of *Innocent IV.* seventy-two years before this period^f. This year likewise, *John* being informed that the heretics, who had been expelled from other provinces, had taken refuge in *Bosnia*, he wrote to *Charles* king of *Hungary*, and to *Stephen* prince of *Bosnia*, desiring them to extirpate the heretics, and to give their assistance and protection to the *Franciscans*.

The establishment of the society of missionaries.

^a EXMER. Director. Inquis. par. ii. qu. 11. ANTON. tit. xxi. c. 5. t. xiii p. 561. ^b Idem, c. 293. HOESEM, de Gest. Pont. Leodien. l. ii. c. 10. Chron. Aulæ Reg. c. 15. apud Scriptor. rer. Boem. ^c Bzov. Pol. hoc ann. ^d SPOND. Annal. hoc anno.

^e VILLAN. l. ix. c. 207. ap. MURATOR, ^f WADDING. t. 4. an. 1399.

(E) *Peter John Olive* was born in *France*, and died in 1297, in the 50th year of his age. In his youth he wrote a book in praise of the virgin *Mary*, which was condemned during the pontificate of *Nicolas III.* as containing some things too extravagant. He was afterwards frequently accused by the brothers of his order, whose resentment he had drawn upon himself by his severe reproofs of their luxury, and his endeavours to recall them to the poverty and rigour of their first institution. After his death his body was dug up, he was condemned as an heretic, and his writings were burnt, and remained prohibited till the time of *Sixtus IV.* who, having ordered

them to be examined, declared they contained nothing expressly contrary to the catholic faith. The propositions condemned by *John* are mentioned by *Emmericus*, in his directory of the inquisition, under twenty-two heads; and the chief of them are, "That the pope was the mystical antichrist; that *St. Francis* was the angel in the revelations, said to have the mark of the living God, and that his rule was the true gospel; that the perfect state of the church began with *St. Francis*, and that Christ and his apostles had no property either in common or in particular, but had only the use-fruit of what they enjoyed." (2)

(2) Direct. Inquis. Par. ii. iv. ix. Wadding. Annal. Claren. in 5. Tribul. ordin. Anton. tit. xxiv. c. 9. sect. 11, & 13.

The pope is in-
vited to Rome.
A. D. 1326.

THE following year, the *Romans*, having expelled their nobility, and appointed *Sciarra Colonna* as their governor, and settled likewise a council of fifty-two citizens, sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring him, as his predecessors had done, to come and reside in their city, otherwise they would consult for themselves as they thought proper. Whether they really desired his presence is uncertain; for about the same time they sent deputies both to the emperor and the king of *Naples*, acknowledging their submission to both those princes. *John* replied, that he desired greatly to comply with their request; but excused himself on account of his great age, and the danger of the journey; but, to oppose the designs of the emperor in *Italy*, he again declared the king of *Naples* vicar of the empire in that kingdom; appointed cardinal *John d'Orsini*, a *Roman*, as legate in *Tuscany*, *Campania*, and *Sardinia*; and created *James Sabellus* and *Stephen Colonna* as consuls in *Rome*. The legate, upon his arrival at *Flo-*
rence, excommunicated *Castruccio Castracani*, commonly called tyrant of *Lucca*, and chief of the *Gibelines* in *Tuscany*. The bishop of *Arezzo*, who adhered to that party, was likewise excommunicated and deposed^z.

The emperor
enters Italy;
1327.

and is crown-
ed at Milan.

Soon after, the emperor arriving with a small army at *Trent*, he was immediately joined by the chiefs of the *Gibeline* faction, and a great number of ecclesiastics of all degrees, particularly by the *Franciscans*, who were greatly irritated against the pope. He there held a council, which drew up sixteen articles against the pope; and, having condemned him as guilty of heresy, excommunicated him and all his adherents^a. From *Trent* *Lewis* proceeded to *Milan*, where he was crowned with the iron crown by the deposed bishop of *Arezzo*, together with the bishops of *Reggio* and *Brescia*; the archbishop of *Milan*, who was of the opposite party, being then a refugee
at *Genoa*. Having taken the government of *Milan* from the *Vicenti*, on a suspicion of treason, he held a diet at *Orzi*, in the territory of *Brescia*, where he created three new bishops, and received a subsidy of 200,000 florins of gold. The emperor then advancing to *Pisa* and *Lucca*, the *Romans*, who had received a denial from the pope, invited him to their city, while the legate again renewed the sentence of excommunication against him in the city of *Florence*. Though the emperor, in the diet held at *Trent*, had excommunicated the pope, yet, according to *Cuspinianus* and *Trithemius*, he sent to *Avignon*, and desired *John* to confer upon him the imperial crown^b. The ambassadors were treated with ignominy by the pope, who, on the 20th of *October*, pronounced a definitive sentence of excommunication and deposition against the emperor, ordered the electors to proceed to a new election, and prohibited any
one, of what dignity soever, from giving him any assistance^c. About the same time he likewise excommunicated *Marsilius* of *Padua* and *John di Gandone*, and condemned the errors contained in their books^d. His legate, in the mean time, with the prince of *Morea*, entered *Rome* by surprise, and took possession of the *Leonine* part of the city; but the emperor's party ringing the alarm bell of the capitol, the *Neapolitans* were next morning expelled with great loss.

He receives
the crown at
Rome.
1328.

Soon after the emperor arrived with his army at *Rome*; and a few days after held an assembly in the capitol, in which he thanked the *Romans* for their kindness, and promised to defend and enlarge their privileges. They in return created him a senator and captain of the people for one year, and chose four of the most noble of the citizens to assist at his coronation; which ceremony was performed in the church of *St. Peter*, on the 17th of *January*, with great magnificence, *Lewis* being consecrated by two schismatic bishops, and crowned by *Sciarra Colonna*. After his coronation, the emperor created a great many knights, and caused three imperial decrees to be read concerning the catholic faith, the honouring of the clergy, and the protection of widows and orphans. Upon the approach of the emperor to *Rome*, all the clergy, that adhered to the pope, retired from the city, which was then put under an interdict; and *John*, being ignorant that the emperor was already crowned at *Rome*, about the end of *January* published a bull for a crusade against *Lewis* of *Bavaria* and his adherents. This fulmination was too late to have any effect; for the emperor, having now secured the affection of the *Romans*, was resolved in his turn to depose his antagonist. Accordingly, about the middle of *April*,
he held a solemn assembly in *St. Peter's* church; and ordered a crier to call out three times, if any person would undertake the defence of the priest *James* of *Cahors*, who called himself pope *John*. Nobody making answer, an abbot of *Germany* read a long sentence against the pope, whom he accused of being a deserter of his see, of unjustly claiming the disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices, which he conferred by simony on unworthy persons, of raising dangerous schisms and wicked heresies in the church of God, of oppressing the cardinals and other prelates, of confounding the temporal and spiritual power, and of deciding concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles contrary to the catholic opinion; the emperor therefore

^z SPOND. Annal. l. ix. c. 348. l. x. c. 3.
utroque Chron.

^c VILLAN. c. 68.

^a Idem, c. 15.

^d SPOND. Annal.

^b CUSPIN. de Cæsar. TRITHEM. in

a pronounced a sentence of deposition against the said *James*, whom he left to be punished by the secular power; and condemned all his adherents, of what rank or quality soever, to the confiscation of their effects, and the punishment of death^c. A few days after the emperor published some laws about the future popes, ordaining that they should not be absent from *Rome* above three months a year, nor go above two days journey from the city, without leave of the people; and if, after they were recalled three times, they refused to return, a new one was to be elected. He then, with the consent of the *Romans*, created a *Franciscan* antipope, by the name of *Nicolas V.* who, a few days after, made a promotion of seven cardinals, appointed governors in the cities of the ecclesiastical state, and sent legates into the different provinces of Christendom. *Nicolas* likewise published a bull, confirming the deposition of *John*, and declaring his adherents guilty of heresy.

b *Lewis*, after these proceedings at *Rome*, marched against the king of *Naples*; but being disappointed in his succours from the *Gibelines* and the king of *Sicily*, he returned soon after to the city, where his interest was so greatly fallen, that, in a mutiny against his troops, the party of the *Guelpbs* had the advantage^f. Finding that he could not with safety continue any longer at *Rome*, he left that city on the 4th of *August* with his antipope, and marched to *Viterbo*, and from thence to *Fodi*. Upon his departure from *Rome*, the pope's legate entered the city, and annulled all the acts of the emperor and *Peter di Corbaria* the antipope, the *Romans* testifying their consent with great acclamations, and the boys even digging up the bodies of the *Germans*, and throwing them into the *Tyber*. *Lewis*, in the mean time, marching to *Pisa*, at the intreaty of *Michael Cesena*, general of the *Franciscans*, and *William Oakham*, an *Engliffman*, published his sentence against the pope, who again excommunicated the emperor and his adherents, particularly *Cesena* and *Oakham*; and was so exasperated against the *Franciscans*, that, according to *Antoninus*, he deliberated upon suppressing the whole order^g.

c THE interest of the emperor daily declining in *Italy*, the following year the march of *Ancona*, and the whole patrimony of the church, returned to the obedience of the see of *Rome*; the city of *Milan* likewise submitted to the pope; and *John Visconti*, the brother of *Matthew*, resigned his dignity of cardinal, which he had received from the antipope, and was created bishop of *Novara*. The emperor, being in great distress for want of money, and finding himself deserted by the *Gibelines*, marched towards *Trent*, to hold a council with the chiefs of his party in *Italy*, and the nobles in *Germany*; but being informed of the death of the duke of *Austria*, he pretended this as a reason for his quitting *Italy*, and accordingly marched with his army into *Bavaria*^h. In the mean time the pope again excommunicated *Cesena*, and appointed the bishop of *Tusculum* vicar of the order of *Franciscans*, till a new general should be elected. He likewise answered the libels of *Cesena*, which answers were examined by *Oakham*; and, in return, his objections were answered by friar *James Fonerius*, who had been lately promoted to the dignity of cardinalⁱ. The same year *John* wrote to *Robert Bruce*, king of *Scotland*, allowing him and his successors to be crowned by the bishop of *St. Andrew's* or *Glasgow*^k. He likewise offered great rewards for apprehending the antipope, by which means that unhappy person was discovered in the house of count *Boniface* at *Pisa*, where he had concealed himself for several months. Finding himself without resource from the emperor or his party, he resolved to throw himself on the clemency of the pope, and voluntarily surrendered to the archbishop of *Pisa* and the bishop of *Lucca*, who, having received a commission from the pope, absolved him, upon his abjuring certain articles prescribed to him by his holiness^l.

d DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the pope was greatly alarmed at *Avignon* by the approach of *William* count of *Hainault*, the emperor's father-in-law, with 1800 horse, who, in consequence of a vow, proposing to march into *Granada* against the *Moors*, was desirous of receiving the benediction of the pope. *John*, greatly suspicious that the count intended to do him an injury, sent for the nobles in the neighbourhood, armed his retinue, and prohibited the count from entering *Provence*, under pain of excommunication, absolving him likewise from his vow, on condition that he returned home^m. *John*, however, a few weeks after, received a visit from the king of *France*, with whom he had some secret conferences, relating, as it was afterwards known, to the wars in *Italy*, and to an expedition into the *Holy Land*, for which last purpose *Philip* obtained the tythes of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom. About the same time *John* received an embassy from *Germany*, proposing a reconciliation between him and the emperor, who offered to abandon the antipope, to retract his appeal, annul all that had been done against the holy see, and acknowledge himself justly excommunicated, provided the

^c VILLAN. c. 68.
SPOND. Annal.
ex Regest. Vatic.

^h VILLAN. c. 146.

^f RAINALD, ad an. 1328. VILLAN. c. 76.
ⁱ EXMER. Direct. Inquis. Par. ii. qu. 15—17.
^l RAINALD. an. 1330. WADDING. eod. an.

^g ANTON. sect. 15.
^k SPOND.
^m VILLAN. c. 155.

pope would acknowledge him as emperor. *John* rejected these generous preliminaries with a great disdain; and, in his letter to the king of *Bohemia*, ordered him and the other electors to proceed to a new election. About the same time the antipope arrived at *Avignon* from *Pisa*, and appeared in a public consistory with a rope about his neck, begging absolution from the pope. Having publicly made a long confession of his crimes, and a profession of faith agreeable to the tenets of the *Roman* church, *John* confirmed the absolution which he had received at *Pisa*, but confined him as an honourable prisoner in the palace, where he lived three years, and, at his death, was buried in the church of the *Franciscans*^a. The pope likewise this year sent a form of the catholic doctrine to the emperor of the *Tartars*, wrote to the *Armenians* to continue in the unity of the *Roman* church, granted a great many privileges and indulgences to the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who were preaching the gospel among the infidels, and ordered the inquisitors of the faith to proceed against those who practised magic, or other unlawful arts^b.

A. D. 1331.

THE following *January* he again renewed his anathema against *Michael de Cesena*; and prohibited, under severe penalties, *Oakham*, *Bonagrata*, and *Thalheim* or *Chalheim*, from obeying him. This decree of the pope was published in all the houses of the order of the *Franciscans* by the general, who, in a general chapter of the order at *Perpignan*, confirmed the sentence against the schismatics, published two years before in the chapter at *Paris*; and condemned *Cesena*, *Thalheim*, *Francis de Esculo*, *Oakham*, and *Bonagrata*, to perpetual imprisonment, on account of their contumacy, and of the heresies which they publicly taught^c.

The king of Bohemia reduces Lombardy, and

Mean while the king of *Bohemia*, having entered *Italy* with an army as vicar of the empire, and conquered the greatest part of *Lombardy*, his great successes equally alarmed the emperor and the faction of the *Guelphs*. *Lewis*, being informed that he had had a conference with the pope's legate, was apprehensive lest he should be prevailed upon by the pope to aspire to the empire; while the *Guelphs*, imagining that the pope had secretly invited the king into *Italy*, and connived at his conquests, entered into a league against him and the legate, in which they were joined by the *Gibelines*, who believed that the king did not act so much to serve the emperor, as to aggrandize his own family. The king of *Bohemia* having returned to *Germany*, to repel some enemies that had invaded *Bohemia* in his absence, the emperor sent two of his secretaries, as ambassadors to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation with the holy see, but without any effect. Soon after, according to *Villani*, *John* received an embassy from the king of *France*, informing him, that he intended to undertake an expedition into the *Holy Land*, and desiring, for that purpose, the tythes of all Christendom for six years, the right of conferring all ecclesiastical benefices in his kingdom, the kingdom of *Italy* for his brother *Charles*, and the title of king of *Arles* and *Vienne* for his own son; which extravagant demands, if they were really proposed, were made, as *Spondanus* observes, to excuse the king from his vow^d.

is solicited by the pope to desert the emperor.

1332.

JOHN, still intent upon opposing the emperor, wrote to the king of *Bohemia* and the duke of *Austria*, exhorting them to abandon his party. His solicitations at last prevailed with the duke of *Austria*, who not only deserted the interest of the emperor, but acknowledged himself the vassal of the pope, and that he held his hereditary dominions of the holy see. But the king of *Bohemia*, hoping that the great confusions in *Italy* would influence the pope to hearken to an accommodation, went to *Avignon*, and solicited him in behalf of the emperor. *John* remained inflexible to all the solicitations of the king, notwithstanding *Lewis*, at the intreaty of the king of *France*, sent another embassy to him to treat of peace. He even deposed the bishop of *Castello*, for reporting in *Germany*, that the emperor was reconciled to the holy see, and made an offer of the empire to the king of *Bohemia*, who rejected that proposition, and soon after quitted *Avignon*.

The pope is accused of professing an heretical doctrine.

1333.

THE following year *John* raised a new set of enemies against himself, by asserting, in a discourse at *Avignon*, that the souls of the happy or damned are not perfectly blessed or miserable till after the resurrection, when they shall have again received their bodies. Though this opinion seemed to have been embraced by *Justin*, *Ireneus*, *Origen*, and other antient fathers, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, yet it raised a great many adversaries against the pope, not only among the cardinals and prelates, but among all ranks of men, especially the *Dominicans*, some of whom were so zealous in opposing it, as to draw punishments upon themselves. But many of the *Franciscans* declared for the opinion of the pope; and *Gerard*, general of the order, preached in favour of that doctrine at *Paris*. His discourses occasioned disturbances in that city; and the king, having received the opinion of the doctors, ordered him publicly to retract his doctrine, otherwise he would be burnt as a heretic. *Philip* likewise wrote to the pope, signifying to his holiness, that it did not become a pope to propose doubtful questions, but rather to decide those that were proposed by others. *John* excused himself, and declared,

^a Idem, c. 162.

^b SPOND. Annal. rator. l. xii. p. 720.

^c BZOV. hoc an.

^d VILLAN. c. 196. ap. Mu-

a that he had not mentioned that opinion by way of assertion, but as a probability, and a subject of dispute, with an intention to have the opinion of the learned; and had therefore ordered the cardinals, prelates, and doctors, after diligent inquiry, to give their judgment of that doctrine^r. The pope, by explaining his opinion, and declaring, that he never intended to maintain a doctrine contrary to the catholic faith, stopped the clamour that was raised against him. However, the schismatic *Franciscans*, or *Fratricelli*, continued to exclaim against him as a heretic, not only on account of his opinion concerning the state of departed souls, but likewise for his decrees against their doctrine of the poverty of Christ and his apostles, which they founded on that declaration of our Saviour, *He that does not sell all that he has, and give to the poor, cannot be my disciple*.

b MEAN while the king of *Bohemia*, having returned to *Italy*, joined his troops to those commanded by the legate; but, being defeated by the confederates near *Ferrara*, he thought proper to evacuate *Italy*, and to abandon all his conquests in *Lombardy*. The pope, being likewise soon after informed that the emperor, fearing to die out of the communion of the church, had consented to resign his sceptre, and return to a private station, he wrote a letter to him, exhorting him to put such a laudable design in execution; and even sent two legates to *Munich* to receive his abdication, ordering them, in case of his refusal, to absolve the princes and barons of the empire from their oath of allegiance to *Lewis*. The legates, upon their arrival at *Munich*, were not allowed to enter upon any negotiation; which so exasperated the pope, that he wrote to the bishops of *Bremen*, *Magdeburgh*, and *Cologne*, to publish new anathemas against the emperor and his adherents, and excited several princes to ravage his hereditary dominions^s. About the same time he commissioned the archbishop of *Rouen* to give the cross to the king of *France*, and to the kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, and to many other nobles who were then at *Paris*^t. The emperor, in the mean time, in order to oppose the designs of the pope, resolved to conclude a peace with *Robert* king of *Naples*, and to call a general council, to proceed against *John* as a heretic; for which purpose he entered into a secret negotiation with cardinal *Neapoleo d'Orsini*, who was likewise offended with the pope, because, contrary to his promise, he had resided in *France*^u.

BEFORE the emperor could execute his design, his adversary was removed by death, which happened to him on the 4th of *December*, at *Avignon*. *John*, being sensible of the great scandal he had raised by his doctrine of the state of departed souls, on the 3d of *December* sent for the cardinals into his chamber, and, in their presence, revoked his opinion of that doctrine; and submitted all questions, upon which he had either discoursed or written, to the determination of the church and his successors. Having confirmed this declaration by a bull, he died the next day, leaving behind him an immense treasure; *Villani* affirming, upon the credit of his brother, who was merchant to the pope, and informed by the officers who assisted at the weighing of it, that it amounted in money and jewels to 25 millions of florins of gold^w. This sum is greatly lessened by other authors; but, whatever it was, according to *Villani*, he acquired it by reserving to himself the conferring of benefices through all Christendom, under pretence of preventing simony, though it appears that he himself did not bestow them for nothing. He likewise reserved the annates, or first year's revenues, of all new collated benefices, which were very numerous during his pontificate, as he generally supplied vacancies by transporting the incumbents from other benefices. He is also said to have instituted the tribunal of the twelve chaplains of the pope, called *Rota Auditores*, which was to determine appeals from all the parts of Christendom^x (F).

A FEW days after the death of *John*, the cardinals, to the number of 24, went into the conclave to chuse a successor. They divided, as usual, into parties; and cardinal *Colonna*, who was at the head of the weakest faction, proposed *John Raimund*, cardinal bishop of *Porta*, who was approved of by the other party, on condition that he would promise not to go to *Rome*. As he refused to agree to this condition, some of the conclave carelessly proposed *James Fournier*, a *Cistercian* monk, and the lowest of the order of cardinals, who was thereupon immediately elected, he himself being astonished at their choice, and calling out, *that they had chosen an ass*. He was consecrated on the 1st of *January*, and took the name of

^r VILLAN. c. 228. BZOV. an. 1331. WADDING. hoc an.

^s PTOL. Luccens. Hist. Eccles. Inst. l. xxiv. c.

42. ^t MAT. VILLAN. l. vii. c. 2.

^u RAINALD, ad an. 1324.

^w WADDING. & BZOV.

hoc an. VILLAN. l. xi. c. 20.

^x POLYD. de rer. invent. lib. vi. c. 12. CIACON. in Joannem XXII.

(F) *John* XXII. added a third crown to the pontifical tiara. The first crown worn by the popes was sent by *Clowis* king of *France* as a present to St. *John de Lateran*, and was placed by pope *Hormisdas*, about the year 515, upon his own head, above the cap which he usually wore. His successors, till *Boniface* VIII. used the single crown;

but that pope, on the occasion of his disputes with *Philip the Fair*, king of *France*, assumed a double crown, to signify his claim to both the spiritual and temporal authority. At last *John* added a third crown to the tiara, in which form it has been worn by all his successors. (1).

(1) Hist. de Philip de Valois, l. i.

Benedict XII. bestowing upon the cardinals 100,000 florins of gold, and, according to *Nau-* a
clerus, sending 50,000 to repair the churches of *Rome*^y. He immediately sent letters to all
the Christian princes, except the emperor and the king of *Sicily*, informing him of his ele-
vation. He likewise denounced an anathema against the *Fratricelli*; revoked the benefices
granted by his predecessor, if the incumbents were not in peaceable possession of them; and
reserved to himself the bestowing of all the benefices that became vacant at his court, or within
two days journey thereof. About the same time he also sent *Bertrand*, archbishop of *Yverdon*,
to the *Romans*, who were persuaded by him to govern the city under the name of the pope.
Being desirous likewise of extirpating heresies, he wrote to the king of *Bohemia* and the
bishop of *Olmütz*, to proceed against those who published any doctrines contrary to the faith
of the church of *Rome*. Mean-while the wars betwixt the two factions still continued to b
desolate *Italy*; and, as the authority of the emperor was disregarded, each powerful prince
attacked the weaker neighbour, for the enlargement of his own territory. The emperor,
to recover his authority in that kingdom, sent an embassy to the pope, to treat of a recon-
ciliation with the holy see; but, the pope insisting upon the emperor's abdication, nothing
was effected. *Benedict*, however, not having the same animosity to *Lewis* as his predecessor,
was not active in raising enemies against him, but contented himself with the formality of
publishing the sentence of excommunication against him and his adherents.

He receives
an embassy
from the em-
peror, and

publishes a bull
concerning the
beatific vision.
A. D. 1336.

A peace pro-
posed betwixt
him and the
emperor,

but without
effect.

A. D. 1337.

The pope en-
deavours in
vain to re-
concile the
kings of
France and
England.

THE following year, *Benedict* having, together with the cardinals and doctors, examined
the opinion of his predecessor concerning the beatific vision, published the recantation of *John*,
with a commentary of his own, to establish the catholic doctrine, and to clear the reputation c
of his predecessor. He therefore declared, that the souls of those who die free from guilt,
or after death are purged from their sins, and likewise the souls of children, who, having re-
ceived baptism, die before they arrive at the use of free-will, immediately after death, or the
purgation above-mentioned, were admitted into the presence of God^z. A few weeks after
the ambassadors of the emperor again arrived at *Avignon*, to negotiate a peace with the pope,
having full power from *Lewis*, who offered to revoke all that he had done against *John* XXII.
to annul the sentence published by *Henry* VII. and himself against *Robert* king of *Naples*,
and several other articles greatly in favour of the see of *Rome*. As the pope gave a favourable
reception to the ambassadors, the emperor soon after sent others with further concessions.
But the negotiation was prevented from coming to a favourable conclusion by the intrigues d
of the kings of *Naples*, *Bohemia*, and *France*, which last being threatened with a war from
the king of *England*, was afraid lest the emperor, after his reconciliation with the holy see,
should give assistance to *Edward* III. his brother-in-law. The king of *Bohemia*, who the year
before had contracted an alliance with *France*, was intirely in the interest of *Philip*; and
therefore wrote to the pope, that he, with the assistance of some other nobles, proposed to
elect another king of the *Romans*. The interest of those princes with the cardinals being
superior to that of the emperor, the negotiation was broke off, and the ambassadors of the
emperor returned to *Germany*^a. The pope, being at this time desirous to prevent a war be-
twixt the kings of *France* and *England*, wrote to the emperor, to turn him from his alliance
with *Edward*; but being likewise offended with the king of *France*, for neglecting his ex- e
pedition into the *Holy Land*, he revoked the grant of the tythes which *Philip* had obtained
from his predecessor. He also laboured to reform the discipline of the church, particularly
the *Benedictines*, *Cisterians*, and regular canons of *St. Augustin*. He restrained the *Domi-*
nicans from preaching promiscuously, and from receiving confessions in the streets and public
roads, excommunicated the *Bolognese* for refusing to submit to the church, and confirmed the
sentence of excommunication of the bishop of *Wratistlaw* against the king of *Bohemia*, for
unjustly seizing and possessing a castle belonging to that bishopric^b.

As hostilities had already commenced betwixt *France* and *England* in *Gascony* and *Xaintonge*,
and the emperor, together with the *German* princes, had entered into a league with *Edward* f
at *Cologne*, the pope endeavoured to put a stop to the further progress of the war, and sent
two legates into *France* and *England*, to treat of an accommodation. The legates were re-
ceived with great respect at *Paris*; but *Edward* would not allow them to enter *England*, but
sent deputies to treat with them on the continent, where, after several conferences, nothing
was concluded on. *Benedict*, finding the king of *England* inflexible, wrote to the emperor,
exhorting him not to engage in the war against *France*. But *Lewis* not returning a favourable
answer to this letter, the pope wrote to all the faithful, prohibiting them from entering into
an alliance with *Lewis*. Soon after he received an embassy from the king of *England*, who
desired leave to enter into an alliance with the emperor; but *Benedict* refused to give his
consent, and, not being certain that the league was already concluded, he prohibited him
from entering into any treaty with the enemy of the church. *Lewis*, however, being resolved

^y NAUCLER. Gen. 25.

^z SPOND. Annal.

^a VILLAN. l. xi. c. 54.

^b BZOV. hoc. an.

VILLAN. c. 69. MICHOV. l. iv. c. 22. CUREUS in Annal. Siles.

a to break with the king of *France*, wrote to the pope, complaining of that prince for having seized several fiefs of the empire, and desiring the assistance of his holiness in obliging *Philip* to restore what he had usurped. *Benedict* returned no answer to *Lewis*, but informed the king of *France* of the emperor's intention, and therefore intreated him earnestly to a reconciliation with the king of *England*.

A FEW months afterwards *Benedict* receiving an embassy from several bishops of *Germany*, soliciting him to be reconciled to the emperor, he declared to them, that unless *Lewis* concluded a peace with the king of *France*, he could not consent to grant him absolution, as *Philip* had threatened to use him worse than his predecessors had done *Boniface*, if he should absolve the emperor without his consent. The ambassadors returning without obtaining their purpose, the *German* princes, in defence of their own privileges, in a diet at *Frankfort*, published a perpetual edict, declaring, that whoever was elected king of the *Romans* by the majority of the electors, was thereby real king or emperor of the *Romans*, and did not need the consent or the approbation of the pope; and whoever dared to oppose that decree, should be accounted guilty of treason. A copy of this decree was sent to the pope, who, according to the relation of Dr. *Albert* of *Strasburgh*, the messenger, seemed not to be greatly offended, but sent a nuncio to the emperor, desiring him to send ambassadors to *Avignon*, to treat of an accommodation with the holy see. About the same time *Benedict*, being informed that the king of *England* had assumed the title of vicar of the empire, and was about to march into *France* with a powerful army, threatened him with excommunication if he did not resign that title.

b Soon after, hearing that the *English* army had retreated without any action, he again wrote to the king, exhorting him to a peace with *Philip*, and offering himself as mediator. This year also, according to *Surita*, he sent two legates into *Sicily*, who laid that kingdom under an interdict, because the *Sicilians* had refused, since the death of *Frederic*, to return to the obedience of the king of *Naples*.^a

THE following year, the king of *Arragon* arriving at *Avignon*, *Benedict* gave him the investiture of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, but refused to confirm his claims to the islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*. About the same time he received an embassy from *Andronicus*, emperor of *Constantinople*, offering to treat of an union with the *Latin* church, on condition that the chief cities of the empire possessed by the *Turks* should be recovered by the *Latins* from the infidels, and restored to the *Greeks*; and a general council should be appointed, where the *Greeks* might have liberty to defend the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. *Benedict* answered, that, if the *Greeks* would agree to the union, the princes of the west would then give their assistance against the *Turks*. He then dismissed the ambassadors, because they declared, that they had no commission from the patriarch or bishops, but were only sent privately by the emperor. Mean while *Azo Viconti* dying at *Milan*, his brother *Luchino* succeeded to the principality; and the power of the emperor being disregarded in *Italy*, he was reconciled to the holy see, and purchased the title of vicar of the empire from the pope for 50,000 florins of gold, and a yearly tribute of 10,000. His example was imitated by the other princes in *Lombardy*, who, being reconciled to the pope, acknowledged the empire to be vacant, and obtained the sanction of the apostolic see for their usurpations. *Maflin Scala*, or *Scaliger*, obtained the vicarage of *Verona* and *Vicenza* for a yearly tribute of 5000 florins; and, in like manner, *William Gonzaga* was appointed vicar of *Mantua* and *Reggio*; *Albert Carraria* of *Padua*; *Opizo Este* of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, and *Argenta*, in consideration of certain sums of money paid to the pope; on account of which contracts *Villani* exclaims, "O avaricious and mercenary church, how art thou degenerated from the good, humble, poor, and holy, institution of Christ!" The city of *Bologna*, imitating the princes of *Lombardy*, the following year submitted to the pope, and, promising to pay an annual tribute to the holy see, was absolved from the sentence of excommunication and interdict.

f ABOUT the same time *Benedict* being informed that *Margaret*, heiress of *Carinthia* and *Tyrol*, had obtained a pretended divorce from her husband *John*, the king of *Bohemia*'s son, and married *Lewis* marquis of *Brandenburgh*, son to the emperor, he annulled the marriage, because the divorce had been illegally obtained, and no dispensation granted of her consanguinity with *Lewis*. He likewise excommunicated the count of *Hainault*, and laid his province under an interdict, because he had rebelled against his sovereign the king of *France*, and entered into a league with *Edward* king of *England*. Soon after these two princes having agreed to a truce till the middle of the following summer, they intreated the pope to send two legates to *Arras*, who, with their plenipotentiaries, might in the mean time negotiate a peace. Not long after, the king of *France* having prevailed with the emperor

^a ALBERT. Argent. Chron. p. 129.
ap. Murat. t. xiii. p. 83.

^d SURIT. Indict. l. iii. FAZEL. D. ii. c. 9.
^f Idem, ut supra.

^e VILLAN. c. 100.

^g Idem, c. 108—111.

the king of
France.

A. D. 1342.
Benedict dies
at Avignon.

Clement VI.
elected pope.

He excuses
himself from
going to Rome;

but, at the
desire of the
Romans, he
appoints a
jubilee to be
held in Rome.

A. D. 1343.

The emperor
makes most
submissive con-
cessions to the
pope.

1344.

The diet of
Frankfort
support the
rights of the
empire.

to renounce his alliance with the king of *England*, and to enter into a treaty with him, he sent ambassadors to *Avignon*, to excuse his proceeding to the pope. *Benedict* declared, that he had long desired that accommodation; however, he blamed the king for treating with *Lewis* before he was reconciled to the holy see. About the same time he prevailed with the kings of *France* and *England* to continue the truce for another year; and not many months after he died at *Avignon*, on the 25th of *April*, in the 7th year and 4th month of his pontificate.

THE cardinals, according to a constitution of *Gregory X.* having mourned nine days for pope *Benedict*, entered the conclave on the 7th of *May*, and unanimously chose cardinal *Peter Proger*, a *Benedictine* monk, whom *Petrarch*, his cotemporary, calls a most learned pope^h. *Peter*, having assumed the name of *Clement VI.* was consecrated in the church of the *Dominicans*, on the feast of *Whitsuntide*; and soon after received an embassy from the *Romans*, intreating him to come to *Rome*, and to appoint the celebration of the jubilee for the middle of the century (G). *Clement* declared, that he could not with safety then return to *Italy*, as the emperor was threatening to enter that kingdom with an army, and had appointed vicars in many of the cities of the ecclesiastical state, in return for those of *Lombardy* that had received them from the pope. He excused himself likewise on account of the differences betwixt *England* and *France*, which he desired to accommodate. He accordingly sent two legates to these princes, who prolonged the truce for two years longer, in hopes of concluding a peace. The two legates were also sent into *Lombardy*, to form a league among the cities to oppose the emperor, against whom *Clement* ordered the anathemas of his predecessor to be again renewed; and because the archbishop of *Mentz* refused to publish them, he cited him to appear at *Avignon*. The following year, in the month of *January*, *Clement* published a bull, appointing a jubilee to be held at *Rome*, on the 50th year from the beginning of the century. Soon after he renewed all the censures of *John XXII.* against the emperor, whom he declared guilty of contumacy, and deprived of all dignity and honour; and wrote to the archbishop of *Triers*, and the other electors, to proceed to a new election. About the same time he entered into an alliance with the king of *Cyprus* and the *Venetians* against the *Turks*; and, having ordered a crusade to be preached against those infidels, he exhorted the knights of *Rhodes* to arm against them, appointing *Henry* the *Latin* patriarch of *Constantinople*, as his legate, to have the command of the expedition. *Clement* likewise appointed a certain sum to be raised from all the vacant benefices in *England*, as a revenue for two cardinals; but being informed, that the agents of the cardinals had been imprisoned by the king's officers, and afterwards ignominiously expelled the kingdom, he wrote to the king, complaining heavily of the indignity offered to the agents. *Edward*, having called a parliament, by their advice wrote to the pope, desiring him to forbear for the future from claiming the first-fruits of vacant benefices, or from conferring bishopricks or abbacies upon foreigners who did not reside in the island, as the right of patronage belonging to himself and his nobles was thereby totally annulledⁱ.

MEAN while the emperor, alarmed with the violent proceedings of the pope, and sensible that a great many princes of *Germany* secretly favoured his designs, he sent an embassy to *Avignon*, offering to submit to any terms that *Clement* should prescribe. The ambassadors appeared in the consistory, before the pope, on the 16th of *January*; and, having presented the emperor's submission, signed by his own hand, acknowledging all the heresies of which he was accused, resigning his children and all his possessions into the hands and will of the pope, and abdicating the empire, not to resume it, unless from the hands of his holiness. They then desired to know the articles of penance which the pope would be pleased to prescribe to *Lewis*. *Clement*, instead of using that opportunity to conclude an accommodation, insulted his submissive adversary, and required several other grievous articles against the rights of the empire, which the ambassadors had no authority to agree to. These articles being laid before the diet at *Frankfort*, that assembly sent deputies to the pope, desiring him to moderate his demands, and declaring, that they would never agree to the articles which he had proposed. This unexpected firmness in the princes of *Germany* greatly irritated the pope against the emperor; he resolved to push his resentment to the utmost, and began to treat with the king of *Bohemia*, the archbishop of *Triers*, and some other princes, to proceed to the election of another emperor. About the same time he created *Lewis* of *Spain*, count of *Clermont*, then at *Avignon*, as ambassador from *France*, king of the *Fortunate Islands*, or *Canaries*, on con-

^h PETRAR. l. ii. rer. memor. c. i.

ⁱ Bzov. ex. cod. Vatic. de reb. Angl. WALSING. in Edward. III.

(G) *Petrarch*, who, the year before, had been created poet laureat by the king of *Naples*, was one of the deputies; and, upon his arrival at *Avignon*, in the name

of the city and church of *Rome*, presented the pope with a poem upon his promotion.

a dition of his converting the inhabitants to Christianity^k; and, to gratify the king of *Bobemia*, he erected the church of *Prague* into an archbishopric, granting the archbishop the honour of the pall, and the right of crowning the kings of *Bobemia*, which privilege formerly belonged to the archbishop of *Mentz*.

As the factions increased in *Germany* the following year, *Clement* again renewed his anathemas against the emperor, exhorted the electors to proceed to a new election, and sent a legate *a latere* into *Italy*, to support the factions of the church in that kingdom. Being soon after informed of the murder of *Andrew* king of *Naples*, and husband of *Jean* the granddaughter of *Robert*, he ordered an inquiry to be made after the murderers, against whom he denounced a sentence of excommunication, and gave a full commission to some counts to punish them, whether they should be found to be laymen or clergymen^l. About the same time, hostilities being again renewed betwixt the kings of *France* and *England*, *Clement* sent two cardinals to those princes, to endeavour to conclude an accommodation; but the *English* refused to hearken to any terms proposed by the cardinals, accusing the pope of partiality to the king of *France*. *Clement*, then despairing to reconcile the princes by intreaties or embassies, published a letter, addressed to all the prelates, ordering public prayers to be used for procuring peace among Christian princes. Being likewise informed, that his fleet, in conjunction with that of the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, had taken *Smyrna*, he ordered a crusade to be preached against the *Turks*, and appointed *Humbert*, Dauphin of *Vienne*, as general of the land army^m.

The emperor is excommunicated.
A. D. 1345.

The pope endeavours in vain to conclude a peace betwixt France and England.

c In consequence of the intrigues of the pope, *John* king of *Bobemia* arriving at *Avignon*, with his eldest son *Charles* marquis of *Moravia*, to negotiate for the empire in favour of *Charles*, *Clement*, to strengthen their party, deposed the archbishop of *Mentz*, as guilty of contumacy, and conferred that see upon *Gerlac* of *Nassau*, grandson of the emperor *Adolphus*. A few days after he published a bull against the emperor, deposing him from his dignity, and absolving all his subjects from their allegiance. This bull, which was dated on *Good Friday*, the 13th of *April*, was sent to all the prelates in Christendom, with a circular letter, ordering them to publish it in their churches. *Clement* at the same time wrote to the electors, enjoining them to proceed to a new election; but excluded the marquis of *Brandenburgh* from the privilege of voting, under pretence that his father, the emperor, being an usurper, had no right to confer that fief. Having thus secured a majority among the electors, he embraced that opportunity for extending the authority of the see of *Rome*, and accordingly entered into a treaty with the marquis *Charles*, who promised to revoke and annul all the acts made by *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, to confirm all the grants of former emperors to the see of *Rome*, to resign all pretensions to the territories of the countess *Matilda*, not to enter *Rome* but upon the day of his coronation, and never to return but with the leave of the pope, and to annul all proceedings of his grandfather *Henry VII.* derogatory to those concessions. This treaty, which ruined the authority of the empire in *Italy*, and established that of the popes, being sworn to by *Charles*, and confirmed by his father the king of *Bobemia*, *Clement* recommended him as a candidate for the empire, and he was accordingly chosen emperor a few months after by

The king of Bohemia and his son arrive at Avignon;
1346.

d four electors at *Rentz*, three of the electors still adhering to the interest of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. *Charles*, immediately after his election, sent ambassadors to the pope, who having sworn in his name that he would fulfil the former treaty, *Clement* published the news of his election in the consistory; and having with difficulty obtained the consent of the majority of the cardinals, he published a bull, confirming his electionⁿ. About the same time he sent several nuncios into *Armenia*, to extirpate the errors prevailing in that church, and to exhort the king to give his assistance to the Christians against the *Turks*. He likewise admonished the doctors of the university of *Paris* not to employ their time in vain and useless questions, but to explain the catholic faith according to the sense of the fathers.

and negotiate a treaty for the empire.

f DURING these transactions in *Germany* and *Avignon*, a great revolution happened at *Rome*, owing to one *Nicolas Gabrini di Rienzo*, the son of a miller and washer-woman, who, having received good education from his parents, and being of an active and enterprising genius, was created a public scribe or notary. He having been sent with the ambassadors to pope *Clement*, to invite him to *Rome*, and having received a denial from his holiness, upon his return he assembled the *Romans* in the capitol, and made a long and warm discourse to them, of the deplorable state of their city, and the happiness of their antient liberty. His words had such an effect on the people, that they unanimously declared him tribune of the people, and conferred upon him the supreme power. He immediately degraded the senators appointed by the pope; ordered several of the nobility, convicted of oppression, to be put to death; and banished the *Corfini*, the *Colonnæ*, and many other noble families. Having established his authority by the attachment of the people, and made himself respected by his

A revolution at Rome.
A. D. 1347.

^k PETRAR. de vit. solit. l. ii. sec. 6 c. 3. WALS. ut supra.
Kingdom of Naples.

^m SPOND. Annal.

^l VILLAN. c. 50, 51. See also the History of the
ⁿ RAINALD. ad an. 1346. VILLAN. c. 59.

regard to justice, he sent letters to all the cities of *Italy*, informing them of the liberty of the *Romans*, and desiring them to give their assistance to their mother city. His messengers were every-where treated with great respect; and several of the cities, concluding that the *Romans* were about to recover their antient grandeur, promised their assistance, and sent golden rings as tokens of their fidelity. Not only the *Italian* cities, but even foreign princes, sought his alliance: he received an embassy with an offer of friendship from *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, who was preparing to enter *Italy* with an army, to revenge the murder of his brother the king of *Naples*. About the same time ambassadors arrived from *Jean* queen of *Naples*, desiring his mediation with the king of *Hungary*. The tribune likewise received an embassy from the emperor *Lewis*, asking his friendship; and *Clement* wrote to him from *Avignon*, commending his proceedings, and exhorting him to govern *Rome* in his name. a

THIS grandeur was of very short continuance; for *Nicolas*, being intoxicated with his authority, disdained to have any dependence upon the pope, and resolved to be absolute master in *Rome*. Accordingly, being desirous of the dignity of knighthood, he bathed himself in the font in which *Constantine the Great* had formerly been baptized, and then received his arms from the syndic of *Rome* and two knights before the altar of *St. Peter*; at the same time being crowned with the different crowns, he assumed the title of *Candidate knight of the Holy Ghost, severe and merciful, deliverer of Rome, asserter of the liberties of Italy, lover of the universe, and august tribune*. He likewise published a letter, declaring *Rome* the head of the world; and cited *Lewis* and *Charles* of *Bohemia*, with the other electors, to appear at *Rome*, to justify the rights and privileges which they assumed. These extravagant proceedings ruined his character; and the pope, looking upon him as a mad enthusiast, published several bulls against him, accusing him of schism and heresy, upon which the ardour of the people in his favour greatly abated. Soon after, the banished nobles, entering the city by surprise with some troops, *Nicolas* was deserted by the people, and fled to *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who was then at *Naples*. He afterwards skulked for some time, in the habit of a pilgrim, among the mountains, and at length was brought to *Avignon*, where he was detained a prisoner.^o b

The emperor
is killed by a
fall.

WHILE *Nicolas* was in the height of his grandeur at *Rome*, *Clement* was informed of the death of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who was killed by a fall from his horse, on the 9th of *October*. Soon after, hearing that the king of *Hungary* had entered *Italy*, he wrote to his legate, to prohibit the king, under pain of excommunication, from seizing any of the territories belonging to the apostolic see. The king replied, that the kingdom of *Naples* belonged to him by right of his grandfather *Charles Martel*, and that he did not regard an unjust excommunication, as God, who was superior to the pope, knew the justice of his cause.^p c

Jean queen of
Naples ar-
rives at *Avig-*
non;

A. D. 1348.
sells that city
to the see of
Rome.

A few months after *Jean* queen of *Naples* arrived at *Avignon*, having fled from the resentment of the king of *Hungary*. She pleaded her cause with such eloquence before the consistory, and in the presence of the *Hungarian* deputies, that the pope declared her innocent of the murder of her husband, and confirmed her marriage with *Lewis*, duke of *Tarento*, and nephew of the late king *Robert*, *Jean's* grandfather. At the same time he purchased from her the city of *Avignon*, with all its territory, for 80,000 florins of gold^q; though some authors assert, that the sale was only pretended, and that *Jean* gave the city to the see of *Rome*, to procure the favour of the pope. Others allow the sale to be real, but say, that the price was paid by remitting the annual tribute due by the queen for the kingdom of *Naples*. The instrument of the sale, whether real or pretended, is still extant, as is likewise a golden bull granted by the emperor *Charles IV.* resigning to the pope and see of *Rome* all right and title to the empire of that city.^r About the same time *Clement* ordered the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* of the province of *Hungary* to appoint learned men to preach the gospel to the *Cumani*, and other infidels of that kingdom, who adhered to the pagan rites of the *Tartars*. He likewise absolved *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, from the sentence of excommunication that he had incurred for visiting the sepulchre of Christ without leave from the apostolic see; and as the plague raged in a most violent degree in *Italy*, and other countries of *Europe*, *Clement* granted a general indulgence to all those who were penitent, and confessed their sins, and to the priests who attended and administered the sacrament to the sick, supporting at his own charge those that were seized with the distemper at *Avignon*; and, to prevent the dead from lying unburied, hiring people to carry them to the field which he had purchased for that purpose.^s (H). d

A great plague
rages in
Europe.

As

^p VILLAN. c. 89. & 104. PETRAR. de reb. famil. BZOV.

^r BZOV. hoc an. vit. Clement. a Bosqueto edit.

^q VILLAN. c. 206.

^s SPOND. Annal.

^t SPOND. Annal.

^u SPOND. Annal. MATH. VILLAN. c. 4.

(H) A great many authors give an account of this kingdom, but ravaged progressively the greatest part of plague, which was not confined to one province or *Asia* and *Europe*, and part of *Africa*, carrying off almost one

- a As the *Jews*, in consequence of this plague, were massacred in great numbers in *Germany* A. D. 1349. and *Poland*, *Clement* published a bull in their favour, which was not able to stop the fury of the people, who accused them of being the authors of their calamity, and for two years continued to persecute them and put them to death without any distinction of age or sex. Mean while, *The sect of flagellants re-* from *Hungary* marched in troops through *Upper* and *Lower Germany*, *Poland*, *France*, *Eng-* *land*, and other countries, their numbers increasing as they went along. Both men and women marched naked to the waist, and whipped themselves twice a day, and once during the night. Notwithstanding this great appearance of penitence and mortification, their sect is said to have been composed of the most profligate people, and to have professed absurd and pernicious doctrines, as that the gospel ceased upon their appearing, that their scourging was preferable to martyrdom, and that the blood which they lost by that exercise mixed with the blood of Christ; that if any one scourged himself for thirty days, the guilt and punishment of his sins would be forgiven. These and many other errors being discovered to be the tenets of the sect, the pope published a bull against them, and prohibited all Christians from using those public scourgings, in consequence of which several princes published edicts against them, as disturbers of the public peace, so that in a short time they were totally dispersed.

- WHAT, according to *Spondanus*, was of much greater efficacy in removing the general calamity, was a bull published by the pope on the 10th of *April*, appointing a jubilee to be held the following year at *Rome*, promising a full remission of all their sins to those penitents who should visit the churches of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. John di Lateran*. Two cardinals were sent as legates to *Rome*, to superintend the solemnity, with full power to grant dispensations to those pilgrims who did not chuse to continue the full time prescribed by the pope, which was fifteen days for the *Italians*, and ten or five days for the *Ultramontani*, or foreigners. About this time *Cantacuzenus*, who had seized the empire of *Constantinople*, sent ambassadors *The Greek emperor sends an embassy to the pope.* to the pope, to justify himself from the false accusation of having made an alliance with the *Turks*, and exhorting his holiness and the princes of *Europe* to undertake an expedition into *Asia* against those infidels. *Clement* received the ambassadors with honour, and, upon their return, sent two bishops with them to *Constantinople*, declaring, that he accepted of the emperor's excuses, and desiring him to procure an union of the *Greek* church to that of *Rome*. *Cantacuzenus*, in return, wrote to the pope, expressing his desire of an union, but proposed, that a general council of the eastern and western bishops should assemble in some city near the sea-coast, where both the pope and he himself might be present.

- WHILE this affair was transacting betwixt the *Greek* emperor and the pope, the jubilee commenced at *Rome*, where, notwithstanding the plague still raged with great violence in several parts of *Europe*, such numbers of people assembled, that, according to *Matthew Villani*, from *Christmas* to *Easter*, which happened that year on the 18th of *March*, there were continually from a million to twelve hundred thousand foreigners in *Rome*. During the summer, the number of pilgrims in the city was supposed to amount to 200,000; but, towards the end of the year, the concourse was almost as great as at the beginning, and chiefly of the better sort of both sexes, as the dispensations were then easily granted with regard to the time. According to *Meyerus*, scarce the tenth part of the pilgrims returned home, being cut off by the plague, or the fatigues of the long journey. And *Villani* relates, that the *Romans*, with great rapacity, practised all manner of extortion upon the pilgrims; and were so exasperated against the cardinal legate for dispensing with the time of visitation, that

^a TRITHEM. in Chron. Hirsang. l. iv. c. 9. SPOND. Annal. l. xiii.

NAUCLER. Gener. 45. WALSING. in Edw. III.

* MATTH. VILLANI, ap. Murator, t. xiv. l. i. c. 56.

^w CANTACUZEN. ^y MEYER.

one third of the inhabitants, and in some places scarce leaving the tenth, or even the twentieth person. *Cantacuzenus*, the *Greek* emperor, has very elegantly described the various symptoms and different effects of the distemper (1), which is said to have appeared in the kingdom of *Kathay*, in the year 1346, and to have proceeded gradually westward to *Constantinople* and *Egypt*, emptying cities of their inhabitants, and raging in one place about five months. From *Constantinople* it passed into *Greece*, *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Africa*, and by degrees along the coasts of the ocean into *Britain* and *Ireland*, and afterwards into *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, and the other northern kingdoms. Accord-

ing to *Antoninus*, archbishop of *Florence*, the distemper carried off 60,000 people in that city, among whom was the historian *John Villani* (2); but, by the account of *Boccace*, the number of dead in *Florence* amounted to 100,000. Notwithstanding such a heavy scourge, several authors relate, that a general corruption of manners immediately after prevailed, those who survived being enriched with the possessions of the dead, and indulging themselves in vice and dissoluteness, from which the religious orders were not exempt, owing to the great wealth arising from the many pious legacies they then received, so that, according to *Petrarch*, the world was empty of men, but full of crimes (3).

(1) *Cantacuz.* l. iv. c. 8.

(2) *Anton. tit.* xxi. c. 8. §. 3.

rer. famil. l. viii. epist. 7. *Marian.* l. xvi. c. 13. *Nauclet. Gener.* 44. *Walsing. in Edw.* III.

(3) *Petrarch. de reb. Senil. ad Boccac.* &

they attacked him and his retinue in the streets; and, as he endeavoured to shun their violence by retiring into *Campania*, he was poisoned, with several of his relations upon the road². Mean while *Clement* being informed that the archbishop of *Milan*, who, since the death of his brother *Lucbino*, was both spiritual and temporal sovereign in that city, had seized *Bologna*, and annexed it to his dominion, he laid the city of *Milan* under an interdict, and summoned the archbishop and his nephews to appear at *Avignon*. The archbishop neglecting the citation, *Clement* excommunicated him and his adherents; and afterwards, hearing that he solicited the assistance of the *Gibelines*, he sent the bishop of *Ferrara* as his legate into *Italy*, to form a league among the cities of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany* for their mutual defence, and the protection of the church.

The archbishop of Milan is excommunicated for seizing Bologna.

The queen of Naples declared innocent of the murder of her husband.

A. D. 1351.

The usurpations of the pope are opposed in England.

In the mean time his legate at *Naples* having concluded a truce betwixt the king of *Hungary* and queen *Jean*, who was now returned to *Naples*, it was agreed that all hostilities should cease till *April* next, and the cause of *Jean* in the mean time be again examined by the apostolic see. Accordingly, the following year, her cause was re-examined before the consistory, who admitted of her excuse, namely, that she was under the power of witchcraft or incantation, which prevented her from loving her husband as she ought. This plea being confirmed by witnesses, the benevolent judges declared her innocent of all actions subsequent to that incantation; in which decision the king of *Hungary*, after some difficulty, at last acquiesced³. This affair being determined, *Clement*, upon a complaint from the king of *France* that the *English* had broke the truce, sent two legates to accommodate the differences betwixt the two kings; but their mediation having no effect, the war was again renewed. Mean time the parliament of *England*, finding no redress from the pope of the grievances they had formerly complained of, decreed, that whoever should accept any benefice in *England* from the gift of the pope, should be punished with perpetual imprisonment: that, upon a vacancy, if the patrons neglected for four months to supply the benefice, their right should devolve to the king. They likewise ordained, that the king should supply those benefices then enjoyed by foreigners residing in *France*, and annulled the grants of money made by the pope to some cardinals from the provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*. These proceedings against the court of *Rome*, according to *Naucerus*, were owing to the resentment of *Edward*, who was affronted because the pope had refused to confer the dignity of cardinal upon one that he had recommended, though the year before he had promoted twelve cardinals at the request of the king of *France*⁴; and *Harpsfield*, in his history of the *English* church, relates, that the act was soon after rendered ineffectual by the opposition of the legates, and the archbishop of *Canterbury*⁵.

At this time, according to *Matthew Villani*, great disturbances happened at *Rome*, in consequence of the wealth the *Romans* had acquired the year before by the concourse of foreigners. The bishop of *Orvieto*, the vicar of the pope, finding his authority despised, fled to the capitol, but he was expelled from thence by *James Savelli*, of the faction of the *Colonnæ*, and the city continued for some time without any governor. At length the people chose one *John Cerro*, an eminent plebeian, as their rector or chief, and, in contempt of the nobility, obliged the vicar to confirm their choice⁶. During these disturbances in *Rome*, *Clement* received an embassy from the emperor *Charles*, informing him of his intention of entering *Italy* to receive the imperial crown, and promising to attach himself to the party of the *Guelphs*. Soon after deputies arrived at *Avignon* from the allied cities of *Italy*, complaining of the hostilities of *Vicenti*, and desiring the assistance of pope. *Clement* received the deputies very graciously, though he was not a little disconcerted upon their arrival, as he had entered into a private negotiation with *Vicenti*, who, by the influence of his money, had procured the interest of a great many cardinals, and by the same means had purchased the intercession of the king of *France*. The pope, that he might seem disinterested, proposed the choice of three things to the deputies, either to conclude a peace with the archbishop, or a league with the church against him, or, lastly, to invite the emperor to their assistance. They being informed of the archbishop's interest with the pope, referred the choice of the three expedients to his holiness; who accordingly absolved the archbishop from the censures denounced against him, and granted him and his successors the vicariate of *Bologna* for twelve years, on condition of paying a yearly tribute of 12,000 florins to the holy see, and 100,000 florins for the expences of the war; but, that the interest of the allies might not seem neglected, a truce was concluded betwixt them and *Vicenti* for twelve months. Thus, says *Villani*, for money the greatest affairs may be transacted with the pastors of the holy church⁷. *Vicenti* seems to have been determined to this accommodation from an apprehension of the emperor's arrival in

1352.
Vicenti by his money, purchases a peace with the holy see.

² VILLAN. ut supra.

³ VILLAN. l. ii. c. 24. SUMMONT. l. iii.
⁴ HARPSFIELD. Hist. Eccles. Angl. secul. 14. c. 5.
& 5.

⁵ VILLAN. l. ii. c. 47.

⁶ NAUCLER. Gen. 46.

⁷ Idem, l. ii. c. 4.

^a *Italy*; for, before that expedition was mentioned, he treated the pope with the greatest contempt (I).

THE allied cities in *Italy*, being thus abandoned by the pope, entered into an alliance with the emperor, who promised the following year to enter *Italy* with 6000 horse, and to attack the territories of *Vicenti*, the allies stipulating to join his army with 3000 horse, and to grant him a subsidy of 200,000 florins of gold ^f. *Clement* survived this transaction but a few months, and died at *Avignon* in the beginning of *December*. From his regard to the kings of *France*, he granted them a power of communicating under both kinds, whenever they pleased to desire the eucharist ^g. He likewise moderated the rigour of the constitution of *Gregory X.* with regard to the cardinals, when shut up in the conclave at an election. He is accused of

^b having conferred honours and dignities upon his relations without measure, or regard to their merit, having created his nephew *Peter* a cardinal when only seventeen years of age.

THE cardinals, upon the death of *Clement*, being informed that the king of *France* was hastening to *Avignon*, to have a pope chosen in his interest, they thought proper to prevent him; and, on the 18th of the same month, chose *Stephen Albert*, bishop of *Ostia*, who took the name of *Innocent VI.*; and, immediately after his consecration, wrote to all the Christian princes, informing them of his promotion (K). He likewise suspended, and afterwards annulled, the grants of reversion of benefices given by his predecessor *Clement*; at the same time commanding all prelates, and other ecclesiastical persons, to repair to their churches, under pain of an anathema, declaring, that flocks ought to be kept by their own shepherds, and not by hirelings ^h. Being intent also upon reforming his own court, he reprehended the cardinals for their luxurious lives, and ordered them to follow the example of frugality set by himself. As the ecclesiastical state was at this time almost wholly usurped by different princes, and the city of *Rome* a scene of confusion and uproar, the *Romans*, upon account of a great dearth, having stoned their senator to death, *Innocent* sent cardinal *Aegidius Alvarus*, a Spaniard, descended from the ancient kings of *Leon*, as his legate into *Italy*, appointing him vicar over all the ecclesiastical state, with full power of assembling an army, and opposing the unjust possessors of the territories of the church. Together with the legate, *Innocent* sent *Nicolas Rienzo*, the former tribune, to oppose the designs of *Francis Baroncelli* at *Rome*, who, supported by the favour of the people, had expelled the nobility, assumed the title of tribune

^c *II.* and *Roman* consul; and, throwing off the authority of the pope, had invited the *Gibelines* to an alliance ⁱ. Not only *Rome*, but almost all *Italy*, was at this period desolated by intestine wars. Though the allied cities in *Tuscany*, being disappointed in their succours from the emperor, had concluded a peace with *Vicenti*, yet several other cities had formed a new league against him. The *Venetians* and *Genoese* were engaged in a most destructive war, which was carried on with great animosity; and, while the pope's legate had assembled an army at *Monte Fiascone*, against *John de Vico*, who had usurped a great part of the territories of the church, one frier *Morale*, a *Provençal*, and knight hospitaller, headed an army of freebooters, who acknowledged no faction. This knight had served the king of *Hungary* in his *Neapolitan* war, and, after his accommodation with queen *Jean*, had entered into the

^d service of the church; but, not being able to recover his arrears of pay, he now deserted that party, and, by offering large pay to those who would serve under him, he quickly assembled an army of 2000 men, composed of *Germans*, *French*, and *Provençals*, who were dispersed through different parts of *Italy*. This army of banditti was called the *Grand Company of the March of Ancona*, which province was the first scene of their ravaging; and, their numbers continually increasing, they formed themselves into a military society, appointing a council, secretaries, questors, and other magistrates, and put garrisons into several cities which

The allied cities of Italy enter into a treaty with the emperor. Clement dies at Avignon.

Innocent VI. elected pope. A. D. 1353.

A legate sent into Italy, which is a scene of great confusion.

^f VILLAN. c. 6, 7. cent. VI.

^g HENRIQ. lib. de Eucharist. c. 44. sect 7.

^h PLATIN. in vit. Innoc.

ⁱ VILLAN. l. iii. c. 78.

(I) A letter, supposed to be written by the archbishop of *Milan*, was dropped in the confistory, and addressed to the pope. It was dated from the middle of hell, and, in the name of the prince of darkness, thanked his vicar the pope, and his counsellors and cardinals, for their great services, exhorting them to a steady perseverance in their present course, that they might be intitled to a full reward in his kingdom. Then, mentioning the particular vices of each of them, he chided them for allowing their doctrine to differ from their life, and exhorted them for the future to teach as they lived.

(K) *Innocent VI.* was born in *Limosin* in *France*, and, being bred to the law, he was for some time a proctor or attorney, and then a judge, at *Thoulouse*. Entering

afterwards into orders, he was successively bishop of *Meaux*, *Clermont*, and *Cambray*, and by *Clement VI.* was created a cardinal priest, and afterwards bishop of *Ostia*, and major penitentiary.

In an antient chronicle of the *Carthusians* it is mentioned, that when the majority of the cardinals were determined to elect *John Birell*, the general of that order, as pope, they were dissuaded by a cardinal of *Perigord*, who, knowing *John* to be a man of great justice and sanctity, declared, that, if he were elected pope, their fine mules would in a few days be drawing in the carts, as he was a professed enemy to worldly pomp and ambition. The cardinals, alarmed by his discourse, altered their resolution, and chose *Innocent (I)*.

Rienzo again they made themselves masters of^k. Mean while the Romans received *Nicolas Rienzo* with the a
 createdtribune greatest demonstrations of joy; and *Baroncelli*, after a government of a few months, being
 of Rome. put to death, they conferred the tribuneship on *Nicolas*, and sent deputies to the legate at
Monte Fiascone, acknowledging their submission to the church.

DURING these commotions in *Italy*, *Innocent*, being informed that a great many heretics
 had fled from the mountains of *Yverdon* into *Calabria*, wrote to the king of *Naples*, and to
 the inquisitor, to proceed against them. He likewise sent a cardinal legate to the king of
England, exhorting him to a reconciliation with the king of *France*; and wrote to the bishop
 of *Orvieto*, his vicar at *Rome*, desiring him to oblige the chapter of *St. Peter's* church to re-
 fund three fourth parts of all the offerings presented during the jubilee at *St. Peter's* altar, as
 one fourth part, according to antient custom, only belonged to them. As the Christians of b
 the east were at this time harrassed by the continual incursions of the *Turks*, *Innocent* granted
 the third part of the tythes of the churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Bohemia*, *Greece*, and other
 provinces, for their assistance, and ordered the master of the knights of *Rhodes* to succour
 the city of *Smyrna*, at that time attacked by the *Turks*. Soon after, receiving an embassy
 from *Stephen* king of *Rascia*, complaining that some *Greek* bishops disturbed the peace of his
 kingdom, by deposing some bishops and abbots of the *Roman* communion, and obliging
 others to repeat their baptism and confirmation, desiring likewise the pope to send some
 learned and religious men into his kingdom, to reform all abuses, and that the king might
 be appointed by the holy see captain against the *Turks*. *Innocent* thanked the king for his zeal,
 nominated him captain according to his desire, and appointed the bishop of *Traw* as his c
 legate, to extirpate the errors and abuses in that kingdom, particularly their opinion concern-
 ing the Holy Spirit, which they affirmed proceeded only from the Father; and their doctrine
 concerning the wafer in the eucharist, which they denied to be the real body of Christ.

THIS embassy of the king appeared afterwards to be only a pretence, to prevent his being
 invaded by *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who had formed pretensions to his kingdom^l. About
 this time also *Abdalla*, one of the kings of *Mauritania*, wrote to the pope, offering to
 embrace the Christian faith; but the professions in his letter, as appeared afterwards, were not
 sincere, but designed only to procure him the assistance of the Christians against some of his
 neighbouring princes, with whom he was at war. *Innocent* wrote to him to persevere in his
 good intentions; and at the same time, hearing that *Peter* king of *Castile* had prevailed with d
 two of his bishops to grant him a divorce from his queen, and had married the widow of one
 of his nobles, he wrote to the king, reproaching him with the heinousness of his crime, and
 ordered his nuncio in that kingdom to oblige the king to recall his queen, and, in case of his
 refusal, to proceed against him by ecclesiastical censures. Mean while two *Franciscans* being
 brought prisoners from *Montpelier* to *Avignon*, for disputing concerning the poverty of Christ
 and his apostles, contrary to the definition of *John XXII*. *Innocent* ordered them to be ex-
 amined; and as they refused to recant their doctrine, and affirmed, that the opinion of pope
John was a heresy, they were delivered to the civil magistrate, and publicly burnt^m.

Soon after the pope received an embassy from the emperor *Charles*, who, in the beginning
 of *November*, had entered *Lombardy* with a small army. As the ambassador made a demand e
 of the imperial crown for his master, *Innocent* wrote a long letter to *Charles*, excusing himself
 from going to *Rome* on the occasion of his coronation, but promising to commission some of
 the cardinals to perform that ceremony. He likewise wrote to his legate *Ægidius* to assist the
 emperor with the troops of the church, and to dispose the *Romans* to receive him in an honour-
 able manner, they having a few months before revolted against their tribune *Rienzo*, and put
 him to death. *Charles*, in the mean time, residing at *Mantua*, tried to conclude a peace be-
 twixt the confederates of *Tuscany*, and the nephews of the archbishop *Vicenti*, whom that
 prelate, who died a few weeks before, had left heirs of his extensive conquests. As he had
 no forces to compel the parties to agree to an accommodation, his endeavours were ineffectual;
 however, having granted several articles unworthy of his dignity, he procured a truce betwixt f
 them till the month of *May* following. Proceeding then to *Milan*, he was crowned with the
 iron crown in that city on the 6th of *January*; and receiving some money from the *Vicenti*,
 for confirming to them the vicariate of the empire in the territories they then possessed, he
 went from thence with great dispatch for *Pisa*. *Innocent*, in consequence of the embassy of
 the emperor, appointed the cardinal bishop of *Ostia* to perform the ceremony of the conse-
 cration, together with two other cardinals who solicited that office. As the conclave refused
 to bear the expences of the cardinals, and *Charles* was not able, those two who were so earnest
 in soliciting the deputation refused to go, on which account the pope appointed the legate
Ægidius to assist *Bertrandi* bishop of *Ostia*, who, having received his commission in the begin-
 ning of *February*, set out for *Italy*, and joined the emperor at *Pisa*ⁿ.

^k VILLAN. c. 81, & 89.^l BZOV. AN. 1356.^m REEDORFF in ANNAL. WALING. in EDW. III.ⁿ VILLAN. l. iii. c. 103. l. iv. c. 71.

- a CHARLES, soon after leaving *Pisa*, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Rome* with an army of 5,000 *Germans* and 10,000 *Italians*; and, having appointed *Easter* for the day of his coronation, he, on *Good Friday*, with some of his nobles, entered the city in the habit of pilgrims, and took a view of the principal edifices and churches. Two days after he marched into the city in a grand procession; and, being received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, he was crowned emperor by cardinal *Bertrandi*, in the church of *St. Peter*. According to his promise to the pope, he marched out of the city the same day, and refused to accept of the government of *Rome* offered him by the *Romans*. It appearing from this proceeding, and from his after-conduct, that he quite abandoned all the rights of the empire in *Italy*, he quickly lost his reputation, and was treated with great indignity by those, who, if he had asserted his own rights, would have been his firmest friends. At *Sienna* he held a long conference with the pope's legate; and, instead of accepting of the allegiance of the *Gibelines*, granted some troops to *Ægidius*, to assist him in quelling that faction. In consequence of these proceedings, finding himself odious to the *Italians*, he quitted that kingdom, and in the month of *July* retired with about 2000 men into *Germany*.^o

Receives the imperial crown from cardinal Bertrandi at Rome.

- WHILE the emperor was thus dishonouring himself by his conduct in *Italy*, the grand company of *Ancona* having lost their chief, *Moriale*, who was surprised and executed by the tribune *Rienzo* at *Rome*, they conferred the command on the count *di Lando*; and, after having served several months in the pay of the *Lombard* states, marched into *Romagna*, demanding a contribution of 30,000 florins of gold; but, upon receiving 12,000, they were prevailed upon to quit that province, and marched into *Ancona*. From thence they sent and demanded a contribution of 40,000 florins of gold from *Lewis* king of *Naples*, and, upon his refusal, they entered his kingdom, and immediately took *Pescara*, *Villa Franca*, and *San Fabiano*, and threatened to join the duke of *Durazzo*, who was then in rebellion^p. Mean while great disorders happened at the pope's court at *Avignon*, the cardinal *Perigort*, upon a contest about precedency, having raised a tumult, in which some persons were killed, while other young cardinals took some young married women from their husbands by violence, and kept them publicly in their houses. *Innocent*, being informed of their infamous proceedings, reproved them in the consistory, and threatened to transfer his court to *Rome*.^q

The grand company of Ancona ravages Italy.

- ABOUT the same time he received an embassy from *John Paleologus*, who, by the voluntary abdication of his governor *Cantacuzenus*, had at length obtained the possession of the empire of *Constantinople*. The emperor solicited earnestly the assistance of the pope and the western princes against the *Turks*; and, in order to obtain his request, he promised an intire submission to the apostolic see, to send his eldest son to *Avignon*, as a security for his fidelity, and to assign a palace in *Constantinople* for the residence of the pope's nuncio, and three colleges for masters to teach the *Latin* tongue, which the sons of the *Greek* nobles should be compelled to learn. *Innocent*, the following year, sent two bishops to *Constantinople*, and wrote to the emperor to make the same confession before them, in the presence of the patriarch and a full assembly, in one of the chief churches, as he had wrote in his letter. The emperor agreed without difficulty to this proposal of the pope, who thereupon wrote to the kings of *Cyprus* and *Hungary*, to the doge of *Venice*, the senate and people of *Genoa*, and to the master of the knights of *Rhodes*, desiring them to assist the *Greek* emperor with arms, men, and money^r.

The Greek emperor solicits the assistance of the pope. A.D. 1356.

- ABOUT the same time, being informed that the king of *France* had been defeated by the *English* at *Poitiers*, and taken prisoner, with his son, and several of his nobles, he sent the abbot of *Cluny*, and the cardinal of *Perigort*, to the emperor *Charles*, desiring him to intercede for the liberty of the king, and to offer his mediation to conclude a peace betwixt *France* and *England*. In consequence of the pope's endeavours to procure a reconciliation, some *English* deputies arrived at *Metz*, and were present at a diet held in that city at *Christmas*, but nothing was concluded on with regard to a peace.

- f MEAN while the kingdom of *Italy* continued still to be desolated by intestine wars, the grand company, under the command of *Lando*, ravaging and plundering *Naples*; while the two *Vicenti* at *Milan*, having poisoned their elder brother, still continued their wars against the other princes or tyrants of *Lombardy*. At the same time *Ægidius* the legate having recovered by arms almost all the patrimony of the church, except *Forli* and *Faenza*, which were held by *Francis Ordelaffus* and *John* and *Richard Manfred*, he ordered them and their adherents to be excommunicated, and condemned as heretics, publishing a crusade against them, with the same indulgences as were given to those who fought against the *Saracens*. Having by this means greatly increased his army, he soon obliged the two *Manfreds* to surrender; but *Ordelaffus* still refused to submit, and, in contempt of his fulminations, made effigies of the pope.

Great confusions in Italy;

^o Idem, l. v. c. 14, 15. 20. 29.

^p VILLAN. l. iv. c. 15. 19. 23. 40. 58. 79.

^q Idem, c. 86.

^r BZOV. & WADDING. hoc an.

which is
ravaged by
the troops of
the Visconti.

who gain a
victory over
the confede-
rates.
Italy likewise
ravaged by
the Turks.

and cardinals, whom he excommunicated; and, having apprehended some of the crusaders, he imprinted the figure of a cross with a red-hot iron, upon the soles of their feet. He was encouraged in his opposition by the *Visconti*, who were jealous of the growing authority of the legate; and, seizing the priest, whom he had sent to publish the crusade in *Milan*, ordered him to be inclosed in an iron grate, and roasted to death, expelling likewise the bishop of *Parma*, who had granted his protection to the priest. Their troops at the same time ravaging their neighbouring states, several cities of *Lombardy* entered into a league against them, and took into their pay the grand company of *Lando*, who, having received a large sum from the king of *Naples*, had quitted that kingdom, and were then ravaging the territory of *Ravenna*. The emperor also, being desirous of humbling the *Visconti*, had left the bishop of *Augusta* at *Pisa*, with a secret commission, as his vicar in *Italy*, ordering him not to act unless he saw a probability of success. The bishop, who had a great reputation in military affairs, thought proper at this time to publish his commission; and, being appointed general of the grand company, and the other troops of the confederates, he summoned the *Visconti* to answer for the many outrages they had committed against the empire and the church. They despising his citation, he advanced with his troops, and ravaged the territory of *Milan*; but, being surprised by the *Visconti*, he was, after a desperate engagement, intirely defeated, and taken prisoner, together with *Lando*, and several other chief officers*. To complete the devastation of *Italy*, this year, according to *Villani*, the *Turks* first invaded that kingdom, at the invitation of one of the nobles of *Romagna*. Having landed their troops from seventy vessels, and a great many smaller barks, they ravaged the country in a miserable manner, and re embarked without meeting with any disturbance^c.

A. D. 1337.

THE pope, in the mean time, being informed that *Peter* king of *Castile* had seized the revenues of cardinal *Ægidius* in his kingdom, from a persuasion that that prelate had been the chief adviser of the ecclesiastical censures that had been denounced against him, *Innocent* reprehended the king for his proceeding, and declared, that, as the cardinals were employed together with the pope in governing the universal church, they ought to be reputed as residing upon their benefices^a. As *Peter* was likewise at war with the king of *Arragon*, and they had both called in the *Moors* to their assistance, *Innocent* sent a cardinal as his legate into *Spain*, who concluded a truce betwixt the two kings for fifteen months. But, the truce being quickly violated by the king of *Castile*, the legate denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict^d.

Innocent fortifies
Avignon
against an
army of rob-
bers.

DURING these proceedings of the legate in *Spain*, *Innocent* was alarmed with a progress of a numerous troop of banditti, commanded by one *Arnold* of *Gascony*, an arch-priest, who, in imitation of the grand company in *Italy*, ravaged the southern parts of *France*, and raised contributions upon the people. As they approached *Avignon*, the pope caused the city to be fortified against their attempts; but he was freed from his alarms by a message from *Arnold* the captain, declaring that he had no intention of invading his territories^e. About the same time *Innocent* recalled his legate *Ægidius* from *Italy*, and sent *Androinus* abbot of *Cluny* as his successor; but as *Ægidius* had provided every thing for the attack of *Ordelauffus*, he was prevailed upon by the abbot to continue with the army for several months, during which time he reduced *Cesena*, with several other towns; and having, by money and ecclesiastical censures, prevailed upon the grand company of *Lando*, which was sent against him, to return to *Lombardy*, in the month of *August* he laid siege to *Forli*, and, leaving the management of the rest of the war to *Androinus*, he returned to *Avignon*, where he was received with great honours by the pope and the cardinals. *Androinus*, having continued the siege for some time after the departure of *Ægidius*, was at length obliged to raise it by the approach of winter, and the vigorous defence of the besieged. In the beginning of the spring he again invested the city; but *Ordelauffus*, during the winter, having strengthened the garrison with part of *Lando's* company, his efforts to gain the place were rendered ineffectual.

The legate
Ægidius quits
the command
of the pope's
army in *Italy*.
1358.

The grand
company are
defeated.

WHILE his army was engaged in the siege of *Forli*, the grand company, intending to pass into *Tuscany*, contrary to a treaty that they had made with the *Florentines*, were defeated in the passes of the *Appennines* by the inhabitants of those mountains, and *Lando* himself taken prisoner. The two peasants, who had seized *Lando*, being prevailed upon by a promise of 2000 florins to set him at liberty, he immediately repaired to the remains of his company in *Romagna*, and, being greatly exasperated against the *Florentines*, he used all means to reinforce his company, with the intention of invading *Tuscany*, and ravaging the territories of *Florence*. *Androinus* in the mean time being obliged to raise the siege of *Forli*, and being unsuccessful in several other attempts, *Innocent* again sent *Ægidius* into *Italy*. About the same time the bishop of *Ely* in *England* arriving at *Avignon*, and complaining that he had been tried and imprisoned by the king's judges, contrary to the privileges of ecclesiastics,

Difference be-
tween the pope
and the king of
England.

* VILLAN. l. vi. c. 23. 28. 75.
c. 87, & 96. l. viii. c. 8. 54. 96.

* VILLAN. c. 30.

^a BZOV. hoc ar.

^w VILLAN. l. vii.

a the pope ordered the whole process to be transmitted to him by the judges, under pain of excommunication if they refused. The judges not only refused to obey the pope's mandate, but one of them even imprisoned his nuncio; which *Innocent* being informed of, he immediately excommunicated them, ordering the bishop of *Lincoln*, and some other prelates, not to allow the bodies of the judges, if they should die, to be buried in consecrated ground. This proceeding of the pope greatly offended the king; and soon after, having apprehended some persons who had delivered an apostolic letter to his treasurer, he ordered them to be put to death^{*}.

THE usurpations of the see of *Rome* this year likewise met with an opposition in *Germany*, where *Innocent* had sent the bishop of *Cavaillon*, as his nuncio, to raise the tythe of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the use of the apostolic see. This extraordinary subsidy was refused by the clergy of *Triers*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*; and the following year the emperor held a diet of the princes of the empire at *Mentz*, to deliberate upon the demand of the pope. With the consent of the princes, *Charles* declared to the nuncio, that the clergy of *Germany* could not submit to the proposed tax; and at the same time asked the bishop, with some warmth, why the pope was so earnest in demanding money, and so negligent in reforming the pride and dissoluteness of the clergy? He then addressed himself to the archbishop of *Mentz*, and strictly ordered him to reform his clergy according to the canons, especially with regard to their luxurious living, and the vanity of their dress; and if any ecclesiastic should prove refractory, he ordained that the revenues of his benefice should be confiscated, and disposed of according to the pleasure of the pope[†]. *Innocent*, by the return of the nuncio, being informed of the determination of the diet, dissembled his resentment for the denial of the tythe, and sent other nuncios into the provinces of the empire, with orders to collect the half of the revenue of all vacant benefices for two years, for the use of the apostolic see. But, thinking the ecclesiastical liberty violated by the endeavours of the emperor to reform the clergy, he wrote to *Charles*, commending him for his zeal, but at the same time desiring him to desist from the secular sequestration of benefices, and to restore those that were already confiscated, contenting himself with desiring the prelates to chastise their irregular clergy. *Innocent* likewise wrote to all the archbishops of *Germany*, ordering them to correct and punish their clergy who were guilty of irregularities. In consequence of these letters of the pope, d the emperor soon after published a bull, annulling all that had been done against the ecclesiastics, and confirming to them, under the notion of privileges, a great many exemptions, incompatible with the welfare of society[‡]. Having thus gratified the pope, he sent to him, desiring him to cancel some bulls in the *Clementine* constitutions, that were derogatory to the honour of the empire. It was not the temper of the court of *Rome* to part with any usurpation; accordingly *Innocent* replied, that as those bulls were part of the canon law, and publicly taught in the schools, he could not suppress them[§].

MEAN while *Androinus*, abbot of *Cluny*, having returned from *Italy*, was sent as legate to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*; which he at last effected, a peace being concluded by his mediation on the 8th of *May*, and confirmed by the apostolic see the following. By this peace, the king of *France* obtained his liberty, on condition of paying three millions of gold; but, as his kingdom was greatly exhausted by the long and destructive war, to raise part of this money he condescended to contract an alliance with the *Visconti* of *Milan*, giving his daughter *Isabel* to *John* the son of *Galeas Visconti* for 600,000 florins of gold. While *Galeas* was thus employed in aggrandizing his family by an alliance with *France*, his brother *Bernabo* was besieging the city of *Bologna*, which, notwithstanding the treaty lately concluded betwixt his uncle and the pope, the legate *Ægidius* had made himself master of. As the forces of *Bernabo* were very numerous, the pope solicited the assistance of the emperor against him; he likewise invited the king of *Hungary* to succour the church; and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the two *Visconti*, and their adherents. f *Galeas Visconti*, declaring that he did not approve of his brother's proceedings, was quickly absolved from the sentence; but *Bernabo*, despising the pope's fulmination, to shew his own superiority, ordered three other places belonging to the church to be besieged at the same time; by which means he obliged the pope to an accommodation, and to consent to pay him a tribute of 20,000 florins for five years. This peace was quickly broken by *Bernabo*, who again besieged *Bologna*, and renewed his hostilities against other places of the ecclesiastical state. The pope, finding himself still too weak to oppose his arms, again solicited the emperor to interest himself in the affairs of *Italy*, in behalf of the church; while his legate *Ægidius* went over into *Hungary*, to procure assistance from that kingdom. *Charles*, at the solicitation of the pope, published an imperial edict, ordering *Bernabo* to desist from hostilities,

* WALSING. in Edw. III. HARPSFIELD, secul. 14. c. 29.

‡ Mag. Chron. Belg. sub Carol. IV. Tom. rer. Germ. Lindenburg.

† NAUCLER. Gen. 46. SPOND. Annal.

§ RAINALD. ad an. 1359.

under pain of being deprived of all the dignities he had received from the empire. But as a this edict was not supported by any troops, it was despised by *Bernabo*; however, *Galeot Malatesta*, soon after, having entered *Bologna* with a strong reinforcement, made a successful ally against the enemy, and obliged him to raise the siege.

Great commo-
tions in Rome.

DURING these disturbances in *Lombardy*, the city of *Rome* was again divided into factions, occasioned by the fickleness and instability of the people in the change of senators, who were neither contented with nobles nor plebeians in that dignity. To put an end to those divisions, the pope ordered his legate to appoint a stranger as their senator; accordingly, that dignity was conferred for six months on *Raimund of Siena*. The *Romans* were quickly disgusted with this form of government, and chose for themselves seven reformers of the commonwealth; but the pope, disapproving of their proceeding, appointed the king of *Cyprus* as their senator, b who had come into *Europe* to demand assistance against the *Turks*. The king dying soon after, the bishop of *Fermo* was appointed rector of *Rome*, and the count of *Fondi* was ordered to quell the seditious by arms^b. Mean while the kingdom of *France* being ravaged by great troops of robbers, who plundered the provinces under different leaders, *Innocent* being apprehensive lest they should attack *Avignon*, ordered a crusade to be preached against them, and appointed the bishop of *Ostia* as general of the crusaders^c. The following year the plague again appeared in several places in *Europe*, and in *Egypt* and *Syria*. In *Milan* it raged with great violence, and, according to *Villani*, it carried off eleven cardinals and a great number of people at *Avignon*^d. *Innocent* himself did not long survive, but died the next year, on the 13th of *September*. A few months before his death, the *Romans* having revolted against c their governor, and chose one *Lelius Bonadota*, a shoemaker, as their senator, he, by the assistance of the people, expelled the greatest part of the nobility and gentlemen from the city. But, as the exiles assembled an army to revenge themselves on the opposite faction, the *Romans* again submitted to the pope, on condition that cardinal *Ægidius* should not have any authority over them^e (L).

Innocent dies
at Avignon.
A. D. 1362.

Urban V.
is elected pope.

A FEW days after the death of *Innocent*, the cardinals, to the number of twenty, entered the conclave, to chuse a successor. Fifteen of them gave their votes for a cardinal of the order of *St. Benedict*; but he refusing to accept of the pontificate, the cardinals, on the 28th of *October*, unanimously chose *William Grimoaldi*, a *Benedictine*, and abbot of *St. Victor*, of *Marseilles*. As the abbot was then absent in *Italy*, the cardinals wrote to him to come d immediately to *Avignon*, but concealed his election till his arrival; a few days after which, on the 7th of *November*, he was consecrated pope, and took the name of *Urban V*. Having, according to custom, informed the emperor, and other kings and princes, of his promotion, he immediately ordered all the bishops at *Avignon* to return to their own sees, and published severe edicts against luxury in dress, as he himself continued to wear his monastic habit underneath his pontifical ornaments, and never laid aside the hard bed and parsimonious living proper to his order. He likewise abolished a privilege which the cardinals claimed, of affording a sanctuary in their houses to those who fled thither, after committing any atrocious crime. A few weeks after his promotion, he received a visit from the king of *France*; together with that prince came the deputies of *Bernabo of Milan*, who desired a peace with e the holy see. *Urban* refused to grant their request, unless *Bernabo* restored all the territories that he had usurped from the see of *Rome*, and, by a true penitence, declared his submission to the church. Continuing firm in his resolution, notwithstanding the intercession of the king of *France*, that prince departed dissatisfied from *Avignon*; and *Urban* soon after published a bull against *Bernabo*, accusing him of heresy and schism, and many other horrid crimes; ordering him, under pain of excommunication, to justify himself before the first of *March*. This bull was sent to the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, of *Italy*, and, according to *Villani*, was published at *Florence* on the 29th of *January*; but, *Bernabo* neglecting the citation, *Urban*, on the 4th of *March*, held a public consistory, in which he declared him ex- f communicated, and deprived, together with all his posterity, of all honour and jurisdiction^f. He likewise freed his wife, as being a Christian woman, from the bond of marriage, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and granted indulgences to all those who would take up the cross against him. By this proceeding *Urban* greatly offended the king of *France*, who had

*He excommu-
nicates and de-
poses Bernabo.*
1363.

^b BLOND. D. ii. l. x. VILLAN. l. ix. c. 87. BZOV. hoc an. i. c. 214, 215. WALSING. in Edw. III. ^d VILLAN. l. ix. c. 107. l. x. c. 38. 46. l. xi. c. 57. ^e Idem, l. xi. c. 25. ^f VILLAN. c. 31. 41. 44. SPOND. Annal.

(L) *Innocent*, before his promotion to the pontificate, was persuaded by the insinuations of some people, that the famous *Petrarch* was addicted to magical arts; but, being afterwards undeceived, he solicited him by letters and presents, to come to *Avignon* to be his secretary. *Petrarch* excused himself from accepting of that honour on account of his great age, and his love for a retired life (1).

(1) *Petrarch*. l. i. *Senil*. 3.

a returned to *Avignon* to intercede for *Bernabo*; he likewise disgusted several cardinals, who received secret pensions from the *Vicenti*, to support their interest at the court of *Avignon*^g. *Bernabo*, in contempt of this sentence, marched with an army into the territory of *Modena*, against the confederates; but his troops, from too great security, allowing themselves to be surprised, were defeated with great loss.

ABOUT the time he received this check in *Italy*, the king of *France*, with *Peter* king of *Cyprus*, and *Waldemar* III. king of *Denmark*; being at *Avignon*, mutually bound themselves to undertake an expedition against the *Turks* within two years, and, together with many other nobles, received the cross from the hands of the pope. This crusade was owing to the solicitation of the king of *Cyprus*, whose kingdom had been several years ravaged by the *Turks*; and the pope, being desirous to interest the *German* princes in his defence, wrote to the emperor and the *German* nobles, exhorting them to undertake an expedition against the infidels; but his letters had no effect upon *Charles*, who was threatened with a war from the king of *Hungary*. As both parties were preparing for hostilities, *Urban* sent a nuncio into *Bohemia* and *Hungary* to prevent a rupture, by whose mediation *Charles* was prevailed upon to give satisfaction to the king of *Hungary*, and promised to marry his cousin *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Bogestas* duke of *Pomerania*. Accordingly, the following year, the peace being confirmed by the pope's legate sent for that purpose, the marriage was celebrated at *Cracow* with great magnificence.

DURING these transactions in *Poland*, a peace was likewise concluded betwixt the pope and *Bernabo Vicenti*, owing chiefly to his defeat at *Modena*, and an edict of the emperor, who, from his usual complaisance to the pope, had ordered all the vicars of the empire to join their arms to those of the legate. The kings of *France* and *Cyprus* likewise acting as mediators, *Androinus*, lately created a cardinal, was sent to *Milan*, and concluded a treaty in the beginning of *March*, by which *Bernabo* ceded all the forts which he possessed in the territories of *Bologna*, *Modena*, and *Romagna*, to the holy see; and the pope absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, and, in consideration of the forts lately built, promised to pay him 500,000 florins of gold within eight years^h. Mean while the grand companies of robbers still increasing in *France*, *Urban* renewed his menaces and fulminations against them; in consequence of which several parties of them were routed; and the rest, to the number of 30,000 of various nations, were prevailed upon to march into *Spain* to the assistance of *Henry*, who had rebelled against his brother the king of *Castile*ⁱ.

THE following year *Urban* sent a legate to the emperor of *Constantinople*, to exhort him to an union with the *Roman* church, and to preach up a crusade against the *Turks* and *Saracens*. As *John Lusignan*, a relation of the king of *Cyprus*, at this time raised pretensions to the kingdom of *Armenia*, which he claimed by hereditary right, *Urban* also wrote to the prelates and nobles of that kingdom in favour of *John*, and exhorted them to reject the errors of the *Nestorians*, and others, and to embrace the purity of the catholic faith^k. A few weeks after, the emperor *Charles* arrived at *Avignon*, and was most honourably received by the pope, with whom he had several private conferences. According to *Corius*, *Urban* likewise crowned *Charles* king of *Arles*, in the city of that name, and promised the empire to his son *Wenceslaus*^l. Upon their return to *Avignon*, the pope held a solemn assembly, at which were present, besides the emperor, *Peter* king of *Cyprus*, and several other princes. *Peter* proposed to attack the infidels in *Egypt*; but the emperor opposed his opinion, and offered to march at the head of an army against *Amurath*, emperor of the *Turks*, who, by the assistance of the *Genoese*, had passed the *Hellespont*, and entered *Thrace* with an army of 100,000 men. This proposal was opposed by the count of *Savoy*, who declared, that it was more necessary to retake *Gallipoli*, and by that means cut off supplies from those *Turks* that had already entered *Europe*. The different opinions of the princes prevented any general enterprise from being concluded upon: *Charles*, however, promised to march into *Italy* at the head of an army, to reduce the *Vicenti*; in consideration of which engagement the pope granted him the tythes of the ecclesiastical revenues in *Bohemia* and *Germany*.

THE princes retiring from *Avignon* to their different dominions, *Urban* soon after published a bull, ordering all the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, in *Christendom*, to hold provincial councils for restoring ecclesiastical discipline; and, for that purpose, ordered all prelates, under pain of excommunication, to reside in their proper dioceses, and to apply themselves diligently to the pastoral charge. He likewise prohibited any ecclesiastic from joining in marriage *Edmund* the son of the king of *England*, with *Margaret* the heiress of *Flanders*, although she had been betrothed to him by her father. This prohibition was owing to the pope's attachment to his native kingdom; for he soon after granted a dispensation for the marriage of the heiress with the duke of *Burgundy*, brother of the king of *France*^m. About

^g Idem ibid.

^h VILLAN. l. xi. c. 64.

ⁱ FROSSARD. l. i. c. 230. PETRAR. Senil. l. vii.

^k Bzov. hoc an.

^l CORIUS, Par. iii.

^m TIL. de reg. Franc. MEYER. an. 1368.

The kings of France, Denmark, and Cyprus, take the cross.

The pope's legate concludes a peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Hungary.

A. D. 1364. A peace betwixt the pope and Bernabo.

The pope sends a legate to the emperor of Constantinople; 1365.

who promises
to submit to
the Roman
church.

A. D. 1566.

the same time, having received letters from the emperor of *Constantinople*, who promised to accomplish the union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, on condition of receiving assistance from the western princes against the *Turks*, *Urban* wrote to him, informing him, that *Lewis* king of *Hungary* was marching with a strong army to his assistance; and that the king of *Cyprus*, who, after his departure to *Avignon*, had sailed from *Venice* with a considerable army of crusaders, and taken *Alexandria*, intended to sail from *Thrace* against the *Turks*: he then exhorted him not any longer to delay the union from false pretences, but speedily submit to the *Roman* church, otherwise he would look upon him and the *Greeks* as heathens, and would give them no farther assistance. This letter was carried by the count of *Savoy*, who besieged *Varna*, the capital of *Bulgaria*, where the emperor was imprisoned, and took *Gallipoli* by assault. The emperor, having recovered his liberty, went to the king of *Hungary* at *Buda*, to whom he promised with an oath, that both he and his sons *Manuel* and *Michael* would submit to the *Roman* church, and fulfil whatever the pope should think necessary for their reconciliation. *Urban*, being informed of his submission by his chancellor and the bishop of *Nitria*, wrote to the emperor to persevere in his resolution; and sent him the form of the profession of faith, and abjuration of schism, formerly used by the emperor *Paleologus* on a like occasion. When the *Greek* chancellor returned, he likewise sent with him two legatees, to complete the union, and to exhort the king of *Hungary* to a sacred expeditionⁿ, and to give his assistance in putting an end to the schism. *Lewis* seems to have been very zealous in the service of the *Roman* church; for, having conquered *Bulgaria*, he sent for 2000 *Franciscans* to convert his new subjects. The vicar of *Bosnia* sent him eight, who in fifty days baptized upwards of 200,000 people^o.

Urban pro-
poses to return
to Rome.

1567.

He embarks at
Marseilles.

Is received in
Italy with
great joy.

URBAN, before he arrived at the pontificate, had expressed a great desire that the residence of the popes might be again transferred to *Rome*. After his promotion, continuing in the same sentiments, which were confirmed by a letter from *Petrarch*, he this year wrote to the doges of *Venice* and *Genoa*; desiring their galleys to conduct him to *Rome*, it being impossible to enter *Italy* by land, as the *Vicenti* then guarded the passes of the *Alps*, by several troops of the banditti who had entered into their service^p. In the mean time he sent a legate into *Spain*, to reconcile the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*; but his journey had no effect, for besides the war with *Arragon*, *Peter* of *Castile* was attacked by his rebellious subjects, who, being assisted by the banditti from *France*, obliged him to fly the kingdom. In consequence of the pope's desire, in the beginning of the following year, several galleys arrived at *Marseilles* from *Naples*, *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Pisa*; which *Urban* being informed of, he left *Avignon* on the last day of *April*, not without a great many reproaches from his court, who had no inclination to return to *Italy*^q. Having embarked at *Marseilles*, he arrived four days after at *Genoa*; and, proceeding next day on his voyage, on the 4th of *June* he landed at *Corneto* in *Tuscany*, where he was met by cardinal *Ægidius*, and received an embassy from the *Romans*, with the keys of the castle of *St. Angelo*. A few days after he went to *Viterbo*, the inhabitants of which city received him with great respect; but they soon changed their disposition, and attacked the *French* cardinals, who were obliged to fly for refuge to the pope's palace. They quickly repented of their rashness; and, having obtained pardon from the pope, ordered the chiefs of the tumult to be put to death. *Urban*, after continuing four months at *Viterbo*, proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received by the clergy and the people with the greatest honours. Before he left *Viterbo*, he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance for seven years with the king of *Hungary*, the dukes of *Austria*, and several *Italian* princes, with the design of opposing the ambition of the *Vicenti*, and securing the quiet possession of the conquests of *Ægidius*; in consequence of which he was now regarded not as an imaginary, but as a real temporal prince. In that city he likewise received another embassy from the *Greek* emperor; to which he returned an answer after his arrival at *Rome*, writing to the *Greek* patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Jerusalem*, commending them for their intention of finishing the schism, and inviting them to come to *Rome*, together with their emperor. *Urban* received also a letter of congratulation from *Petrarch*, praising him for his return to *Rome*, and earnestly exhorting him to restore the church to its antient purity^r. To this end, according to *Spondanus*, the pope this year confirmed the order of *Jesuits*, so called from their frequent mention of the name of *Jesus* (M).

ⁿ SPOND. Annal.
^q PETRAR. ut sup.

^o Idem, ex Chron. minor.
^r Idem ix. Senil. i.

^p VILLAN. l. xi. c. 26. PETRAR. Senil. l. vii.

(M) This order was instituted a few years before by *John Colombino*, a nobleman, who, separating himself by consent from his wife, embraced a life of austerity, and, by his fervent discourses, quickly made many profelytes. Having attended the pope from *Corneto* to *Vi-*

terbo, he obtained from him the confirmation of his order, and the regulation of the dress of the monks who professed the rule of *St. Augustin*, and were called the *Jesuit* friars of *St. Jerom* (1).

(1) *Bergom. l. xiv.*

a ABOUT the same time, being informed that *Peter* king of *Castile*, after defeating the re- Difference be-
bels, had again got possession of his kingdom, and exercised great cruelty towards the eccle- twixt him and
siastics, he sent a legate to *Spain*, who, drawing the king to a conference upon the bank of a the king of
river, read the pope's letter, and, from a boat, declared him excommunicated; immediately Castile.
after which he sailed down the river, and escaped. The king was so greatly exasperated at
this proceeding of the legate, that he pursued him into the water on horseback; but, return-
ing from his pursuit, he declared, that he would shake off the yoke of the pope, and persuade
the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon* to do the same: he threatened likewise to revenge the in-
sult by a war, and made great preparations by sea and land; which *Urban* being informed of,
he thought proper to take off the former censures, and sent a cardinal to *Spain*, who accom-
b modated all differences, upon certain conditions not very honourable for the holy see^s. Mean A. D. 1368.
while the pope caused several churches of *Rome* to be repaired; and prohibited, under severe
penalties, the concealing or stealing of relics. In the beginning of the spring he received a
visit from *Jean* queen of *Sicily*, and from the king of *Cyprus*, who were both treated with
great honours. Soon after, to avoid the great heats, he retired to *Monte Fiascone*, where he
published a bull against *Bernabo Visconti*, who continued to ravage *Lombardy* with great in-
humanity and cruelty.

As the pope had long solicited the emperor to enter *Italy*, and had concluded his bull with
imploping his assistance against *Bernabo*, *Charles* informed him, that he had assembled an The emperor
army with an intention of passing the *Alps*. The pope, being still apprehensive of a visit confirms the
c from the *Germans*, immediately desired his nuncio to ask an imperial confirmation of the rights rights of the
of the church, which was granted without any hesitation by the emperor, in a very ample church,
manner. This security being given, *Charles* entered *Italy* with a considerable army, and and enters
joined that of the pope, consisting of 20,000 men. *Verona* and *Vicenza* were quickly obliged Italy with
to surrender, which determined *Bernabo* to sue for peace. A treaty was accordingly con- an army.
cluded, by which *Bernabo* agreed to evacuate all the places that belonged to the holy see, or to
the *Italian* nobles, who were vassals and allies of the empire; to give no protection to the
banditti that served in his troops; and to appear personally before the pope, to ask pardon for
his crimes, and to receive absolution. This treaty being confirmed, the emperor published an
edict, revoking the privileges of the cities and nobles who had adhered to *Bernabo*; however,
d upon receiving considerable sums of money, he made no difficulty of restoring them their an-
tient rights, with several new ones. All differences in *Lombardy* being thus accommodated,
Charles proceeded to *Viterbo*, where he had an interview with the pope, who was then re-
turning to *Rome*. Upon the pope's arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, the emperor
led his horse by the bridle as far as the church of *St. Peter*. A few days after, the empress
arriving at *Rome*, the pope crowned her at the altar of *St. Peter*; after which cere-
mony the emperor retired to *Tuscany*, where he continued several months; but, finding him-
self despised by the *Italians*, he appointed the bishop of *Porto* as his vicar in *Italy*, and return-
ed to *Germany*.

AFTER the departure of the emperor from *Rome*, *Urban* published a bull, confirming the Urban pub-
e liberty of ecclesiastics, prohibiting under pain of excommunication and interdict, all laymen lishes a bull in
from punishing the clergy, under any pretence whatever. The following year he again left favour of ec-
the city, on account of the heats; and, while he continued at *Viterbo*, the *Greek* emperor clesiastical
arrived at *Rome*, where, in the presence of the bishop of *Ostia*, and three other cardinals liberty.
commissioned by the pope, besides many other witnesses, he made a profession of all the ar- 1369.
ticles of the *Roman* faith, which doctrine he swore upon the holy gospels always to acknow-
ledge and believe. *Urban*, being informed that the emperor had confirmed the union, imme-
diately hastened to *Rome*. He was met without the city by *Paleologus*, who, after having The Greek
kissed his feet, led his horse by the bridle as far as the *Vatican* church, where he held the stir- emperor ar-
rup while his holiness alighted, and afterwards renewed his profession before the altar of *St.* ries at
f *Peter*. In consideration of these concessions, when the emperor began to talk of receiving Rome, and
succours, *Urban* recommended him to the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, and gave him leave to treat abjures the
with *John Hawkwood*, an *Englishman*, who, after the death of *Lando*, had succeeded to the schism.
chief command of the banditti, and had rendered his name respected in *Italy* by his military
exploits, but was then under a sentence of excommunication on account of the assistance he
had given to *Visconti*, who had again renewed his hostilities^t. The emperor's negotiations with
Hawkwood had no effect, for that captain preferred the plunder of *Italy* to the honour of
fighting against the *Turks*. What was his success with the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, is uncer-
tain(N); but we find he did not quit *Italy* till the following year, as there is a bull extant,
dated

^s MARIAN. l. xvii. cap. 10, & seq.^t SPOND. Annal. VILLAN. l. 9—11.

(N) *Chalcondyles*, mentioning the emperor's journey but says, when he went to *Venice* to ask assistance, he
to *Italy*, is quite silent as to the transactions at *Rome*; could obtain nothing but a loan of money from the
usurers:

A. D. 1370: dated at *Rome* the 20th of *January*, wherein he confirms his former profession^a. After his departure, *Urban* created *William* of *Prato*, a *Franciscan*, archbishop of *Cambalu*, and sent him with twelve other *Franciscans* to preach the gospel in the kingdom of *Cathay*. He afterwards commissioned sixty other friers of the same order, and wrote to the Great Khân, and to the princes and people of *Tartary*, exhorting them to embrace the Christian faith. He likewise invited the Vaivode of *Walachia* to forsake the schism; and wrote to the *Greek* prelates and clergy, exhorting them to follow the example of their emperor. By the mediation of the emperor, he again granted a peace to *Bernabo*; but he prohibited *Frederic*, the possessor of *Sicily*, from contracting an alliance with the *Viconti*, by a marriage betwixt their children^w. About the same time he threatened to summon the king of *England* to answer at *Rome*, for neglecting to pay the allegiance and tribute due to the holy see, according to the concession of his predecessor king *John*. The bishop of *Ely*, the chancellor of the kingdom, informing the parliament of these menaces of the pope, they unanimously decreed, that the king was not bound by that extorted concession of *John*; and that, if the pope should proceed any further in his demand, they would oppose him to the utmost of their power. The parliament likewise renewed the former acts against the conferring of benefices upon foreigners, and the king prohibited any one from paying the tax of *St. Peter*^x. This vigorous opposition of the parliament of *England* obliging the pope at that time to desist from his pretensions, he confirmed the order of *St. Salvator*, instituted by *St. Bridget*, a noble lady of *Sweden*^y; and, at the solicitation of the cardinals, having determined to return to *Avignon*, he appointed two cardinals as his legates in *Italy*, and embarked at *Corneto* for *Marseilles*. He arrived at that city on the 16th of *September*, and a few days after entered *Avignon*, having published, as a reason for his returning, that he intended personally to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*. This accommodation, however, he was prevented from effecting; for, quickly after his return, being seized with sickness, he died at *Avignon*, on the 19th of *December*.

Gregory XI. is chosen pope. 1371. TEN days after the death of *Urban*, the cardinals unanimously chose cardinal *Peter Roger de Maumont*, who had been created a cardinal at seventeen years of age, by his uncle *Clement VI*. As *Peter* was of a tender constitution, and not then forty years of age, he refused for some time to accept of the pontificate; but at length allowing himself to be persuaded by the other cardinals, he was ordained priest on the 4th of *January*, and consecrated the day following, assuming the name of *Gregory XI*. On the day of his election, he wrote to the emperor, and the other sovereigns of *Europe*, informing them of his promotion; and, after his consecration, he sent two legates to the kings of *France* and *England*, to treat of peace; but those princes, being still inflamed with mutual resentment, could not be prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation. *Gregory*, being likewise desirous of reconciling the kings of *Spain*, sent cardinal *Bertrand* thither as his legate, to assist the nuncios who had been commissioned by his predecessor *Urban*. Legates and nuncios were also sent into *Italy* and *Sicily*, to take care of the affairs of the church, and to prevent disturbances in those kingdoms. Mean while the pope having received complaints from *Eymericus*, the inquisitor of the faith in *Arragon*, against some friers, who publicly preached opinions not authorized by the church, he prohibited any one from discoursing publicly upon those doctrines, under pain of excommunication. The friers complained of asserted, that if the consecrated wafer was lost, or devoured by a beast, it ceased to be the body of Christ, and returned to the substance of bread; and that even when taken by a communicant, the real body went to heaven, during the chewing of the wafer; which opinions were believed by several great men before the decree of *Gregory*, who did not absolutely condemn them as heretical, but only prohibited them from being publicly discoursed of^z. *Gregory* about the same time received an embassy from the king of *Denmark*, desiring his assistance against the *Jutlanders*, who had revolted from their allegiance, and chosen another prince. But deputies likewise arriving from the rebels, and representing the oppressions and exactions they suffered from the king, they found means to justify themselves to the pope, who wrote to *Waldemar*, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not alter his conduct with regard to his subjects. This unexpected message

^a SPOND. Annal.^w Idem ibid.^x HARPSFIELD, secul. 14. c. 5.^y ONUPHR. in

Chron. Vit. Brig. ap. SUR. t. 4.

^z Direct. Inquis. EYMER. par. i. WADDING. hoc anno.

usurers: that from thence he went to *France*, where his solicitations were ineffectual. He then returned to *Venice*, with the intention of sailing to *Constantinople*; but, being thrown into prison by his creditors, he wrote to his eldest son *Andronicus*, to remit the money which he owed. This prince, from a desire of retaining the sovereignty, wrote to his father, that it was impossible

to raise the money: however, *Emanuel*, the younger son, hearing of his father's necessity, immediately raised what money he could, and went and offered himself as a hostage for his father till the payment of the whole sum. As this story is not mentioned by any other author, and, as *Chalcondyles* is frequently inaccurate and inconsistent, we think it deserves but little credit (1).

- a from the pope greatly exasperated the king, who immediately returned an answer in these terms: “*Waldemar* the king, to the pope, wisheth health. We hold our life from God, “ our kingdom from our subjects, our wealth from our ancestors, and our faith from your “ predecessors; if you are not our friend, we restore you the faith by this present writing.”
- b GREGORY did not think proper to resent this contempt of the apostolic see by any ecclesiastical censures; but, being solicitous to repress the growing authority of the *Vicenti*, who again attacked the territories of the see of *Rome*, he published a bull, prohibiting any princes or nobles from contracting marriages with them or their children. At the same time having assembled a considerable army, he gave the command of it to *Amadeus* count of *Savoy*; and
- c wrote to the emperor, the princes of *Germany*, and the king of *Hungary*, intreating their assistance in behalf of the church. His solicitations had no effect upon the king of *Hungary* or the *German* princes; but the emperor published a bull, granting a full power to the pope over all the lands and possessions of the *Vicenti*, which they held of the empire, under any title whatever. By this bull the pope was appointed imperial vicar in *Italy* for ten years, with a power of conferring that dignity to others^b. The pope, having thus strengthened his authority in *Italy*, applied himself to put an end to the disputes betwixt *Naples* and *Sicily*; accordingly, by his means a treaty of peace was concluded, whereby *Frederic* was allowed the title of king of *Trinacria*, and *Jean* that of queen of *Sicily*; but *Frederic* and his successors were bound to render homage to the kings of *Sicily*, to pay an annual tribute of 3000 ounces of gold, and to furnish ten galleys and 100 armed knights in case of an invasion of the kingdom of *Naples*^c. Among other conditions, the pope added, that both the kings of *Sicily* and *Trinacria* should pay homage to the holy see, and that the immunities of the clergy should be confirmed by *Frederic*. The articles added by the pope being ratified the following year by *Frederic* and *Jean*, the apostolic nuncio went over into *Sicily*, and took off the sentence of excommunication and interdict from that island. In the mean time *Gregory* having received an embassy from the queen of *Armenia*, intreating the assistance of the *European* princes against the *Turks*, he wrote to her uncle, the prince of *Tarento*, to the master of the knights of *Rhodes*, to the king of *Hungary*, and the doges of *Venice* and *Genoa*, in her behalf. At the same time, being solicitous to stop the progress of the infidels, he exhorted the above-mentioned
- d princes, and the *Greek* emperor, with the king of *Trinacria*, and the bishops and prelates of *Greece*, to assemble the following *October* at *Old Thebes*, to enter into a league against the enemies of Christendom^d; and, to supply the expences of the war, he sent collectors into all the provinces of *Europe*, to raise the taxes due to the apostolic see. *Gregory*, being no less earnest for the extirpation of heresy, animated the emperor and the princes of *Germany* against the heretics called *Begardi* and *Bequini*, who began to appear again in the empire. He likewise ordered the apostolic legate in *Sicily*, and the prelates of that kingdom, to repress the boldness of the *Fratricelli*, the *Dulcini*, and other heretics, who made a great shew of penitence in their lives, and worshipped relics as saints. He wrote to the count of *Savoy* to assist the inquisitors in suppressing the *Turlupines*, so called on account of their immodest tenets, and the depravity of their lives^e; and he ordered the inquisitors in *Arragon* to punish those who taught the doctrines of *Raimund*, a convert from *Judaism*, who asserted, that the devils ought to be worshipped: that, during tortures, it was lawful to deny God by the mouth, provided he was still adored in the heart; and that it was more perfect to be a schismatic than a catholic. In consequence of these orders of the pope, the doctrines of *Raimund* were condemned, and his books committed to the flames. The *Turlupines* were also intirely suppressed, great numbers of that sect having been burnt at *Paris*, and elsewhere^f.
- e THE following year, *Gregory*, in imitation of his predecessor, by circular letters, advised all the bishops and prelates in Christendom to hold provincial and diocesan councils for the reformation of manners, and the restoring the discipline of the church. At the same time he
- f exerted himself in behalf of ecclesiastical liberty, and, on that pretence, refused to grant the demands of the king of *England*, who, in consequence of an act of his parliament, had sent messengers to *Avignon*, requiring the pope to desist from conferring of benefices in *England*; and to leave, according to antient custom, the election of bishops to the clergy, and their confirmation to the metropolitans. The pope sent back the messengers to *England*; and made some demands upon the king, which he required to be granted, before he would hearken to those proposed by the parliament; and in the mean time, by his own authority, supplied the vacancies of some of the chief bishopricks in that kingdom^g. A few months after, the pope, being informed that one *Militzius*, a canon of *Prague*, had raised a sect in *Bohemia*, which maintained that antichrist was already come, and that there was no truth in

He is insulted
by the king of
Denmark.

He sends an
army against
the *Vicenti*;
A. D. 1372.

and concludes
a peace be-
twixt the king
of *Trinacria*
and the queen
of *Naples*.

The pope la-
bours to extir-
pate heresy.

and reform the
discipline of the
church.

1373.

^a PONTAN. rer. Dan. l. viii.
& WADDING. Annal.
20; & 27.

^b Cod. Eccles. Burdegali.

^c Contin. Nangii.

^d Bzov. an. 1372, 1373.

^e MEYER. l. xiii. EYMER. Direct. Inquis. par. ii. q.

^f Bzov. hoc an.

the pope, cardinals, or bishops, but that the way of salvation was only to be found among a them, he wrote to the archbishop of *Prague* to reprove *Militzius* as a heretic, and to punish his followers. About the same time he condemned to the flames an heretical book, intituled, *The Mirror of the Saxons*; and wrote to the archbishops of *Germany*, ordering them to publish his sentence of condemnation.

He concludes a peace with the Viconti, and proposes to return to Rome.

A. D. 1375.

MEAN while his army in *Italy* having gained several advantages over the *Viconti*, they again proposed an accommodation with the holy see; which was accordingly concluded, to the satisfaction of the pope, by the mediation of the dukes of *Austria*. Gregory, believing the peace solidly established in *Italy*, proposed to return to *Rome*, and fixed the time of his departure for the month of *September*, informing the emperor, and the kings of *Hungary*, *Sicily*, and *Trinacria*, and other princes, of his resolution. In the mean time he sent some *Dominicans* b as his nuncios to the *Greek* emperor, to treat with him about the means of prevailing with the *Greeks* to embrace the union with the *Latin* church. He likewise sent the bishop of *Treviso*, with other bishops and *Dominicans*, into *Armenia*; and as the *Walachians*, who had lately abjured the schism, had no proper bishop, he committed the care of them to the archbishops of *Strigonia* and *Kolotza*, and to the king of *Hungary*^h (O). The pope, however, deferred his Italian journey; and the following year, being informed by the bishop of *Treviso*, who, in his way to *Armenia*, had stopped at *Constantinople*, that *Cantacuzenus*, formerly emperor, had been prevailed upon by the *Dominicans* to acknowledge the supremacy of the *Roman* church, he wrote to *Cantacuzenus*, inviting him to *Rome*, and exhorting him to use his authority with the other *Greeks* to embrace the union. To the same purpose he wrote to *Emanuel*, the emperor's younger son, and cautioned him from trusting to the *Turks*, with whom his father had concluded a truce, in consequence of which a great number of infidels had entered *Constantinople*ⁱ.

A general revolt in Italy against the authority of the pope.

MEAN while the great superiority which the pope had acquired in *Italy*, by the inactivity of the emperor, and the success of the arms of his legates, was in great danger of being wholly ruined, by a general revolt of the cities subject to the holy see, occasioned by the tyrannical government of the legates, who not only oppressed their new subjects by grievous subsidies and exactions, but likewise built strong forts in each of their towns. The *Florentines*, at that time very rich and powerful, were the first who rose against the church, alleging, that the legates had prevented their city from receiving a supply of provisions during a great dearth; and that *John Hawkwood*, then in the service of the see of *Rome*, had ravaged their territory at the head of an army^k. Under pretence, therefore, that their liberty was in danger, they determined upon a war, the chief management of which they committed to a council of eight citizens. They imprisoned the pope's nuncio, destroyed the prison of the inquisition, and erected a standard, on which was written, in large letters, the *Latin* word LIBERTAS, declaring, at the same time, that whoever would revolt from the church should be comprehended in the league. In consequence of these proceedings, the cities of *Bologna* and *Perugia* immediately revolted, and were followed by more than sixty cities in *Romagna*, *Campania*, the *March*, and the duchy of *Spoletto*, who concluded an alliance with the *Florentines* and the *Visconti*; and wrote to the emperor, and the king of *Hungary*, and other princes, in justification of their league, declaring, that though they refused to be governed by the church, yet they would still pay the usual tribute to the holy see^l. Gregory, thinking to stop the progress of the revolt, offered to enter into a negotiation for peace with the *Florentines*; and in the mean time he sent two legates to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, to reconcile the kings of Eng-

^h SPOND. Annal.

ANTON. tit. xxii. c. i. COR. Partiii.

ⁱ BZOV. & WADDING. hoc an. CHALCOND. l. i.

^l Annal. Mediol. ap. MURATOR. t. xvi. p. 759.

^k ARETIN. l. viii. Pogg. 2;

(O) This year died the famous *Francis Petrarch*, in the 70th year of his age. He was born at *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*, his parents having been banished from *Florence* by the faction of the *Guelphs*. After he had learned grammar, rhetoric, and logic, at *Carpentras*, he applied himself to the study of the law four years at *Montpelier*, and, after that, three years at *Bologna*. At the age of 22 years, hearing that his parents had died of the plague at *Avignon*, he went to that city; but soon after, to avoid the contagion, he retired to *Vaucluse*, in the neighbourhood of *Avignon*, where he first saw his mistress *Laura*, whom he has so greatly celebrated in his writings. He received a letter on the same day from *Rome*, and the university of *Paris*, inviting him to come and receive the crown, with the honours due to a prince. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, the laurel crown was con-

ferred upon him, with great solemnity, in the capitol. He afterwards was created archdeacon of *Parma*; and, having visited *Verona*, *Parma*, *Venice*, and *Milan*, where *Galeas Viconti* made him a counsellor of state, he stopped at *Padua*, and there received a canonicate, though he had formerly refused several benefices. He then bought a house at *Arqua*, where he lived five years, and received a favour from the *Florentines* he had formerly solicited in vain, namely, the restitution of all his paternal effects, and the revocation of the sentence of banishment against him; but their favour came too late, for he died a few years after at *Arqua*. He composed a great many treatises, and was esteemed by all the princes and great men of his time, being no less conspicuous for piety than for his eloquence and learning (1).

(1) Pet. Pogg. Boccac. Placide Cantanusi.

a land and France; and, being informed that the *Waldenses* were again become so numerous in *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, and *Provence*, as to rise in rebellion against the inquisitors, he wrote to the prelates and rectors of the provinces, accusing them of negligence, and, having desired the princes of those provinces to give their protection to the inquisitors, he sent the bishop of *Mussa* to assist them in extirpating the heretics ^m.

Soon after, being alarmed with the strength of the confederacy in *Italy* against the church, he published a sentence of excommunication and interdict against the *Florentines*, depriving them of all their privileges, ordering their property to be seized, and their persons to be enslaved, in whatever country they should be found. In consequence of this censure, all the subjects of that state in *England*, *Germany*, and other kingdoms, were immediately declared slaves, and all their possessions seized, which obliged the *Florentines* to think of an accommodation with the holy see. They accordingly sent *Catharine* of *Sienna* to *Avignon*, to intercede for them with the pope, promising to send deputies to confirm whatever articles should be agreed to. The deputies, after several delays, at length arrived, but, instead of ratifying the articles, they spent the conferences in accusing the legates and commanders of the church. *Gregory*, finding that they had no real desire of a peace, but intended to delude him with vain promises, raised an army of six thousand horse and four thousand foot in *Britany*, and other provinces of *France*, which he sent under the command of a cardinal into *Italy*, proposing himself to return to *Rome*. But, before he left *Avignon*, he granted a bull, allowing the electors to chuse *Wenceslaus*, the emperor's eldest son, king of the *Romans*; and sent two nuncios into *Germany*, to be present at the election ⁿ. Having afterwards received an embassy from *Wenceslaus*, informing him of his election, he allowed him to be crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by the archbishop of *Cologne*; and, leaving *Avignon* on the 13th of *September*, he embarked at *Marseilles* for *Italy*, and landed at *Corneto* on the 5th of *December*. After resting himself for some weeks from the fatigues of his voyage, he re-imbarked, and arrived at *Rome* on the 17th of *January*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy.

b By his presence at *Rome*, *Gregory* expected to re-establish the authority of the holy see in *Italy*, and to prevail with the rebels to submit; but he quickly found himself greatly mistaken; for though the *Romans*, upon his return, had suppressed the twelve captains of the wards, who were called bannerets, yet they soon after restored them, and resumed the government of the city, in opposition to the remonstrances of the pope: The rebels likewise were so far from returning to their allegiance, that even some cities, that had hitherto continued in their obedience, now entered into the league with the *Florentines* ^o; and *Hawkwood*, with his *English* troops, deserting the party of the church, made an alliance with *Bernabo Visconti*, who gave him his natural daughter in marriage ^p. *Gregory*, greatly affected with the bad state of his affairs, sent for the deputies of the *Florentines*, and admitted them to a kiss of peace, and a participation of the sacred ordinances; but he could not prevail with them to consent to any honourable terms of peace for the holy see: however, in the month of *June* they agreed to a cessation of arms for a few months. The pope in the mean time going to *Anagni*, from thence wrote to the emperor, the king of *France*, and other princes, complaining bitterly of the *Florentines*, who, in contempt of the interdict denounced against them, had compelled their priests to perform divine service, and protected a heretic, who explained the apoclypse, and other parts of Scripture, in the vulgar tongue ^q. Returning to *Rome* in the beginning of *November*, he wrote to *Bernabo* and *Hawkwood*, intreating them to hearken to a reconciliation. *Bernabo*, upon his repeated solicitations, at length declared his willingness to enter into a negotiation; and the *Florentines*, beginning to be weary of the expences of the war, which had cost them upwards of 3,000,000 of florins, a congress was appointed to be held at *Serazane* in *Tuscany*.

c d e f During these commotions in *Italy*, *Gregory*, being informed of the heresies published in *England* by *John Wickliffe*, wrote to the chancellor and university of *Oxford*, reproving them severely for allowing those erroneous doctrines to be published, and ordering them forthwith to deliver *John* as a prisoner into the hands of the archbishop of *Canterbury* and the bishop of *London*, to whom he sent nineteen articles taken from the propositions of *Wickliffe*, which he condemned as heretical. He wrote also to those prelates to examine the doctrines of *Wickliffe*, and to keep him prisoner in irons; but, if they could not seize him, to summon him publicly to appear before the apostolic see within three months. The king of *England* likewise received a letter from the pope, exhorting him to use his authority in extirpating heresy; but *Richard*, who, a few months before the arrival of the pope's letters in *England*, had succeeded his grandfather *Edward III.* being then a boy, his uncle the duke of *Lancaster*, and several other nobles,

The Florentines are excommunicated, and declared slaves. A. D. 1376.

The pope returns to Rome. 1377.

The Romans retain the sovereignty of their city.

A truce agreed to betwixt the pope and the confederates.

Gregory orders the chancellor of Oxford to imprison Wickliffe.

^m WADDING. hoc an. Mediol. ut supra, c. 139. ⁿ SPOND. Annal. ^o ARETIN. l. viii. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 1. ^p Annal. nobles,

The papal authority is opposed in Germany.

A. D. 1378.

Gregory dies at Rome.

The Romans violently compel the cardinals to chuse an Italian pope.

Urban VI. is elected.

The French cardinals retire to Anagni, and proceed to a second election.

Clement VII. anti-pope.

nobles, afforded their protection to *Wickliffe*; so that the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the archbishop of *London*, being prohibited by the nobles, and threatened by the citizens of *London*, dropt the prosecution, and excused themselves, by alleging, that *Wickliffe* declared, that he would submit his doctrines to the judgment of the church of *Rome*^r (P). The authority of the pope was at this time also opposed in *Germany*, where several princes and magistrates had decreed, that no temporal possessions ought to be transferred to ecclesiastics; that no clergyman ought to be admitted as an agent or witness in civil affairs; that excommunicated persons ought not to be deprived of the benefit of the laws. But the emperor, zealous for aggrandizing the power of the popes, published a bull, ordering those decrees to be revoked, and prohibiting, under severe penalties, any one from molesting the clergy^s. Mean while *Gregory*, not depending greatly upon the pacific intentions of the confederates, wrote to the archbishop of *Rouen*, his nuncio, to solicit the king of *France* and the emperor to assist the church, and to send deputies to the congress. The king, receiving soon after a letter from the pope, sent four deputies to *Serazane*, where the congress was opened on the 12th of *March*; but, as *Gregory* died on the 27th of the same month, the conferences were immediately broke off, and the deputies returned home^t.

BEFORE the death of *Gregory*, the bannerets consulted about the means of retaining the apostolic see in *Italy*, and, by the advice of the *Italian* prelates, they unanimously agreed to use their utmost endeavours, upon the death of the pope, to procure a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, to be elected as his successor. After *Gregory*'s death, they accordingly exhorted the cardinals singly to chuse a *Roman* or *Italian*, otherwise they threatened them with an insurrection of the people. When the cardinals entered the conclave, the tumult increased, and the common people having expelled the nobles, and brought a great many country people into the city, with great violence rushed into the conclave, and surrounded the palace, loudly demanding a *Roman* or *Italian* pope. At length, at the persuasion of the bannerets, the mob quitted the conclave, and the doors were shut; however, they continued all night round the palace, with great tumult and noise; and in the morning, when they heard the celebration of the mass, they rung the alarm bells, and, having obliged the cardinals to open the windows of the conclave towards the street, they declared, that unless they immediately chose a *Roman* or *Italian*, they would put them to death. In this extremity, the *French* cardinals, who were three fourths of the whole college, protesting that they only consented to an election from the fear of immediate death, they then named *Bartolomew* archbishop of *Bari*, a gentleman of *Naples*. As this gentleman was remarkable for his modesty and humility, and for his skill in the canon law, the cardinals were persuaded that he would acknowledge his election to be null, and would therefore abdicate the pontificate. They were, however, greatly disappointed; for the archbishop, who assumed the name of *Urban VI.* obliged the cardinals, six of whom had fled to the castle of *St. Angelo*, to come to the palace, and perform the ceremony of his coronation^u. The day after they wrote to those cardinals that remained at *Avignon*, informing them of the election of *Urban*, which they declared to be free and unanimous. To the same purpose they wrote to the princes and prelates in *Europe*. However, *Spondanus*, from a *Vatican* code, asserts, that one of the cardinals wrote secretly to the *French* king, desiring him to give no credit to their letters that were dated from *Rome*^w. The *French* cardinals having thus in appearance acknowledged the validity of the election, they behaved with the usual obsequiousness for three months; but, under pretence of avoiding the heat, they obtained leave to retire to *Anagni*, *Urban* himself, with the four *Italian* cardinals, about the same time going to *Tivoli*. At *Anagni* they immediately took the troops of *Britany* into their pay; and, having summoned the four cardinals that were at *Tivoli*, they wrote to *Urban* to resign the pontificate. *Urban*, having then received a guard of 200 spearmen, and a considerable body of foot from the queen of *Naples*, sent three cardinals to *Anagni*, to exhort their brethren to return to their duty, but without effect; for on the 9th of *August* the *French* cardinals published a sentence against *Urban*, by the title of the archbishop of *Bari*, accusing him of being an apostate and antichrist. Soon after, having prevailed with queen *Jean*, and her husband *Otho* of *Brunswick*, to abandon *Urban*, they went to *Fondi*, where, on the 21st of *September*, they chose cardinal *Robert*, who took the name of *Clement VII.*^x

^r WALSING. HARESFIELD.

l. i. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 2. FROSSARD, l. ii. c. 12.

^s BZOV. hoc an.

^t SPOND. Annal.

^u THEOD. de Niem.

^w SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

^x Idem ibid.

(P) The doctrines of which *Wickliffe* was accused were not all published at once. The chief of those which he at first advanced were, "That the wafer in the eucharist, after consecration, is not the real body of Christ, but its figure only; that the *Roman* church has no right to be the head of all churches; that the pope has no

more authority than any other priest; that lay patrons may and ought to deprive a delinquent church of its temporal possessions; that the gospel was sufficient to direct any Christian; that no prelate of the church ought to have prisons for punishing delinquents" (1).

- a Thus a violent schism arose in the church, to the great disturbance of several kingdoms in *Europe*, which were thereby involved in the miseries of war (Q). The emperor, with the king-^{*A schism in the church.*}doms of *Portugal, Hungary, Poland, England, Bohemia, Denmark, and Sweden*, and the *Italians, Flemings, Saxons, and Westphalians*, acknowledged *Urban*; *France, Spain, Scotland, Cyprus, Sicily*, and some princes, submitted to the authority of *Clement*; while others continued in a neutrality, till the dispute should be determined by a general council. Mean while the two popes persecuted each other with mutual anathemas, and by offering plenary indulgences to all those who would take the cross in defence of their cause. What the one bound, the other loosed; and what the one granted, the other annulled; in consequence of which a great corruption of manners quickly prevailed; the good were not honoured, and the bad were protected by either party; rapines and murders became frequent, the laws were despised, discipline abolished, and simony established as a public merchandize. *Urban*, before the schism, had concluded a peace with *Bernabo*, the *Florentines*, and the confederates^y, confirmed the election of *Wenceslaus*, without receiving any embassy from *Germany*, and threatened to excommunicate the king of *Arragon*, if he did not desist from his pretensions to the crown of *Sicily* (R). But finding himself abandoned by all the cardinals excepting one, and by the greatest part of the prelates and officers of his court, he began to be sensible of his imprudent conduct in acting too arbitrarily before his authority was established; and, having returned to *Rome*, created twenty-nine new cardinals, chiefly *Romans* and *Neapolitans*. *Clement* likewise about the same time created six cardinals; and sent the troops of *Britany* and *Gascony*, and the *Roman* nobles that adhered to his party, to take possession of *Rome*; but, after several skirmishes, they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. Finding his arms unsuccessful, the following year he A. D. 1379. retired to *Naples*, where he was received by the queen with all the veneration usually paid to a pope; but the *Neapolitans* raising a tumult in favour of *Urban* their citizen, *Clement* was obliged ^{*The antipope retires to Avignon.*} to quit the city, and, as he had few followers in *Italy*, about the middle of *June* he embarked with his cardinals for *Marseilles*, and was received with great joy at *Avignon*.

- URBAN, being now secure in *Italy*, resolved to revenge himself upon the queen of *Naples*, by declaring her excommunicated, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance; and as the emperor and the king of *Hungary* had jointly published a letter in his favour, he wrote to the king, inviting him to punish the queen for the murder of his brother, and to send *Charles* of *Durazzo* with an army to take possession of the kingdom of *Naples*. *Charles*, who at that time commanded the *Hungarian* army in the *Trevisan* against the *Venetians*, after some difficulties was prevailed upon to accept the offer of the pope, and made secret preparations for his expedition. *Urban* accordingly published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against *Jean*, who, to avert the storm with which she was threatened, took the grand companies into her pay, and, as she had no issue, adopted the duke of *Anjou*, the *French* king's brother, as her heir^z. But the year after, *Charles* of *Durazzo* arriving with an army of *Hungarians* at *Rome*, *Urban* conferred upon him the crowns of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, under the same conditions as the kings of *Naples* had formerly bound themselves to the holy see (S); and as *Charles* was in great want of money, the pope melted down and sold a great many gold and silver chalices, crosses, and images of saints, for the expences of the war. *Charles*, immediately after his coronation, marching for *Italy*, by a successful battle made himself master of the whole kingdom, and got the queen and her husband into his power; while the legate, whom *Urban* had sent to accompany him, having apprehended two cardinals and several prelates of the party of *Clement*, obliged them to abjure the antipope, and to throw the ornaments of

^y THEOD. de Niem, l. i.^z JUVEN. in reb. gest. Car. VI.

(Q) This schism continued upwards of forty years, and, according to several authors, was owing to the ill-timed severity of *Urban*, who took no pains to sooth the exasperated spirits of the cardinals; but, in a public discourse immediately after his coronation, reprehended them severely for their pomp and luxury, and threatened to punish those who should be guilty of simony, or receiving of bribes, adding reproaches against some of the college for privately corresponding with the enemies of the church. This unseasonable rigour, together with his kindness to the *Romans*, provoked the *French* cardinals to think of a second election, justifying themselves on account of the violence the conclave had suffered at *Rome*, a particular relation of which they published after their arrival at *Anagni*. Some authors greatly extenuate the violence offered by the *Romans*, while others are at as

much pains to represent it in the worst light, every one writing in favour of the party he had espoused. The great number of treatises written on the occasion of this schism are collected in the *Vatican* library, and consist of thirty-two volumes (1).

(R) *Urban*, in opposing the pretensions of the king of *Arragon*, seems to have been actuated by motives of personal interest; for, according to *Theodoric de Niem*, and others, he intended a match betwixt his own nephew *Francis Prignano* and *Mary* heiress of *Sicily*.

(S) The same author relates, that before *Charles* was crowned by the pope, he was forced to promise to his nephew, *Francis Prignano*, the duchies of *Capua* and *Amalphi*, and several other counties in the kingdom of *Naples*.

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

Disturbances at Paris, on account of the exactions of the antipope.

their dignity into the fire. Mean while great disturbances were raised in *France* by the exactions of the antipope, who not only conferred the richest vacant benefices on his cardinals, but appropriated others by grants of reversion; and, as he had no other kingdom to supply the expences of his court, great sums of money were raised under the name of tythes and arrears due to the apostolic chamber. As, upon these accounts, the students, who were cut off from all hopes of preferment, deserted the university, one *Ross*, a doctor of divinity, went to the king, and represented their grievances with great freedom. The duke of *Anjou*, who was then regent, and supposed to be a sharer with the antipope in his exactions, being highly offended with this representation, imprisoned the doctor; but the whole university going in a body, and complaining of the outrage, the doctor obtained his liberty, and immediately after went to *Urban*, who wrote to the university, exhorting them to persevere in their

A. D. 1381. opposition to the antipope. *Urban* soon after was alarmed at *Rome* by an insurrection of the *Romans*, who were offended with him for denying a petition that they had presented; however, the pope opposing their fury with constancy and firmness, they quickly laid down their arms, and asked pardon^b. About the same time *Charles* of *Durazzo* having caused the

1382.
who confers the crown of Sicily on the duke of Anjou.

queen of *Naples* to be put to death, the duke of *Anjou*, whom she had adopted as her son and heir, arrived at *Avignon*, and was crowned king of *Sicily* by *Clement*. After reducing the *Provincials*, who had refused to acknowledge him as their sovereign, he passed the *Alps* with a numerous army, and entered the kingdom of *Naples*, where he was immediately joined by many of the nobles; and took several towns in *Apulia* and *Calabria*; but as his troops were not accustomed to the climate, and his convoys were frequently intercepted by the enemy, before the return of the spring, his army was greatly lessened, and inferior to the forces of *Charles*.

Urban goes to Naples, where he is treated with indignity by king Charles.

MEAN while *Urban*, having left *Rome* to avoid the heats, after residing some time at *Tivoli*, resolved to go to *Naples*, to settle the commotions in that kingdom, and to obtain the confirmation of the promises of *Charles* in favour of his nephew. Though he was dissuaded from his journey by several letters from *Naples*, and by many of his cardinals, he nevertheless proceeded, and arrived at *Aversa* in the beginning of *October*, where he was received with great respect by *Charles*, who led his horse into the city. The pope took up his residence at the bishop's palace; but the following night he was conducted by force into the castle, where he was compelled to revoke all the conditions upon which he had granted the kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles*. Proceeding from *Aversa* to *Naples*, he was again lodged in the castle; but after some time, at the intercession of the cardinals and nobles, *Charles* was reconciled to him, asked pardon for what he had done, and set him at liberty, promising likewise to fulfil what he had promised to his nephew^c. *Urban*, soon after his promotion, had desired the assistance of the king of *England* against the *French*, granting him, for that purpose, the tythes of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom. In consequence of frequent letters from *Rome*, the bishop of *Norwich* at length assembled an army of 17,000 crusaders; and, about the time that *Urban* was preparing for his *Neapolitan* journey, transported his troops to *Calais*, with an intention of attacking the *French* as schismatics; but, after his arrival upon the continent, he altered his design, and invaded *Flanders*. The *Flemings*, who acknowledged *Urban*, being surprised by the *English*, lost several towns; but the king of *France* approaching with a formidable army, the crusaders dispersed, and the bishop returned in a disgraceful manner to *England*^d.

He publishes a crusade against the duke of Anjou.

1384. THE following year *Urban*, still residing at *Naples*, excommunicated the duke of *Anjou*, and published a crusade against him, appointing *Charles* standard-bearer, and general of the crusaders. After the king's departure for the campaign, he himself went to *Nocera*, which had been granted to his nephew. As an edict had been published, prohibiting any one to buy victuals, or even salt or candles, unless from the king's warehouses, his court was quickly in great want of provisions, on which account a great many cardinals returned to *Naples*; but the pope recalling them, they all, except one, came back to *Nocera*, and shared in the indignities which he suffered in that city for several months. The king, in the mean time, being freed from his competitor by death, and having obtained the quiet possession of the kingdom, returned in the month of *November* in a triumphant manner to *Naples*. Though *Nocera* was within a day's journey of his capital, he neglected to visit the pope, but sent to him in a disrespectful manner, demanding why he left *Naples*, and desiring him to return immediately, as he had matters of importance to communicate to him. The pope, provoked to the last degree with his arrogance, replied, that Christian kings and princes did not use to call the popes to them, but thought themselves honoured by coming to the feet of the popes;

A rupture between the pope and the king of Naples.

^b WALSHING. KRANTZ, Metrop. 14. Hist. Car. VI.

^c THEOD. de Niem.

^d FROISSARD, l. ii. JUVEN. in

a and that, if he desired to see him as a friend, he must take off the heavy taxes with which he oppressed a kingdom that was a fief of the holy see^c. This answer greatly offended the king, who declared, that the kingdom was his own by conquest, and by right of his wife, and by his own authority he would raise what taxes he thought proper. The difference betwixt *Urban* and the king was chiefly fomented by cardinal *Realì*, who, in contempt of the pope's message, had remained at *Naples*,

b THIS cardinal, for what reason is uncertain, had resolved upon the ruin of *Urban*, and, by corresponding secretly with the cardinals at *Nocera*, had persuaded them, that it was the opinion of divines, and those that were skilled in the canons, that when a pope acted imprudently, or despised the advice of the cardinals, it was lawful to appoint several curators to assist in the administration of the universal church. The cardinals, having once assented to this opinion, proceeded further; and having alleged against the pope the crimes of heresy, ambition, avarice, and ingratitude towards the king, they formed a design, not only of deposing him, but of murdering him. The conspiracy being discovered by one of the cardinals, *Urban* immediately held a consistory, and, laying before them the proofs he had received of the plot, he ordered six, some authors say seven, of the cardinals to be seized and put in irons. Having by tortures wrested from them a confession of their guilt, he confined them to separate dungeons; and a few days after, to supply their places, he made a promotion of seventeen cardinals, among whom were the three ecclesiastic electors of *Germany*, the bishops of *Liege* and *Wratistaw*, and a priest of *Bohemia* of a noble family, which six refused to accept of the dignity that was offered them^f. Immediately after these proceedings, he assembled the clergy and people of *Nocera*, and, giving them a particular account of the conspiracy, he erected a cross, and, with lighted candles, excommunicated the king and queen of *Naples*, cardinal *Realì*, with the other convicted cardinals, and the antipope, with all his adherents. The king and queen were also deposed, the cardinals deprived of their dignities, and the city of *Naples* laid under an interdict.

The cardinals convicted of a conspiracy against *Urban*; A. D. 1385.

c CHARLES, highly exasperated at the pope's fulmination, imprisoned all the prelates and clergy that favoured *Urban* at *Naples*; and, marching with his army against *Nocera*, took and plundered the city, the pope having saved himself in the citadel, from whence thrice a day he denounced anathemas against the king's army, with bell and candles^e. *Urban*, after suffering for some time the miseries of a siege, at length, by means of two generals of the party of the late duke of *Anjou*, he escaped from the citadel, and arrived with his cardinals, and those that were degraded, after a dangerous journey, at *Benevento*. From thence proceeding to *Barletta*, he embarked on board some *Genoese* galleys, and arrived on the 23d of September at *Genoa*, where he again committed his degraded cardinals to prison, excepting *Adam*, an *Englishman*, who, at the intercession of king *Richard*, was allowed to return to *England* (T). Immediately after the departure of *Urban*, *Charles* crossed the *Adriatic*, and went into *Hungary*, where, in prejudice of the rights of the daughters of the late king, he was crowned by a faction on the 31st of *December*, but was murdered a few weeks afterwards by the party of the queen. The news of his death arriving at *Naples*, the queen immediately crowned his son *Ladislaus*, or *Lancelot*, then a boy of ten years of age. But as the party of the duke of *Anjou* likewise crowned his son *Lewis*, who was supported by the antipope *Clement*, the queen solicited the assistance of *Urban* in the most submissive and pressing manner. Though it was the interest of the pope to support the party of *Ladislaus* in opposition to that of *Lewis*, yet, as the resentment for the injuries he had received from *Charles* had not yet subsided, it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to give assistance to his son. At length he sent a few troops; but, before their arrival, the *Clementine* party had taken possession of *Naples*, and gained several other advantages. Mean while *Urban* received an embassy from *Jagello* duke of *Lithuania*, who had renounced his idolatry, and, after his baptism, married the queen of *Poland*, and, by the name of *Uladislaus*, ascended the throne of that kingdom, to which he had annexed his hereditary dominions.

He escapes by sea to *Genoa*.

1386.

f Soon after the pope, having rejected all intercessions in behalf of the degraded cardinals, ordered them to be put to death, as his own life was again in danger from the designs of their friends, who had more than once endeavoured to poison him, and had even assaulted his

where he puts the degraded cardinals to death.

^c SUMMONT. l. iv.

^f GOBEL. PERS. ap. rer. Germ. scriptor. t. i. p. 316. THEOD. de Niem, l. i. c. 42.

^e THEOD. c. 49.

(T) This is the account of *Theodoric de Niem*, *Gobelinus Persona*, *Walsingham*, *Krantz*, *Summontius*, and others; however, *Niem* adds, that, while the pope was on his journey from *Nocera* to the sea-coast, he ordered the bishop of *Aquila*, who was one of the conspirators,

to be put to death, and left unburied, imagining he wanted to escape, as he was mounted on a bad horse, and, on account of sickness, occasioned by his long imprisonment, was unable to keep up with the rest of the company (1).

(1) *Niem*, c. 56.

A. D. 1387.

palace^a. As he made diligent inquiry to find out the authors of the assault, two cardinals fled a from his court, and went to *Avignon*, where they were promoted to the same dignity by other titles. *Urban*, not being able to prevail with the doge of *Genoa* to punish those that had been guilty of the assault, left that city, and in the end of *December* arrived at *Lucca*, where he resided nine months. *Clement*, in the mean time, finding his party strengthened by the accession of the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, and by some successes of his adherents in *Italy*, that he might, by an appearance of moderation, reconcile the minds of others, he sent legates through the different provinces of Christendom, to desire a general council, declaring, that he was willing to submit to the decision of the church, without whose determination he could not with a safe conscience resign the pontificate: that, if he was confirmed, he would create *Urban* a cardinal of the first rank, and, if the council should decide against him, he would submit to *Urban*^b. *Clement*, by this proceeding, gained a great many friends in *Germany*, from whence the princes and prelates sent an embassy to *Urban*, desiring him to consent to a general council, in order to procure the unity of the church, offering a place of security, and to defray the expences necessary on that occasion. The solicitations of the ambassadors were ineffectual; for *Urban* insisted, that there was no necessity to examine the justness of his title to the pontificate^c. About the same time he published a crusade against the *Clementines* that had seized *Naples*; and having had some disputes with the *Florentines*, he left *Lucca*, and went to *Perugia*.

He marches from *Perugia* with some troops to recover *Naples*. 1388.

DURING his residence in that city, a division arose among the chiefs of the party of the duke of *Anjou* at *Naples*, who employed their troops in revenging their private quarrels. *Urban*, in hopes of recovering his interest in that kingdom, assembled a considerable body c of horse, and, in the month of *August*, leaving *Perugia*, marched for *Naples*. But, having a fall from his mule, he was obliged to be carried in a litter to *Tivoli*, where he received an embassy from the *Romans*, inviting him to *Rome*. *Urban*, distrusting their fidelity, advanced with his troops to *Ferentino*; but they having almost wholly deserted for want of pay, he was obliged, in the beginning of *October*, to return to *Rome*, having been informed that the city of *Bologna* had revolted to the party of *Clement*. The following year, according to *Boninsegni* and *Antonius*, he had a dispute with the *Romans*, on account of some senator he had appointed, whom they suspected to be their enemy. To quiet the people, who threatened an insurrection, he published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee the following year at *Rome*; which solemnity he ordered for the future to be observed every thirty-three years, d according to the number of years of our Saviour's life^e. He hoped by this festival to enrich both the *Romans* and himself; but he died before the time arrived for its celebration: *Niemus*, who was present at his death, relates, that, after a sickness of twenty-eight days, he died on the 12th of *October*, and that it was generally believed he was poisoned^f.

Dies at Rome.

Boniface elected.

A FEW days after the death of *Urban*, the cardinals who were at *Rome*, to the number of fourteen, entered the conclave, and, after some disputes, unanimously chose *Peter Tomacello*, a *Neapolitan*, and cardinal priest, of the title of *St. Anastasia*. He was consecrated and crowned on the feast of *St. Martin*, by the name of *Boniface IX.* and immediately after published circular letters, informing all the christian princes and prelates of his promotion (U). The news of his election no sooner reached *Avignon*, than *Clement* denounced a sentence of e excommunication against him, the same anathema having been fulminated by *Boniface* against the antipope. Soon after, in consequence of the bull for the jubilee, great numbers of pilgrims arrived at *Rome*; but as they were not so numerous as at the former jubilees, *Boniface* sent the indulgences into the different provinces of Christendom, to be conferred on those who, instead of the pilgrimage, would undertake other pious works. Those who were intrusted with the disposal of the indulgences, were ordered to return a third part of their offerings to the pope. But as great abuses were committed in that sacred merchandize, the collectors were not only maltreated by the people, but also imprisoned by *Boniface*, who, at the persuasion of *Adam* the *English* cardinal, whom he had restored to his dignity, declared, that a confession without penance did not intitle any one to the benefit of the indulgence, unless at the point of death^f. About the same time the pope having received an embassy from the queen of *Sicily* and her son *Ladislaus*, desiring to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication denounced against them by *Urban*, and to receive the investiture of the kingdom, he sent cardinal *Acciaioli* to *Gaeta*, where they then were, who crowned the young *Ladislaus*, with his wife *Constantia*, king and queen of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*. Mean while the antipope having received an embassy from the knights of *Rhodes*, informing him of the danger of *Smyrna*,

A jubilee celebrated at Rome. 1390.

^a GOBELIN. PERSON. ut supra, p. 309, 310. c. 66. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 2. c. 69.

^b MUTII Chron. Germ. lib. xxvi. ^c NIEM, c. 68. BONINSEGN. lib. iv. ANTON. tit. ut supra.

^d NIEM, ^e NIEM,

^f WALRING. in Rich. II.

(U) *Boniface* was born of a noble though poor family, five days after he had come to *Rome* as a poor and unbeneficed clergyman.

a from the incursions of the *Tartars* under the command of *Tamerlane*, he published a bull, promising a plenary remission of sins to all those who would furnish money to the assistance of the Christians in *Asia* ^v.

THIS bull was soon after followed by a letter of *Boniface*, addressed to all the faithful, exhort- A D. 1391.
ing them to the obedience of the pope, and to defend the apostolic see. As the antipope was chiefly supported by *France*, *Boniface* exclaimed against that kingdom. He compared the residence of the popes on the banks of the *Rhone* to the captivity of the *Jews* at *Babylon*. He asserted, that the king of *France* had been deceived by false letters, as though *Urban VI.* had designed to deprive him of the kingdom of *Arles*; and that he engaged in defence of the schism, upon a promise from the antipope of obtaining the universal monarchy, and the tythes in perpetuity ^p. *Boniface* seems to have published this letter from his apprehension of an expedition of the king of *France* into *Italy*, according to a rumour which then prevailed ^q. He was likewise soon after alarmed by the proceedings of the parliament of *England*, who ordered all *English* subjects then at *Rome*, soliciting preferment, to return immediately, under pain of losing their benefices. The pope, apprehensive lest *England* should declare for the antipope, sent an abbot into that kingdom, to declare, that he had no intention to infringe the king's prerogative, but would nevertheless defend the ecclesiastical liberty. The abbot had orders also to inform the king, that the antipope and the king of *France* had entered into a treaty to invest the duke of *Tours*, that king's brother, with all the dominions of the church in *Italy*, to confirm the young duke of *Anjou* in the kingdom of *Sicily*, and to create some other person king of *Lombardy* and *Iuscany*; on which account the pope intreated the king of *England* to undertake the defence of the church, as the *French*, if they were once masters of *Italy*, would easily conquer *England* ^r.
The pope informs the king of England of the ambitious views of the French;

WHILE his nuncio was representing these things in *England*, *Boniface*, at the request of the *German* prelates, published a bull, confirming the edicts of the emperors *Frederic II.* and *Charles IV.* for the immunity and jurisdiction of ecclesiastics. He likewise canonized *St. Bridget*, and sent legates to mediate a peace betwixt the *Vicenti* and the *Florentines*, which was accordingly concluded the following *January*. Not long after, the pope, on account of the many indignities and hardships he suffered from the bannerets of *Rome*, was obliged to quit the city, and retire to *Perugia*, where, at the intreaty of the queen dowager of *Sicily*, he granted a divorce betwixt her son *Ladislau*s and his young queen *Constantia*, for no other reason pretended, than because a report prevailed, that *Constantia*'s mother had been debauched by *Martin* duke of *Monablanca* ^s. He likewise sent two nuncios with a letter to the king of *France*, desiring him to give his assistance in restoring the union of the church. The two nuncios went first to *Avignon*, where they were injuriously treated, and detained prisoners by the antipope; but, at the request of the university of *Paris*, the king of *France* ordered them to be set at liberty. Upon their arrival at *Paris* the king admitted them to an audience, and desired them to inform *Boniface*, that he would endeavour to the utmost to promote the union of the church, for which purpose supplications and processions were then begun to be made at *Paris*. *Clement*, perceiving the inclinations of the *Parisians*, pretended likewise to desire the union, and added a peculiar office to the mass, granting great indulgences to those who celebrated it. But it appears that his real intention was otherwise; for he soon after sent a master of the *Carmelites* to excite the *Parisians* against *Boniface*. The following year the pope, having received only the verbal answer of the king of *France*, again wrote to that prince; but as *Charles* was then in a state of lunacy, his letter was neglected by those who had the administration of the kingdom. Mean while the books of *John Wickliffe* having been carried into *Bohemia* by a young nobleman of that kingdom, who had studied at *Oxford*, his doctrines were embraced by great numbers of people at *Prague*; and, being publicly preached by *John Hufs*, they were received likewise in several cities of *Germany*, particularly at *Augsburgh*, where one *Henry*, a priest of *Bamberg*, having received authority from the magistrates of the city, made enquiry after those who professed heretical doctrines, many of whom this year he ordered to be burnt, and commanded those who recanted their opinions to wear upon their breast and back a yellow cross for twelve months ^t.
and publishes a bull for the liberty of ecclesiastics.
1392.
The followers of Wickliffe's doctrines are persecuted in Germany.

DURING these proceedings against the heretics in *Germany*, *Boniface* returned to *Rome*; but he continued but a few months in the city, when his life was in danger, from a violent insurrection of the *Romans*, who broke open the doors of his bed-chamber, and dragged from thence some canons of *St. Peter's* church, who had refused to agree to an alienation required of them by the bannerets. The king of *Naples*, who had come to *Rome* to demand succours from the pope against his competitor, immediately assembled some troops; and, hav-

^v BZOV. hoc anno.
Rich. II.

^p Epist. Bonifac. apud SPOND.

^q FROISSARD.

^r WALSINGHAM in

^s SUMMONT. l. iv. c. 2.

^t CRUSII Annal. Suev. par. iii. l. vi. c. 4.

The university of Paris proposes a means to put an end to the schism. A. D. 1394.

The antipope dies,

and is succeeded by Benedict XIII.

A council of divines at Paris propose the method of resignation, to put an end to the schism. 1395.

The kings of England and France solicit both popes to resign.

ing repulsed the mob, effected a reconciliation betwixt the *Romans* and his holiness. About the same time the university of *Paris*, having obtained leave from the king to consult of means to put an end to the schism, had concluded upon three expedients for that purpose, namely, either the resignation of both the pretenders, or a mutual compromise of both parties to elect a certain person, or, lastly, the determination of a general council. Notwithstanding the great opposition of the duke of *Berry*, the king's uncle, and *Peter de Luna*, the legate of the antipope, the university presented their resolutions in form of a letter to the king; which were graciously received by his majesty, who appointed a day for the further deliberation of that affair. At length, however, the intrigues of the antipope's legate prevailed, and the chancellor, by order of the king, prohibited the university from any further proceedings on that subject. *Clement* dying a few months afterwards, on the 16th of *September*, the king of *France* immediately wrote to his cardinals to delay the election of a successor, till he should send special messengers to treat of the means of an union. The cardinals likewise received letters to the same purpose from the university of *Paris*, from the king of *Arragon*, and other princes. *Boniface* also sent two legates to *Avignon*, and wrote to the king of *France* and university of *Paris*, exhorting them to use their utmost endeavours to put an end to the schism. The cardinals at *Avignon*, however, paid no regard to the solicitations of the king of *France*, but, ten days after the death of *Clement*, entered the conclave, and chose *Peter de Luna*, who took the name of *Benedict XIII.* and wrote to the Christian princes, that he had been elected against his inclination, and would even willingly resign to procure the union of the church^a.

In consequence of these professions, the king of *France* assembled the prelates and doctors of his kingdom at *Paris*, in the beginning of *February*, to consult about the means of an union. The council, after mature deliberation, decreed, that the method of resignation was the most convenient; and that *Benedict* and the king ought first to inform the princes of their own party; and that the king alone should then acquaint the princes of the opposite party with the means proposed for the union; and that, after those princes should have persuaded *Boniface* to agree to a resignation, they should then consult about the manner of the future election. The king of *France* being informed that *Benedict* and his cardinals, before his election, had taken an oath, whereby they had bound themselves to endeavour to the utmost of their power to put an end to the schism, he sent to *Avignon* for a copy of the oath; but receiving only evasive answers from the antipope, he sent his brother and his three uncles, with several other eminent nobles, prelates, and doctors, to *Avignon*, to urge *Benedict* to remember his oath, and give peace to the church. This solemn embassy had no influence with the antipope; however, all his cardinals, except three, subscribed their assent to the method of resignation^b. During these transactions in *France*, the *Lollards* or *Wickliffites* in *England* expressed their contempt for both popes, by writings affixed to the doors of *St. Paul's* and *St. Peter's* churches; while the university of *Oxford*, at the desire of the king, examined the method of resignation proposed by the *Parisians*, which they condemned by numerous arguments, and proposed the way of a general council, which they proved to be preferable, on account of its authority and dignity. *Boniface*, being informed of the outrages committed by the *Wickliffites*, the following year wrote to the king of *England*, desiring him to assist the prelates of the church against the *Lollards*, and to condemn those who were declared heretics. About the time the king received the pope's letter, the archbishop of *Canterbury* held a council at *London*, which condemned eighteen propositions taken from the books of *Wickliffe*. Soon after the kings of *England* and *France* having an interview in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, *Richard* was married to the *French* king's daughter in that city; and, disapproving of the opinion of the university of *Oxford*, agreed that the method of cession was most proper to put an end to the schism. Accordingly, the year after, ambassadors were sent in the name of both kings to the two competitors for the pontificate, desiring them to consent to a resignation. Both *Boniface* and *Benedict* refused to give a determinate answer to this proposal. *Boniface* likewise, having received another embassy from the diet at *Frankfort* to the same purpose, evaded giving a positive answer as to the cession, but treated the ambassadors with great respect, and granted particular favours to them and their friends^c.

Soon after the emperor *Wenceslaus*, who had neglected to appear at the diet at *Frankfort*, sent deputies to *Rome*, to inform the pope, that he proposed an interview with the king of *France* at *Rheims*, to consult of the means for terminating the schism; and therefore desired his holiness to send two of his cardinals thither, with full power to treat upon that subject. *Boniface* wrote to the emperor, dissuading him earnestly from that journey; however, his letter had no effect, and *Wenceslaus* arrived at *Rheims* in the month of *March*, where he was treated with great magnificence by the *French* king. At his

^a SURIT. Indic. lib. iii. Monach. DIONYS. & JUVEN. in Car. VI. FIELD, Hist. Wicliff. c. 14.

^b SPOND. Annal.

^c HARPS-

- a persuasion the emperor agreed to the means of cession; and the bishop of *Cambray* went as deputy from both princes, to desire *Boniface* to consent to a resignation. The pope, being informed by the bishop, that the emperor and the *French* king had determined to withdraw their obedience from that pope who refused to agree to the means of cession, declared, that if they could prevail with *Benedict* to abdicate, he would likewise satisfy both princes. The emperor, being informed at *Coblentz*, by the bishop, of this declaration of the pope, desired the king of *France* to oblige his pope to abdicate, and that he would then compel *Boniface* to resign. In consequence of this representation of the emperor, a general council of the nobles, prelates, and doctors, of *France*, was held at *Paris*, which determined, that *Benedict* should be desired to resign; and, if he did not voluntarily agree to an abdication, he should be compelled to it by force. The bishop of *Cambray* accordingly went to *Avignon*; and *Benedict* absolutely refusing to abdicate, he quitted the city, which was immediately after invested by marshal *Boucicaut*, who, being admitted by the citizens, took possession of the palace, in which he confined the antipope under a guard of 100 men^y. Upon *Benedict*'s refusal to abdicate, nineteen of his cardinals left *Avignon* before the place was invested. *Froissard* likewise relates, that he continued a prisoner for five years; and that the king of *France*, having withdrawn his obedience from him, solicited the king of *England* to refuse obedience to *Boniface*, and to agree to a neutrality; but though that prince inclined to hearken to the proposal of his father-in-law, yet the clergy of *England* would not consent^z. The *French* king likewise wrote to the emperor, informing him of what had been done to *Benedict*, and desiring him to act in the same manner towards *Boniface*; but *Wenceslaus* excused himself, by alleging, that he must consult with the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, and with the princes of the empire^a.

THE pope, in the mean time, residing undisturbed at *Affisi*, published a bull, by which he reserved, for the use of the apostolic chamber, the first year's revenues of all vacant bishopricks and abbasies, under the name of *annates*, or first-fruits^b; so that whoever wanted to be promoted to the dignity of archbishop, bishop, or abbot, should before hand be obliged to pay a yearly revenue of his church or abbacy. This bull was soon submitted to by the clergy in all the provinces of Christendom, except in *England*, where the bishopricks were only allowed to be taxed^c (W). Mean while, as the beginning of a new century approached, when the *Romans* expected another jubilee, they sent deputies to *Boniface*, intreating him to return to *Rome*, being afraid, lest, if he should absent himself, the resort of pilgrims to their city would be greatly lessened. *Boniface* refused to consent to their request, unless they admitted the city to be governed by a senator of his own appointment. The *Romans*, not willing at that time to disoblige the pope, not only took the government from the bannerets, but received *Malatesta* of *Pesaro* as their senator, at the appointment of *Boniface*, to whom they sent money to defray the expences of his journey to *Rome*. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Boniface* fortified the castle of *St. Angelo*, the capitol, and the bridges, and by degrees made himself absolute master of the city, so that he is reckoned the first pope who intirely transferred the authority from the people^d (X). Though it does not appear that *Boniface* appointed a jubilee

^y FROISSARD. l. iv. c. 97.
Annales.

^z Idem, c. 99.

^a BZOV. hoc an.

^b NIEM, l. ii. c. 7.

^c SPOND.

^d PLATIN. in Bonif. IX. BLOND. D. ii. l. x.

(W) This is the first bull for establishing perpetual annates; yet, if antiquity can give authority for that exaction, the payment of the first-fruits is mentioned by *Hosiensis*, who wrote about 130 years before this period; and in the council of *Vienne*, held under *Clement V.* it was decreed, that annates should be abolished; and that, in their stead, the 20th part of the revenues of the priests should be paid to the apostolic see. *John XXII.* the successor of *Clement*, published a bull, whereby he reserved the first years fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices that continued vacant for three years, archbishopricks, bishopricks, and abbasies, being exempted; but by degrees the first fruits were exacted, without observing whether the benefices were vacant three years or not. The same pope afterwards published a bull, reserving for his life all benefices that became vacant in his court. *Benedict XII.* who succeeded *John*, followed his example, which was also imitated by some succeeding popes; but the authority of their bulls extended no further than their own life. What was before local and particular, *Boniface* decreed to be universal and perpetual. Before the schism, annates are said to have been collected at different times after the incumbent had taken

possession, and frequently great part of the tax was never raised: but after the schism, a large part of the tax was raised before the delivery of the bull confirming the collation, and bonds were given for payment of the rest. Soon after the whole first fruits were exacted beforehand; and, lastly, the tax under the name of annates was not only imposed at pleasure, but frequently doubled, tripled, and quadrupled (1).

(X) *Theodoric de Niem* and *Antoninus* describe a scene of devotion in *Italy* this year, to which they were eye-witnesses. *Niem* says, it first arose from some seducers that had come into *Italy* from *Scotland*, one of whom pretended that he was *Elias* the prophet, and that the world would quickly perish by an earthquake. *Antoninus* is uncertain where that kind of devotion first appeared, as, he says, some asserted, that it came from *Spain*, others from *Scotland* or *England*, and some from *France*, from whence, according to *Sigonius* and *Platina*, a priest arrived in *Italy*, cloathed in white, with great appearance of modesty, and seduced infinite numbers of people of both sexes and all ages. The penitents, among whom were several cardinals and priests, were cloathed in white linen down to their heels, with caps on

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.
A. D. 1400.

jubilee to be held in the beginning of the century; and *Viſtorellus* affirms, that he ſearched the register of that pope, without finding the leaſt mention of that ceremony; yet the following year great numbers of people flocked to *Rome* from different nations of *Europe*, particularly from *France*, although the year before the king of *France*, that he might not ſeem to acknowledge *Boniface*, and in conſideration of the poverty of his kingdom, had publiſhed an edict, prohibiting any one from going to *Rome*. As the plague raged this year in *Italy*, and eſpecially at *Rome*, where, according to *Boninſegnus**, 7 or 800 people died daily, very few of the pilgrims returned home, and great numbers of them were robbed, and the women raviſhed by the pope's ſoldiers in the neighbourhood of the city†. A great many foreigners had an opportunity of eſcaping theſe dangers; for *Boniface* granted indulgencies to the *Danes*, who ſhould viſit the cathedral church of *St. Laurent* at *Lunden*, and allowed the emperor to celebrate the jubilee at *Prague* after the *Roman* faſhion.

The pope confirms the election of the duke of Bavaria, as emperor.

A few months after, the electors of *Germany*, having depoſed *Wenceſlaus*, on account of his bad government, and choſen *Rupert* or *Robert*, duke of *Bavaria*, and count palatine of the *Rhine*, as emperor, *Boniface* confirmed his election, and invited him to *Rome*, to receive the imperial crown. *Robert* being alſo invited by the *Florentines* to oppoſe the progreſs of *Galeas Viconti*, who had conquered almoſt all *Lombardy*, and four years before had purchaſed the title of duke of *Milan* from *Wenceſlaus*, he aſſembled a conſiderable army, and the following year entered *Italy* about the end of autumn. As the troops of *Galeas* were accuſtomed to war, they put the *Germans* to flight in a ſkirmiſh near *Breſcia*, ſo that the emperor was obliged to retire to *Trent*, where the greateſt part of his army left him, and went back to *Germany*. However, at the intreaty of the *Florentines*, who promiſed him a reinforcement, he advanced with the remains of his army to *Padua*, where he continued ſome months in expectation of ſuccours from the *Italians*, whoſe intereſt it was to humble *Galeas*. But as they did not exert themſelves ſo much as he expected, he left *Italy* in the month of *April*, and returned to *Germany*.

1402.

MEAN while in *France* the party of the antipope began to revive; the duke of *Orleans*, the king's brother, and the univerſity of *Tboulouſe*, profeſſed their obedience to *Benedict*; the kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* ſupported his cauſe, and ſeveral treatiſes were publiſhed condemning the proceedings of the council of *Paris*. On the other hand, the univerſity of *Paris*, ſupporting its former decrees, declared, that whoever aſſerted that the withdrawing of obedience was unjuſt, were abbetors and promoters of the ſchiſm. About the ſame time the cardinals who had ſeceded from *Benedict*, and who reſided at *Senlis*, together with the patriarch of *Alexandria*, and ſome other prelates, declared, that, as the withdrawing of obedience from *Benedict* had not ſucceeded in putting an end to the ſchiſm, a general council ſhould be called of thoſe that adhered to *Benedict*. But this method was not followed; for great diſputes aroſe, whether the antipope ſhould not firſt be reſtored to his liberty, and be obeyed as formerly; which propoſitions were condemned by the majority, who publiſhed a great many reaſons, juſtifying their opinion‡.

The duke of Milan dies while he was propoſing to aſſume the title of king of Italy.

DURING theſe diſputes in *France*, the duke of *Milan* had marched with an army againſt *Bologna*; and having taken that city, with *Piſa*, *Perugia*, and *Siena*, had provided a crown, with the intention of aſſuming the title of king of *Italy*, and ſent his army to inveſt *Flourence*, which was reduced to the utmoſt deſpair. In the miſt of theſe ſucceſſes he was ſeized with a fever, and died on the 3d of *September*, leaving his poſſeſſions to his two ſons. *Boniface* ſeized the opportunity of his death to recover ſeveral cities of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate which he had uſurped. *Bologna*, *Perugia*, and *Ferrara*, voluntarily ſubmitted, and ſome other places that reſiſted were taken and diſmantled. About the ſame time, being informed that the *Hungarians* had imprifoned their king *Sigifmond*, and offered their kingdom to the king of *Naples*, the pope encouraged *Ladiſlaus* to take poſſeſſion of *Hungary*, and ordered cardinal *Acciaïoli* to accompany him in the expedition as his legate. *Ladiſlaus* accordingly ſailed to *Dalmatia*, and, at the intreaty of the *Hungarian* nobles, proceeded to *Javarin*, where he was crowned in the

A. D. 1403.

* BONIN. l. 4.

† NIEM de Schiſm.

‡ Vide SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

on their heads which covered their whole faces, except their eyes. They went in great troops of 10, 20, and 40,000 perſons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and ſinging hymns in the *Latin* and vulgar tongue. Where ever they came, they were received with great hoſpitality, and joined by the inhabitants of thoſe places, as thoſe who did not follow their proceſſions were looked upon as heretics (2). They faſted, or lived on bread and water, during the time of their

pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. At night they ſlept in churches, monaſteries, and churchyards, men and women without diſtinction, or falſe ſuſpicion. *Sigonius* and *Platina* relate, that the pilgrims ſtopped at *Viterbo*; and *Platina* ſays, that *Boniface*, afraid leſt the prieſt intended, by their aſſiſtance, to ſeize the pontificate, ſent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the falſe prophet, and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burnt (3).

(2) *Annal. Mediol. ap. Murator.*(3) *Platina, Sigon. de Episc. Bonon. Anton. tit. xxii c. 3. Niem, lib. ii. c. 16.*

a month of *August* by the cardinal legate. But he was immediately obliged to quit the kingdom; for *Sigismund*, who some time before had escaped from his confinement to *Germany*, had assembled an army in his brother's kingdom of *Bohemia*, and returned to *Hungary*, where he was joyfully received by the greatest part of his subjects. *Boniface*, by countenancing the claims of *Ladislaus* to *Hungary*, and confirming the election of the duke of *Bavaria* to the empire, lost the obedience of *Sigismund* and *Wenceslaus*, who from that time both acknowledged the antipope^h.

BENEDICT a few months before had made his escape from *Avignon*, and was again acknowledged by the king of *France*, upon his declaring he would consent to resignation, on condition either of the death, abdication, or deposition, of his adversary. This submission, however, was of very short continuance; for the antipope, notwithstanding the intreaties of his most zealous adherent the duke of *Orleans*, absolutely refusing to confirm the elections and collations that had been made during his confinement, the king, towards the end of *December*, published an edict, declaring, that he would defend the possessors, and prohibiting all his subjects from paying any money, under any pretence, to the antipope, or receiving any of his bullsⁱ. The following year likewise the university of *Paris* made a grand procession to the church of *St. Catherine*, for the extinction of the schism; but they were attacked by the servants of the duke of *Orleans*, who still adhered to *Benedict*. The antipope soon after sent two bishops, with some others, to *Boniface*, to treat of the means of a union. They arrived at *Rome*, on the 21st of *September*, and, upon promising to pay the accustomed honours to the pope, they were admitted to an audience, in which they declared, that *Benedict* was most willing to treat of an union, and desired *Boniface* to appoint a safe place where conferences might be held betwixt the two popes for that purpose. As *Boniface* was then afflicted with a fit of the gravel, the nuncios of the antipope were desired to wait a few days. They accordingly had a second audience on the feast of *St. Michael*, when, instead of agreeing to a conference, both parties mutually reproached each other. *Boniface* survived this contest only two days; for, being seized with a fever, he died on the first of *October*. The nuncios were immediately after imprisoned in the castle of *St. Angelo*, in breach of the safe-conduct that had been granted them by the pope, and were not set at liberty until they paid 5000 florins^k.

At the death of *Boniface* there only remained 12 cardinals of his party, and, four of them being absent from the city, the other eight entered the conclave; and having bound themselves by an oath, that, whosoever of them should be elected pope, he might freely abdicate, if the antipope would do the same, they unanimously elected *Cosmato Melcorato*, of the kingdom of *Naples*, a cardinal of the title of the *Holy Cross* in *Jerusalem*, who, having assumed the name of *Innocent VII.* was consecrated on the 4th of *November*. Immediately after his promotion, great disputes happened in *Rome* betwixt the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, about the government of the city. The families of *Colonna* and *Savelli*, with some other nobles and chiefs of the *Gibelines*, endeavoured to restore the government of the bannerets; but they were opposed by the *Ursini*, and other *Guelphs*. Several skirmishes ensued, till *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, at the intreaty of the *Gibelines*, arriving with a large body of troops at *Rome*, settled the government on a footing not very advantageous for the church, as he left the power in the hands of the people, in hopes of usurping it afterwards himself^l. In consequence of this settlement, *Innocent* was greatly harrassed with the impudent demands of the new governors, who had received some troops from *Ladislaus*. In his own defence, he was obliged to hire 2 or 3000 men as a guard; but, being of a mild disposition, he endeavoured to appease the *Romans* by offices of kindness, and created 11 cardinals, five of whom were *Romans*, and one of them of the family of *Colonna*. However, soon after, the *Gibeline* faction attacked his guard upon *Ponte Molo*; but, being repulsed, they made an unsuccessful attempt upon his palace. A few days after, some of the chief citizens came to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation. They were attacked upon their return, without his knowledge, by order of his nephew, and eleven of them, being apprehended, were cruelly put to death. The city, upon the news of their murder, was immediately in an uproar, and the friends of the deceased seized *Adrian's* bridge with a large body of troops, and prepared to attack the castle. *Innocent*, dreading the resentment of the *Romans*, so highly irritated, immediately left his palace, and fled with his army to *Sutri*, and from thence to *Viterbo*. Upon his departure the *Romans* broke into the palace, where they destroyed a great many books and registers; and a considerable reinforcement of troops arriving from *Ladislaus*, *John Colonna* admitted them into the city and castle^m. *Innocent*, before he left *Rome*, had summoned a general council to be held in that city, for the extinction of schism.

^h Magn. Chron. Belg.ⁱ SPOND. Annal.^k DIONYS. Monach. JUVEN. in Car. VI.^l ANTON.

tit. xxii. c. 4. NIEM, c. 34, 35.

^m Comment. LEONARD. ARETINI, ap. Murator. t. xix. p. 923.ⁿ NIEM,

de Schism. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 24. f. 1.

MEAN while *Benedict* arrived by sea at *Genoa*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy: but as he brought a large body of troops along with him, which was daily increasing, the *Genoese*, afraid of their liberties, took an opportunity, when the forces were reviewing, to shut them out of their city. The antipope was greatly offended at their proceeding; and soon after returned to *Nice* in *Provence*; but, while he continued in *Italy*, he sent to *Innocent*, desiring letters of safe conduct for some persons whom he intended to send to him to treat of a union. *Innocent*, believing his professions were not sincere, refused his request; upon which denial his adversary triumphed, and published the transaction to the world, accusing the pope of having no inclination to terminate the schism. *Innocent* endeavoured to refute the assertions of the antipope; but *Niem* accused them both of mutual altercation, with a design to protract the schism^a. During these disputes, *Innocent* being informed that the king of *England* had caused the archbishop of *York* to be executed, on account of an insurrection that he had headed, he excommunicated all those who were concerned in the prelate's death; but, as he himself did not long survive, the anathema was disregarded in *England*. The following year, the *Romans*, taking umbrage at the *Neapolitan* troops, and understanding that the pope was innocent of the murder of the deputies, intreated him to return to the city. He accordingly arrived in the beginning of *Lent*; and soon after excommunicated and deposed *Ladislau*s, for having attacked the territories of the church. The king of *Naples*, struck with this unexpected fulmination, immediately solicited an accommodation, which was concluded by the mediation of the pope's nephew and *Paul Ursini*. *Niem*, however, affirms, that *Innocent* intended to renew the processes against the king, but was prevented by death, which happened to him on the 7th of *November*.

He returns to Rome, where he dies.
A. D. 1406.

Gregory XII. is chosen pope.

He promises to abdicate, and exhorts the antipope to resign.

A. D. 1407.

He alters his resolutions.

UPON *Innocent*'s death, his cardinals deliberated for some time whether or not they should omit to elect a successor, as the *French* had bound their pope by solemn promises to abdicate, on condition that the other pope would resign, or that his cardinals would supersede the election of a successor. At length the cardinals at *Rome*, being afraid of a sedition in the city, determined to proceed to an election; but previously bound themselves by an oath, that, which soever of them should be elected, he should abdicate the pontificate, on condition that the antipope would resign. *Angelus Corrarius*, a *Venetian*, and cardinal of the title of *St. Mark*, was elected pope, and took the name of *Gregory XII.* but before his coronation, he renewed the former oath, and wrote to the antipope, exhorting him to resign, and appoint a place where the cardinals of both parties might unanimously agree to the election of a pope; which letter was answered by *Benedict* almost in the same terms^b. Letters likewise passed between the cardinals of both parties. On the 15th of *March*, *Gregory* sent other nuncios to *Benedict*, and, after much dispute, it was agreed, that the popes, with their cardinal, should meet at *Savona*, on the *Genoese* coast, at the feast of *St. Michael*, or at *All Saints*. The *Genoese*, being informed of this determination, offered hostages for the security of both parties, and promised to furnish all necessaries during the congress. The king of *France* likewise sent ambassadors to the popes, to exhort them to persevere in their intentions, who, arriving at *Rome* about the beginning of *July*, found *Gregory* averse to the congress at *Savona*, to which he raised several objections; and, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, insisted upon a change of place for the conferences. His objections gave great joy to *Benedict*, who wanted a fair pretence to delay the union; he therefore insisted upon standing to the former agreement, and obstinately refused to agree to any alterations in the preliminary articles. *Gregory* had some excuse for refusing to go so far from *Rome*; for, a few weeks before the arrival of the ambassadors, *Ladislau*s, with the *Gibeline* exiles, had surprised the city, and obliged the pope to save himself in the castle of *St. Angelo*; they were however again expelled with considerable loss by *Paul Ursini*.

IN consequence of the preliminaries agreed to, *Gregory* at length, with great reluctance, quitted *Rome* on the 9th of *August*, and in the beginning of *September* arrived at *Siena*, where he offered to resign the pontificate, on condition of enjoying during his life the patriarchate of *Constantinople*, some benefices in the republic of *Venice*, and the churches of *York* or *Oxford*, which were then said to be vacant, and that some territories in the ecclesiastical state might be conferred on his three nephews and their heirs. Though his cardinals agreed to this proposal, yet he found excuses for delaying his abdication; and let the time for the congress elapse without removing from *Siena*. Mean while *Benedict*, with his cardinals, had arrived at *Savona* on the 24th of *September*, and, after continuing there upwards of three months, he advanced in the beginning of *January* to *Portus Veneris*, that he might seem to take away all objection from *Gregory* for delaying the conferences. As the pope still continued at *Siena*, *Benedict* sent the archbishops of *Rouen* and *Taragona* to him, desiring him to agree to some intermediate place. Their journey was without effect; however, in the end of the month he advanced to *Lucca*. About the same time the king of *France* published a letter, addressed to

A. D. 1408.

^a NIEM, c. 38.

^b ARETIN. NIEM, ut supra.

- a all the faithful, declaring, that if the schism was not quickly terminated, he would withdraw obedience from *Benedict* at *Whitsuntide*, and exhorting all other princes to reject the authority of both popes. Mean while the popes pretending a distrust of each other's intentions, all hopes of a conference vanished; and on the 9th of *May* *Gregory* created four new cardinals, contrary to the opinion of the college, who refused to associate with them, and deliberated among themselves about deserting the pope^a. Accordingly, two days after, they all, except four, left *Lucca*, and went to *Pisa*, where they published a writing, appealing from *Gregory*, first to Christ, then to a general council, and lastly to a future pope. About the same time *Benedict* having sent letters to *Paris*, prohibiting the withdrawing of obedience, under pain of excommunication, the parliament ordered the letters to be burnt, and on the 25th of *May*
- b published a neutrality with regard to both popes; and orders were sent to *Bussicard*, governor of *Genoa*, to seize *Benedict*. The antipope, having notice of these orders, immediately quitted *Italy*, and fled to *Elne*, on the coast of *Catalonia*; but, before his departure, his cardinals had likewise deserted him, and retired to *Leghorn*, where they entered into a correspondence with the cardinals at *Pisa*.

Is deserted by his cardinals.

The cardinals likewise desert Benedict, and join those of Gregory at Leghorn.

- THE cardinals of both parties soon after uniting at *Leghorn*, on the 24th of *July*, published letters, addressed to all the prelates of Christendom, appointing a general council to be held at *Pisa* the following year, on the 25th of *March*. The popes, being informed of this proceeding of the cardinals, likewise appointed general councils; *Benedict* summoned the council to assemble at *Perpignan* in *November*, while *Gregory* appointed it to be held the following *Whitsuntide* in the province of *Aquileia*, or exarchate of *Ravenna*, the particular place to be mentioned afterwards^c. *Gregory* at that time had arrived at *Siena*, where he continued several months, and in *September* created nine new cardinals, five, or, according to *Niem*, twelve cardinals being likewise created by the antipope at *Perpignan*. From *Siena* the pope went to *Rimini*, where he wintered, the *Romans* refusing to admit him into their city, as he had agreed to deliver up the ecclesiastical state to the king of *Naples*, in consideration of an annual pension in money^d. Mean while the *French* king, having assembled the prelates of *France*, by their advice, on the 13th of *October*, published an edict, depriving all the adherents of *Benedict* of their benefices and dignities in his kingdom; and a few days after articles were drawn up for regulating the government of the *Gallican* church during the time of the neutrality, thereby demonstrating, even before the times of the reformation, that a church could subsist without acknowledging any pope. During these transactions in *France*, *Benedict* opened his council at *Perpignan*; but as there were but very few prelates, it was prorogued to the 14th of the month, when about 120 prelates assembled from *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Navarre*, *Provence*, and *Savoy*. It was continued, by eight sessions, to the first of *February*, before which time the greatest part of the prelates had left *Perpignan*. Those who remained exhorted the antipope to a resignation, and proposed some means for terminating the schism, to which *Benedict* subscribed.

A. D. 1409.

- A FEW weeks after the general council was opened at *Pisa*, at which were present 22 cardinals, three patriarchs, 180 archbishops and bishops, 300 abbots personally or by their proxies, and 282 doctors of theology, besides deputies from the kings of *France*, *England*, *Poland*, and several other princes. This council having, in two or three sessions, cited the two popes to appear, at last declared them contumacious; after which sentence it adjourned to the 15th of *April*, when deputies arrived from the emperor, desiring the assembly to be transferred elsewhere; but, as their petition was rejected, they appealed in their master's name, affirming, that a council could not be held without the emperor's authority. After the transactions in several other sessions, all regarding the unity of the church, the council, on the 5th of *June*, published a sentence of deposition against both the popes, as obstinate schismatics and heretics, publicly convicted of perjury and breach of vows. A few days after the cardinals produced a writing, with their subscriptions, whereby they promised, that if any of them was elected pope he should prorogue the council till a reformation of the universal church should be effected. They then entered the conclave, on the 23d of *June*; and three days after elected *Peter Philargi*, a cardinal priest, of the title of the twelve apostles, a *Greek* by nation, who took the name of *Alexander V*. The new pope immediately presided at the council, confirmed their decrees, and annulled all the processes and sentences denounced by the popes against any persons, communities, kingdoms, &c. since the beginning of the schism. He likewise decreed, that a general council should be convened within three years afterwards; and in the 23d and last session, which was held on the 7th of *August*, he ordained that the *Pisan* council should be prorogued till the other general one should assemble.

A general council assembles at Pisa;

and deposes the two popes.

Alexander V. is elected.

^a ARETIN. NIEM, ut supra.

^c Rer. Germ. Script. t. i. p. 326.

^d Monach. DIONYS.

As *Ladislaus* king of *Naples* had seized *Rome*, with several other cities of the ecclesiastical state, and was daily making new conquests in *Tuscany*, the *Florentines*, *Siennese*, and cardinal legate at *Bologna*, made an alliance with his competitor *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, who arrived at the council of *Pisa*, where he was received with great honour by *Alexander*. The pope confirmed to him the crown of *Sicily*, and appointed him standard-bearer of the church; after which ceremony he marched against *Ladislaus*, and quickly recovered the city of *Rome*, and several other places in the ecclesiastical state. Mean while *Gregory* held his council in the diocese of *Aquileia*, but there is no mention of any of its proceedings; only *Niem* relates, on the 5th of *September* he published a writing, as from his council, declaring his willingness to abdicate; but the conditions which he proposed were so impracticable, that it might easily be perceived he had no inclination to a union^b.

He confers the crown of Naples on the duke of Anjou.

John Hufs publishes the doctrine of Wickliffe at Prague.

Alexander dies.
A. D. 1410.

John XXIII. is elected.

1411.

His troops gain a victory over the king of Naples;

As neither *Gregory* nor *Benedict* quitted their pretensions to the pontificate, the church was at this time provided with three popes; but *Gregory* was now acknowledged only by *Ladislaus* and a few cities of *Italy*; and *Benedict* by the king of *Scotland*, the count of *Armagnac*, and the kings of *Spain*, *Portugal* excepted. All the rest of Christendom submitted to *Alexander*, who, after dismissing the council at *Pisa*, went from thence, first to *Pistoria*, and then to *Bologna*, from whence he wrote to *Subinco*, archbishop of *Prague*, ordering him to prohibit any one from discoursing either publicly or privately upon the doctrines of *Wickliffe*, and to allow the preaching of sermons in churches and church-yards. By this order the pope intended to prevent the *Bohemians* from any further examination of *Wickliffe's* doctrines, which had been embraced by great numbers in *Prague*, and a few years before been preached by *John Hufs*. As the university of *Prague*, which consisted chiefly of *Germans*, had the former year condemned 45 of *Wickliffe's* propositions, *John Hufs* and his party had prevailed with *Wenceslaus* to deprive the foreigners of their privileges; on which several thousands of *Poles* and *Germans* left *Prague*. After their departure, *John*, being elected rector of the university, and appointed a preacher in one of the chief churches of the city, began to translate the writings of *Wickliffe* into the vulgar tongue, and in his discourses, without any reserve, exclaimed against the authority of the pope, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and several other doctrines of the *Roman* church. Upon hearing of the mandate of *Alexander*, he declared, that it was contrary to the actions and words of our Saviour and his apostles, who used to preach every-where; and he appealed to the pope himself, when better informed^c. *Alexander* was prevented by death from proceeding any further in that affair, as he died on the 3d of *May* in the 11th month of his pontificate^d.

UPON the death of *Alexander*, the 17 cardinals who were at *Bologna* chose cardinal *Balthasar Cossa*, a *Neapolitan*, who is said by some authors to have been elected by force, as he was legate in the city, and had the command of a great number of troops; however, *Niem* only alleges, that it was at the recommendation of *Lewis* king of *Naples*, who was on the neighbouring coast with a powerful fleet. His promotions gave great scandal, as he was more remarkable for his military than religious disposition; however, on the 25th of *May* he was consecrated, and took the name of *John XXIII*^e. Immediately after, being informed of the death of the emperor *Robert*, he sent nuncios to the electors, exhorting them to chuse *Sigismund* king of *Hungary*; and sent a legate into *France*, to demand the tyths, the revenues of vacant benefices, and the spoils of deceased clergymen, which he asserted belonged by natural and divine right to the apostolic chamber^e. The university of *Paris* opposed this demand with great vigour, and proposed to appeal to a general council, and to deprive all those of the degree of master of arts who should submit to the payment of the subsidy required. Soon after *John* went to *Rome*, where, on the 23d of *April*, being the feast of *St. George*, he consecrated several standards, and a few days after appointed *Lewis* king of *Sicily*, and *Paul Urfini*, generals of his troops against *Ladislaus*, who obliged the kingdom of *Naples* to acknowledge *Gregory XII*. whom he retained at *Gaeta*. The pope's army, advancing to *Campania*, on the 19th of *May*, entirely defeated *Ladislaus*, who fled in despair to *St. Germain's*. But, notwithstanding the pressing instances of king *Lewis*, *Paul Urfini* refusing to pursue the victory, *Ladislaus* had leisure to repair his loss; upon which *Lewis* returned to *Rome*, and, dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Italians*, soon after went back to *France*. On the same day *Ladislaus* was defeated in *Campania*, the city of *Bologna* revolted from the church, two butchers having headed an insurrection and seized the government, which they held for more than a year. *John* being informed of the loss of *Bologna*, reinforced the troops with new levies, and, on the 16th of *June*, created fourteen new cardinals. About the same time he received an embassy from the king of *Poland*, with very rich presents, desiring that he would approve of the war that he had with the *Teutonic* knights, and would declare that the sacred vessels taken out of the *Prussian* churches, and distributed in *Poland*, were lawful^f.

^a NIEM, c. 45 & 46.

^b COCHLEII Hist. Hussit. l. i. c. 6. GOBELIN. PERSON. ap. rer. Germ. Script. t. i.

^c ARETIN. ut supra. ANTON. tit. xxvi.

^d MONSTRELET, l. i. c. 67, & 70.

a prizes. The pope granted these two requests, but refused a third demand made by the ambassadors, namely, that the king might have leave to cause a crusade to be preached against the *Tartars*. The pope refused to grant a crusade against the *Tartars*, because he intended to make use of those sacred soldiers in defending the ecclesiastical state. He accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, published a crusade against *Ladislaus*, who was thereupon induced to agree to an accommodation, although the terms were not very honourable to the holy see; for the pope engaged to pay a tribute to the king, on condition that he ceased hostilities, and refused to acknowledge *Gregory*^y. against whom he causes a crusade to be preached. A. D. 1412.

THE preaching of this crusade at *Prague* gave a new opportunity to *John Huss* and his party to exclaim against the errors of the church: accordingly three of his followers, in three different churches, during the reading of the papal bull, called out that the pope was anti-christ, who caused a crusade to be preached against Christians. These three were immediately apprehended and imprisoned, which *Huss* was no sooner informed of, than he came at the head of 2000 men to the magistrates, demanding the liberty of the prisoners, offering to answer himself for their crime, if it was any crime to speak the truth. The senate dismissed the mob, by promising that nothing should be determined against the prisoners: however, next morning, they ordered them to be executed. Their friends, among whom were a great many students, immediately assembled, and wrapping the dead bodies in linen, carried them with great solemnity through the streets of the city, calling out, *These are the saints who have given their bodies for the testimony of God*. Soon after the administration of the church of *Prague* was given to the bishop of *Olmütz*, who, by the advice of several members of the university, proposed some articles to the regent and nobles, as proper to put a stop to the disorders. The other party likewise presented nine propositions, about preserving the rights and liberties of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and against defaming *John Huss* and his followers as heretics, without examining their cause. The articles proposed by the bishop were approved by an edict of *Wenceslaus*; in consequence of which *John Huss* was banished the city: however, the disturbances did not cease; his followers rather turned more outrageous, and censured the edict by public writings, which were again answered by the catholic doctors^z. The Hussites, on account of this crusade, exclaim against the pope.

d DURING these commotions in *Bohemia*, the pope celebrated a general council at *Rome*, which assembly was not very numerous; and, on that account, was prorogued. However, by their advice, on the 6th of *January*, *John* published a decree against the *Hussites*, ordering the books of *Wickliffe* to be searched for by the ordinaries, and to be burnt; and commanding all his followers to appear before the apostolic see within nine months, otherwise they should be convicted of heresy^a. Soon after *Ladislaus* again commenced hostilities, by surprizing the city of *Rome*, where he committed great barbarities, the pope and his cardinals, with much difficulty, escaping to *Sutri*, and from thence to *Florence*. The king quickly after made himself master of all the ecclesiastical state, as far as the frontiers of *Sienna* and *Florence*, while the pope earnestly solicited the assistance of the emperor *Sigismund*, who had entered *Italy* to terminate his differences with the *Venetians*. Though the emperor was desirous of putting a stop to the progress of *Ladislaus*, yet he would not consent at that time to engage in a war against him; but by frequent letters prevailed upon the pope to agree to a general council, as the most proper means to procure the peace of *Italy*. *John* accordingly sent legates to the emperor, with full power to determine the place and time for holding the council, but cautioned them, in the most earnest manner, not to agree to any place under the power of the emperor^b. The legates, for what reason is uncertain, agreed to hold the council at *Constance*, an imperial city, in the diocese of *Mentz*; and the emperor published a letter, addressed to the prelates, inviting them to come to the council, to be opened in that city on the 1st of *November*, in the following year, promising them a safe conduct both in their coming and returning, and full security during their residence. A general council is held at Rome. A. D. 1413.

f THE pope, upon being informed of the proceedings of his legates, was greatly afflicted, as he foresaw that he would not be master of the deliberations of the council. But as there was no means of receding, he went to *Placenza*, where he had a conference with the emperor; and proceeding from thence to *Lodi*, on the 10th of *December* he published a bull, appointing a general council to be held at the time and place above-mentioned, not having been able to prevail with the emperor to agree to the nomination of any other city. *Sigismund*, before he left *Italy*, wrote to the two antipopes, exhorting them to appear at the council, but both *Benedict* and *Gregory* protested against that assembly, and used their utmost endeavours to prevent its meeting. Mean while *John*, having returned to *Bologna* from thence, wrote to the king of *France*, and to the university of *Paris*, desiring them to solicit the *Bohemian Hussites* to forsake the heresy of *Wickliffe*. But the intreaties of the university The emperor enters Lombardy. Conferences betwixt him and the pope. A. D. 1414.

^y SPOND. Annal. ^z ÆN. SYLV. C. 25. DUBRAV. I. 23. COCHL. I. i. NARD ARET. ap. Murator. t. 19.

^a SPOND. Annal.

^b LEO-

were without effect, for the *Hussites* every day more and more detested the *Roman* church; and *Peter* of *Dresden*, having been obliged to quit his native country on account of his religious principles, insinuated to *Sacobellus*, one of their preachers, eminent for his learning and probity^c, that the church of *Rome* deceived the people, by denying them the use of the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist, contrary to the words of our Saviour, who says, *Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you*^d. This new opinion, of the necessity of communicating under both kinds, was received by the *Hussites* with great applause, as they now thought they could plainly convict the *Roman* church either of ignorance or wickedness.

Ladislau dies at Naples. WHILE the most inveterate enemies of the apostolic see were strengthening their party in *Bobemia*, the tranquillity of *Italy* was, in some measure, restored by the death of *Ladislau*,^b he having died at *Naples*, on the 6th of *August*. By his death *John* was delivered from a formidable enemy, and had now no great inclination to attach himself to the emperor; however, as every thing was settled for the meeting of the council at *Constance*, and as he was pressed to go thither by the cardinals, on the 1st of *October* he set out for that city, the magistrates having previously sworn to and signed some articles that he had proposed to them for his security. *John* arrived at *Constance* on the 28th of *October*, accompanied with nine cardinals, and all his court; and, on the 1st of *November*, after the celebration of mass by the pope and cardinal of *Florence*, read a schedule concerning the celebration of the council, as a continuation of that of *Pisa*, for the reformation of the state of the church, to be opened on the 30th of the month. The council however was not opened till the 5th of *November*,^c when the first session was appointed to be held on the 16th. On that day the pope made a discourse to the synod; after which the same cardinal of *Florence* read the pope's admonition, concerning the moderation to be observed in the assembly, and about the consideration of those things that regarded the peace of the church, and the extirpation of the errors of *Wickliffe*; and, to prevent any disturbance about precedency, he declared, that, with regard to the order of sitting in the assembly, no prejudice should arise to any person or church. The ministers and officials of the council were then appointed; namely, four prothonotaries to inspect and commit to writing all that should be done in the synod, under whom were four notaries, one for each of the four principal nations of *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, and *England*. The guard of the council were committed to *Berthold Ursini* a *Roman*. Besides, there were appointed^d four searchers of the votes, four doctors of the law as advocates of the council, two procurators, and, lastly, four masters of the ceremonies; after which proceedings the council was prorogued till the 17th of *December*.

John Huss arrives at that city, and is imprisoned. Two days before the opening of the council, *John Huss* arrived at *Constance*, having left *Prague* in a triumphant manner, on the 15th of *October*, and being received every-where with great honour during his journey, not in consequence of the safe conduct of the emperor, for that was not granted till the 18th of the month, and could not reach him till a few days after. Upon his arrival at *Constance*, he employed his time in preaching to the people; and refusing to desist at the desire of the pope, he was apprehended and shut up in one of the chambers of the palace. The emperor being informed of this proceeding by one of *John's*^e followers, sent orders to enlarge the prisoner; but they were not obeyed by the pope, who insisted that he himself had not given *John* a safe conduct. However, his confinement was in some measure relaxed: he was committed to the keeping of the bishop of *Lausanne*; and four cardinals, with the generals of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, and six archbishops and bishops, were commissioned to examine him (S). During these transactions the emperor received the crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and having with great expedition prepared every thing for his journey, arrived in the evening of the 24th of *December* at *Constance*, with a grand retinue, and immediately went with the pope to the church, where, during the celebration of mass by his holiness, he assisted in the habit of a deacon, according to custom. As the second session, on account of the emperor's absence, had been prorogued to the month of *March*,^f he in the mean time convoked a general congregation of the members of the council, and laid before them his negotiations with the antipopes, in order to terminate the schism. He then regulated what regarded the liberty, security, and subsistence, of the strangers at that time in *Constance*, the number of whom amounted to about 100,000^g: he likewise, at the request of the members, left the council at full liberty to deliberate and determine in matters of faith, thereby exposing *John Huss* to the resentment of the fathers, in violation of his own safe con-

The emperor comes to the council.

A. D. 1415.

^c *Æn.* ut supra.

^d *John* vi. 53.

^e *VONDER HARDT.* l. ii.

(S) *Spondanus* affirms, without mentioning his authority, that *John Huss*, finding his adversaries ready to prosecute him, attempted to make his escape from

Constance, by concealing himself in a cart loaded with straw; but that he was discovered, brought back to the city, and committed to prison.

a dust (T). Soon after some cardinals arrived from the antipopes, in quality of nuncios, and, after a dispute, it was resolved to admit them with the ornaments of their dignity. The nuncios of *Gregory* proposed to prosecute on his part the means of cession, and desired that *John* might not preside in the council, to the decrees of which they promised all obedience. But those of *Benedict* only proposed a conference with the emperor and *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, to be held in the city of *Nice*, on the *Genoese* coast^f.

DURING the month of *February* several congregations were held, in which it was determined, contrary to the inclination of the pope, that the lay deputies of the kings, republics, and universities, should be admitted as members of the council, and that in the public sessions the votes should be given not by particulars but by nations. About the same time a memorial was presented; containing a long accusation of *John XXIII.* which, according to *Niem*, was thought to have been presented by an *Italian*, and included all the mortal sins, and an infinite number of abominations^g. The pope, terrified with this accusation, proposed to confess himself to the council; but he was in some measure freed from his apprehensions; for it was resolved to suppress the memorial. However, it was agreed among all the nations, that the abdication of the pope was the most proper means to terminate the schism: accordingly *John*, finding the council unanimously fixed in that resolution, with great reluctance, and after many subterfuges, accepted of a form of resignation presented to him by the patriarch of *Antioch*. The next day, being the 2d of *March*, was held the second session of the council, in the cathedral church, where the pope, after the celebration of mass, read aloud the form of his abdication; by which he promised, vowed, and swore, before God, the church, and the council, to give peace to the church, by his resignation of the pontificate, on condition that the two antipopes would do the same, or in any case wherein his abdication might be of service to the church. He had no sooner read this form, than the emperor took off his crown, threw himself on his knees, and embraced his feet: the patriarch of *Antioch* likewise thanked him in the name of the whole council. Then, according to *Spondanus*, *Sigismund* and the whole council promised, that, if the other two popes did not likewise resign, they would stand by him, and assist him against them with all their temporal forces^h.

SIGISMUND having agreed to a conference with *Benedict* at *Nice*, in the month of *June*, mean while assembled another congregation; and, on the 15th of *March*, by their advice, demanded of the pope, 1. That the council should not be dissolved till the union was effected: 2. That it should not be transferred elsewhere: 3. That the pope should not leave *Constance*: 4. That he should name a proxy, who should abdicate in his name: 5. That he should confirm the above propositions by his bulls: and, lastly, That the prelates and others, summoned to the council, should not depart, unless on account of sickness or poverty. The pope granted the first demand; as to the second, he declared, that it seemed more convenient to transfer the council to some place in the neighbourhood of *Nice*; to the third, that it would be more expedient that both he and the council should go towards *Nice*; to the fourth, that he chose rather to abdicate personally than by proxy; and to the last he returned no answer. The council were not at all satisfied with these answers; and being apprehensive lest the pope should delay his abdication under various pretensions, they again solicited him to name the emperor, and those prelates that were to accompany him to *Nice*, as his proxies. *John* still refused to consent, as being sensible that, if he once named proxies, he had then no opportunity to recede; and finding that the council was resolved to oblige him to abdicate, he asked leave of the emperor to quit *Constance*, pretending that the air of the city was prejudicial to his healthⁱ. *Sigismund*, who had placed guards at the gates of the city to prevent any one from leaving the council, was so far from giving him liberty to depart, that he obliged him to promise not to quit the city till the council was dissolved. *John*, however, having concerted his retreat with the duke of *Austria*, notwithstanding the vigilance of the emperor, on the 20th of *March* escaped from *Constance*, disguised in the habit of a groom, and fled to *Schaffhausen*, about four miles distance, from whence he wrote to *Sigismund*, declaring that he had not retired with the intention of avoiding to fulfil his promise of abdication, but that he might execute it with liberty and security.

THIS sudden flight of the pope occasioned great disputes among the members of the council; some affirming, that, as he had retired, the council was thereby dissolved, while others maintained,

^f SPOND. Annal. ex act. Victor & Diarii cerretani. P. 41, 42.

^g SPOND. ex act. Victor.

^h NIEM, ap. Vonder Hardt. t. ii. p. 291, & t. iv. Rob hist. Aust. l. iv. p. 136. STUMPHIUS, p. 38.

(T) *Naucler* relates, that *Sigismund* was assured he could not be accused of breaking his word, because the council, which is above an emperor, not having given any safe conduct to *John Huss*, the emperor himself had no right to grant him his protection, especially in matters of faith; and that *Sigismund*, as a true son of the church, acquiesced in this decision (1).

(1) *Naucler*, p. 1049.

The council
continues.

that the authority of a council, in the necessities of the church, was superior to that of a pope. These last were supported by *Sigismund*, who, with the nobles of his court, went through the city, and with great prudence and firmness quieted the disturbances; and calling the four different nations together, assured them that he would protect the council, and, with the hazard of his life, would procure the union of the church. Accordingly, to support the authority of the council in the third session, which was held on the 26th of *March*, it was decreed, that as the council had been legally assembled in *Constance*, it was not dissolved by the retreat of the pope or any other prelates; that it ought not to be dissolved till the church was reformed in faith and manners, both in the head and members; nor ought it to be transferred elsewhere without mature deliberations; and that no members ought to retire till it was dissolved, unless their reasons for removing were approved by the council, and that then they should be bound to leave their proxies with those who remained. The next day three cardinals that had been to the pope returned to *Constance*, with a letter and mandate from him, declaring that he was willing to appoint proxies for his abdication, and desiring that the king of the *Romans* and the council would provide for his security, and that of the duke of *Austria*, who had been put to the ban of the empire for assisting him to make his escape. What reception these offers of the pope met with does not appear; but two days after he protested, before a notary and several witnesses, that he was not bound to perform what he had promised and sworn at *Constance*, as he was influenced by fear and force. He then left *Schaffhausen*, and proceeded, in the midst of a heavy rain, to the castle of *Louffenberg*. The fourth session of the council was held the next day, which was the 30th of *March*, in which it was decreed, that the council, having been legally assembled, represented the catholic militant church, and received its authority immediately from *Christ*; and that every one, of what dignity soever, the pontifical not excepted, was bound to obey its decrees, regarding the faith and extirpation of schism; that all the censures of the pope against any prelates or ecclesiastics should be null and void; and that none should be accounted cardinals, but those who were acknowledged such before the succession of *John*^k.

Its authority
is declared
superior to the
pope.

IN the fifth session, which was held on the 6th of *April*, the council explained and confirmed their former decrees: they then resolved, that *John* was bound to resign, in any case whatever, that would promote the union of the church; that if he refused, he should be reckoned deposed; and if he would not return to *Constance*, the council should proceed against him as a person suspected of heresy, and author of schism. After these determinations, some overtures were read, regarding the condemnation of *Wickliffe's* doctrine, and for regulating the manner of proceeding in discussing the cause of *John Huss*; to examine which several doctors of divinity and law were appointed. Mean while the pope retired from *Louffenberg* to *Friburgh*; but before he left that castle he wrote to the different princes of *Europe*, and to the university of *Paris*, excusing his flight from *Constance*, alleging that the emperor had deprived the council of liberty, by shutting the gates of the city, and that he had presumed, on different occasions, to preside at their deliberations; that although in general councils no difference of nations ought to be observed, yet it had been ordained, that each nation should have but one voice, although from *France* and *Italy* there were present 200 prelates, and only three from *England*, with nine other ecclesiastics; and that in the assemblies, laymen as well as clergymen had been admitted to give their votes, although by the canons the right of voting in general councils only belonged to cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops. The council, in their own justification, published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, wherein they declared, that the pope had prohibited any one to leave the council, under pain of excommunication; that, nevertheless, the city being daily deserted, he had desired the emperor to provide against the evil, who thereupon had not shut the gates, but only guarded them for part of a day; that, for dispatch of business, the council had appointed the form of deliberating by nations, but, nevertheless, in the sessions every member had a liberty of speaking what he pleased; that *John* had acted contrary to the example of former popes, particularly of *Symmachus* and *Sixtus*, who did not seek to diminish the authority of the council by their flight, but submitted humbly to its decrees: they then concluded with testifying their desire that *John* would return to their council.

ON the 17th of *April*, a few days before they published this letter, the sixth session of the council was held, wherein it was decreed, that *John* should be obliged to appoint proxies for his resignation, according to a form then read, and that an honourable embassy should be sent to him to inform him of this decree, and to invite him to return to the neighbourhood of *Constance*. *Jerome* of *Prague*, the associate of *John Huss*, was likewise summoned to the council, and a safe-conduct granted to him; but, according to *Spondanus*, it was mentioned as an exception, in as far as the catholic faith admitted. A few days after the ambassadors of

a the council found the pope at *Brisac*, from whence, after their arrival, he fled to *Neuenburgh*, with the design of putting himself under the protection of the duke of *Burgundy*. But he was prevailed upon to return to *Friburgh*, where he had a conference for three days with the ambassadors, and promised to resign, on condition of impunity for his past and future proceedings, and that he should still continue cardinal, and be appointed *legate à latere* for his life in *Italy*, with several other extravagant articles. The legates giving an account of their embassy in the seventh session, held on the 2d of *May*, the council then summoned the pope to appear at *Constance* within nine days, to answer for his flight and other matters, and granted him a safe-conduct, which was confirmed by the emperor. *Jerome of Prague* was likewise declared contumacious, for not having appeared according to his former citation. Two days after was held the eighth session, wherein the writings of *Wickliffe* were prohibited; and ordered to be burnt; a great many of his propositions were condemned, and his bones were ordered to be dug up and thrown into profane ground. The day following, by the advice of the council, *Sigismund* was reconciled to the duke of *Austria*, who finding himself unable to preserve his dominions, in consequence of the ban, came and submitted in a most humble manner, promised to bring the pope back to the council, and as a security resigned, by a solemn act, all his possessions into the hands of the emperor. Immediately upon this agreement, *Sigismund* sent two archbishops, and a body of 300 men, to *Friburgh*, to seize the pope, who seemed not displeased to return to *Constance*, but, while he protracted the time, he sent a proxy to two cardinals to plead his cause before the council. This bull, however, was rejected at the ninth session, which was held on the 13th of *May*, the council insisting that proxies could not be admitted, as the citation was personal. Accordingly the next day, in the tenth session, *John* with his followers were declared contumacious, and a sentence of suspension from the pontificate was denounced against him, as guilty of simony and many other scandalous vices. A few days after the pope arriving, under a guard, at *Ratoffcell*, within two leagues of *Constance*, five cardinals were sent to him to inform him of the proceedings of the council; to which he declared his submission, but wrote to the emperor and the council, intreating them to have some regard to his honour, his person, and his estate. In the following session, which was held on the 25th of *May*, fifty-four articles were read against the pope, accusing him of various crimes, for the proof of which the witnesses were mentioned: three other articles were likewise added, concerning his poisoning his predecessor; and denying the resurrection of the dead and a future life; but for these no witnesses could be produced. The articles for which there was proof were carried to the pope, and he was desired to answer them; but he still declaring his willingness to submit to the council, on the 29th of *May*, in the twelfth session, a definitive sentence of deposition was denounced against him, which he next day confirmed by a public instrument, and immediately laid aside all the pontifical ornaments.

A. D. 1415.

The council
deposes the
pope.

This affair of the deposition of the pope being terminated, to the satisfaction of the council, they proceeded next to decide the cause of *John Huss*. On the 7th of *June* he was called before a private assembly, where the emperor was present, who exhorted him to submit to the authority of the council, and promised, from a regard to his brother *Wenceslaus* and the kingdom of *Bohemia*, he would dismiss him safe; otherwise, instead of being a protector to him in his errors, he would, with his own hands, light the fire to which he would be condemned. *John* pleaded the safe conduct that he himself had given him, and declared, that he came to the council not to defend his doctrines with a perverse obstinacy, but to retract them if he should be taught any thing that was better. The next day he was again called before the emperor and several prelates, and desired to abjure twenty-six heretical articles, drawn from his treatise upon the church; *John* required of them not to be compelled to do any thing against his conscience. He said several of the articles he had never taught, and therefore could not renounce them; the rest he was willing to forsake upon being instructed better. The emperor and the prelates not being satisfied with these conditional submissions, *John* was reconducted to prison; and in the thirteenth session, which was held on the 15th of *June*, the proctors of the council desired the condemnation of some errors concerning the eucharist: accordingly it was decreed, that though Christ instituted and administered the sacrament after supper under both kinds, of bread and wine, nevertheless, according to the laudable custom of the church, and the authority of the sacred canons, it ought not to be consecrated after supper, nor received by the faithful, unless when fasting, except in case of sickness, or of any other necessity admitted by the church; and although in the primitive church the same sacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds, yet, to avoid several scandals, the custom had been justly introduced, that the laity should receive it under the bread alone, as it ought to be most firmly believed that the intire body of Christ is wholly contained under each kind separately; and that those who obstinately asserted that the observation of this

John Huss de-
sires his doc-
trines to be
examined.

custom was sacrilegious and unlawful, ought to be punished by the ordinaries and inquisitors of heresy.

Gregory XII.
abdicates the
pontificate.

In the next session, which was held on the 4th of July, the emperor presided, till the deputies from pope Gregory read his bulls, approving the council, not as having assembled by order of pope John, whom he stiled *Balbazar Cossa*, but as summoned by the authority of *Sigismund*. The emperor then retired to his own place, and the council confirmed all the proceedings of Gregory, during his administration of the pontificate; received his six cardinals, and himself as a seventh, into the sacred college, and annulled all the censures that had been denounced by either party against the other. *Charles Malatesta*, lord of *Rimini*, as proxy for Gregory, then made a solemn renunciation of the pontificate in his name; upon which the council sung *Te Deum*, and decreed, that Gregory should be always accounted next to the pope in dignity and rank, and declared him perpetual *legate à latere* in the march of *Ancona*. Two days after, in the fifteenth session, *John Hufs* was introduced into the council, and placed upon a high seat in the view of the whole assembly, as a person convicted of heresy by those who had been appointed to examine him, altho' his judges had used no arguments to disprove his doctrines, but only insisted that he ought to submit his judgment to a general council. After he was seated, an order was read, enjoining the strictest silence, under pain of excommunication and two months imprisonment: then the propositions of *Wickliffe* were read and condemned: *John Hufs* was declared an obstinate heretic; ordered to be degraded, and to be delivered to the secular court; and his writings to be burnt. In consequence of this sentence, he was stripped of his sacerdotal habit, a paper mitre, painted with devils, was put upon his head, and he was delivered to the magistrate of *Constance*, who the same day ordered him to be burnt alive without the city. *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards *Pius II.* in his history of *Bohemia*, relates, that he walked to the stake as cheerfully as if he had been going to an entertainment, and, while he was burning, sung an hymn with a loud and strong voice¹. Though his ashes were thrown into the lake, yet his disciples carried off the earth on which he suffered, which was distributed amongst his followers, and preserved by them as sacred relicks^m. The news of his death no sooner reached *Bohemia*, than the nobles and barons, who had embraced his doctrine, wrote threatening letters to the council, and entered into an association for their mutual defenceⁿ. In the same session the council condemned that opinion, "That it was lawful and meritorious to kill a tyrant, by any means, notwithstanding any alliance with him, or oath of allegiance (U)."

John Hufs
is condemned
and burnt.

The emperor
goes to Fer-
pignan, where
he has a con-
ference with
Benedict;

who refuses
to abdicate.

THE council having now removed two popes, in the next session, held on the 11th of July, appointed twelve proxies, to accompany the emperor to the conference with the king of *Arragon* and *Benedict XIII.* which was now to be held in *Spain*. Four days after, in the seventeenth session, the emperor received the benediction of the council, and anathemas were denounced against any who should interrupt his journey, and indulgences granted to those who prayed for his success. On the 18th *Sigismund* quitted *Constance*, with an escort of 4000 horse, and arrived soon after at *Narbonne*; but, being obliged to delay his journey on account of the sickness of the king of *Arragon*, he did not reach *Perpignan* before the 18th of September. *Benedict*, or *Peter de Luna*, at first refused to come to the conferences, unless the emperor would honour him as pope; but *Sigismund* absolutely rejecting that demand, he at last arrived at *Perpignan*. However, he still refused to abdicate, and insisted that, as he had now no competitors, the only way to terminate the schism was to acknowledge him as pope. The emperor, highly offended at this obstinacy, threatened to compel him to a resignation, and left *Perpignan*. After he had returned to *Narbonne*, being informed that *Benedict* had fled to the strong city of *Peniscola*, on the coast of *Valentia*, he invited him to return to *Perpignan*, but without effect. By this obstinacy *Benedict* lost all his adherents; the clergy of *Scotland* acknowledged the authority of the council of *Constance*, and the kings of *Arragon*, *Castile*, and *Navarre*, and the count of *Armagnac*, sent deputies to the emperor at *Narbonne*, where a capitulation was concluded, under twelve articles, whereby it was agreed, that the prelates at *Constance* should write circular letters to the princes and prelates hitherto in the obedience of *Benedict*, inviting them to the council; and that, upon their arrival, they should consult

¹ *ÆN. hist. Boem. c. 63.*

^m *Idem ibid.*

ⁿ *In Paralip. ad Ursperg.*

(U) The acts of council do not mention what it was that gave occasion to this decree; but *Spondanus*, with great probability, refers it to the dispute raised in *France*, on account of the murder of the duke of *Orleans* by his cousin the duke of *Burgundy*, in 1407. One *John Paris*, a *Parisian* divine, had justified this murder in eight articles he had published, alleging, that, as the duke of

Orleans was a tyrant, above the reach of the laws, it was lawful and meritorious to kill him. These articles were condemned by the bishop of *Paris*, and by the inquisitor; and, the affair being carried before the council, it was debated there with great warmth, and some of those, who held the affirmative, were in hazard of their lives (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. hoc an.*

a with the rest about the union and reformation of the church, and the election of a new pope.

DURING these transactions of the emperor, the council assembled on the 17th of *August*, and appointed some bishops from each of the nations to judge the causes and complaints that should be brought before the council. In the next session, which was held on the 23d of *September*, *Jerome of Prague*, a layman, and master of arts, publicly abjured the errors of *Wickliffe*, and acknowledged himself exposed to the severity of the canons if he should ever teach any thing contrary to the catholic doctrine; which abjuration and profession he delivered to the council written with his own hand. He, however, afterwards retracted, and endeavoured to escape; but was brought back from the confines of *Bohemia* by *John* duke of *Bavaria*, and shut up in a dark and loathsome dungeon in the bottom of a tower, in which situation he continued several months. In the same session the council confirmed the decrees of the emperor *Frederic II.* and *Charles IV.* concerning immunity of ecclesiastics; and in the twentieth session, held on the 29th of *November*, a monitory was published against *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, for his invasion of the privileges and possessions of the church of *Trent*. There are no other proceedings of the council mentioned during this year; but on the 31st of *January*, in a general session, the capitulation of *Narbonne* was confirmed, and a few days after letters of convocation to the *Spanish* princes and prelates were published, according to the form agreed to betwixt the deputies. Mean while *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* prohibited, by a public edict, any of his subjects from obeying *Benedict*; who, in return, assembled his friends at *Peniscola*, and demanded a sentence of deposition and excommunication against *Ferdinand*. After the publication of the citation for the *Spanish* prelates, the deliberations of the members of the council were not so frequent, as they waited for the arrival of the emperor, who had proceeded to *France*, and from thence to *England*, to reconcile these two kingdoms, and to ask succours against the *Turks*, who were then ravaging *Hungary*. In the twenty-first session, which was held on the 29th of *May*, *Jerome of Prague*, after having, with great eloquence and intrepidity, defended his doctrines in several private audiences, was introduced into the council, and condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic. He was then delivered to the secular magistrate, who ordered him to be burnt alive; which punishment he suffered with the greatest constancy and firmness. When the executioner was going to light the fire behind him, he called out to him to light it before his face; for if he had been afraid of burning he never would have come to *Constance* (W).

ABOUT the same time the duke of *Austria*, having refused to obey the monitory, and having fled from *Constance*, the council informed the emperor of his flight; who immediately put him to the ban of the empire. A few months afterwards the twenty-second session was held, on the 15th of *October*, in which was regulated the order of sitting to be observed by the deputies of *Arragon* and *Naples*, who had arrived at the council; and it was decreed, that the votes of the deputies of *Arragon*, together with those of the deputies of *Portugal*, *Castile*, and *Navarre*, should have the same authority as if all the bishops of those kingdoms were present: by which means a fifth nation was added to those already appointed by the council. In the following session, held on the 5th of *November*, twelve commissaries were nominated to determine the manner of proceeding against *Peter de Luna*; and in the next session, which

(W) *Poggio* of *Florence*, secretary of *John XXIII.* who was then at *Constance*, gives an account of the behaviour of *Jerome* before the fathers, in an elegant letter to his friend *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, and says, that, tho' he was shut up in a dark and nasty dungeon for 340 days, where he could not even see, yet, upon his trial, he cited so many learned and wise men, and so many doctors of the church, in defence of his opinions, that it would have appeared extraordinary, even tho' the whole time of his imprisonment had been spent in leisure and study. He declares, that he had never seen any whose eloquence approached so near to that of the ancients; that he answered his accusers with the greatest wisdom and confidence; and that, if his faith was the same with what he professed, there could not be found against him the least cause of offence: that he frequently answered the reproaches and railings of his opponents by a jest or sarcasm, which obliged many of the assembly to smile. On the last day of his audience, having with difficulty obtained leave to speak, he mentioned many upright men that had been unjustly condemned by wicked judges, particularly *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Anaxagoras*, *Zeno*, *Rutilius*, *Boethius*; then, proceeding to

the sacred scriptures, he mentioned *Joseph*, almost all the prophets, *Susannah*, *John Baptist*, our Saviour, *Stephen the Martyr*, and all the apostles, he said, had been condemned, not as being good men, but as despisers of God, and seditious ringleaders of the people; that the most holy and learned fathers, *Augustine* and *Jerome*, had differed from one another without being suspected of heresy. He then mentioned his friend *John Huss*, whom he praised as a good, just, and holy man, who had never preached against the doctrines of the church, but against the abuses of the clergy, and the pride and pomp of the prelates, who wasted the patrimony of the church, designed for the support of the poor and strangers, upon whores and dogs, and in feasting, gluttony, and vain apparel. As his discourse was frequently interrupted by the captious objections of his opponents, there was none whom he did not answer, and either obliged all to blush or to be silent. When a noise arose in the assembly he stooped, without being disconcerted, and sometimes even reproved the authors of the disturbance, and intreated for leave to speak, as it would be the last time they would ever hear him (1).

(1) *Pog. Flor. epist. ex rer. Boem. script.*

was held on the 18th of the same month, a form of citation was read, summoning the same *Peter*, as a schismatic and heretic, to appear within seventy days after intimation made to himself, or the publication of the summons in any church of the diocese wherein he resided. In the two following sessions, which were held on the 14th and 24th of *December*, the deputies of the count of *Foix* and of the king of *Navarre* were admitted into the council; and a decree was made, ordaining, that no honour or detriment should accrue to any nation by the order of sitting, debating, or subscribing.

The emperor
returns to
Constance.
A.D. 1417.

Benedict
XIII. is
deposed.

A FEW weeks after, the emperor returned to *Constance*; and in the twenty-seventh session, held on the 20th of *February*, the duke of *Austria* was declared guilty of contumacy; and in the next session, held on the 3d of *March*, *Frederic* and his adherents were excommunicated, for having invaded the possessions of the church of *Trent*, and violated his oath to the emperor. The twenty-ninth session was held on the 8th of *March*, the day appointed for the appearance of *Peter de Luna*; but, as he had not obeyed the summons, the council declared him contumacious; and two days after, in the thirtieth session, the deputies that had been sent to *Spain*, informing the assembly that they had cited the said *Peter* personally, and received from him an evasive answer, the council immediately approved the withdrawing obedience from him. In the next session, held on the 31st of *March*, a monitory was published against *Philip Viconti* count of *Virtu*, who had thrust the bishop of *Asti* into prison; and the bishop of *Bayonne*, in *Guienne*, tho' appointed by *Benedict*, was confirmed by the council, because his competitor, who had been nominated by *John XXIII.* was lately dead. The five following sessions were wholly employed in the cause of *Peter de Luna*, who, after several citations, and examinations of witnesses against him, on the 26th of *July*, in the thirty-seventh session, was solemnly deposed, and all Christians were absolved from yielding him obedience. Before this definitive sentence was published, the emperor, with the princes of *Germany*, and the *English* deputies, had endeavoured to prevail with the council to proceed to the reformation of the church; and the marquis of *Brandenburgh* particularly proposed, that the clergy of *Germany* should be prohibited, by a canon, from purchasing any immoveable possessions. This motion for a reformation was, however, strenuously opposed by the cardinals and the other nations, who urged that it was first necessary to elect a pope; and, each party defending their opinion with great warmth, the council was on the point of being dissolved. The emperor at length calmed their spirits, and, after two sessions spent in frivolous disputes about precedency, in the thirty-ninth session, which was held on the 9th of *October*, a perpetual decree was made, that, fifteen years after the dissolving of the council of *Constance*, another should be held, and, within seven years after that should be dissolved, a third should be held, and for ever afterwards councils should be held every ten years; the place of meeting to be appointed by the pope, who should have liberty to contract, but not to lengthen, the term for their convocation; and if a schism should arise in the pontificate, within a year after the dissolution of the council, it should then assemble the year after without any citation. In the fortieth session, held on the 30th of *October*, it was decreed, that the future pope, before the dismissing of the council, should reform the church in the head and members; they then proceeded to regulate the form of the election, and ordained, that six deputies of each of the nations should enter the conclave, together with the cardinals; and whoever should be chosen by two-thirds of the cardinals and deputies, should be accounted a true pope. Accordingly in the forty-first session, held on the 8th of *November*, thirty deputies were nominated, and entered the conclave with twenty cardinals of the three obediences. After great disputes, *Otho Colonna*, a *Roman*, and cardinal deacon of *St. George*, was chosen pope on the 11th of *November*; who, in honour of the saint whose feast was then celebrated, took the name of *Martin V.* Historians remark, that the emperor might have seized this opportunity to recover the right which his predecessors enjoyed, of confirming the popes before their coronation; but he dropt that pretension for the peace of the church; and when the conclave was opened he entered, and prostrated himself at the feet of the pope, who was afterwards conducted to the cathedral church with the greatest solemnity, the emperor and the elector of *Brandenburgh* holding the reins of his horse, and a hundred princes, the ambassadors of twelve kings, and a whole council, following him.

Martin V.
is elected pope
by the deputies
and cardinals.

The doctrines
of the Hussites
approved by
the university
of Prague.

MARTIN having notified his election to the Christian princes, on the 28th of *December* presided at the forty-second session, in which *Sigismund* and the duke of *Bavaria* petitioned to be freed from the keeping of the late pope *John*. During these transactions of the council, the *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, in resentment for the death of *John Huss* and *Jerome*, having destroyed a great many monasteries of the *Dominicans*, prevailed with the university of *Prague* to approve their doctrine of communicating under both kinds. Accordingly *John*, cardinal rector of the university, published a declaration in the name of the whole body, professing, that they did not decide presumptuously against the catholic apostolic *Roman* church, nor seek to introduce any novelty, but rather adhered to the assertion of the council of

Constance,

a *Constance*, which had approved the communicating under both kinds, as instituted by our Saviour, and long practised by the primitive church : they therefore exhorted all those, who were concerned for their salvation, to prefer the institution of Christ to any edict of men. *Wenceslaus* being unable, by his own authority, to quell the commotions raised by the *Hussites*, wrote to his brother *Sigismund* for his assistance.

MEAN while *Martin* sent the cardinal of *Pisa* as his legate to *Peter de Luna*, to exhort him A. D. 1418. to resign the pontificate ; but *Peter*, tho' he was likewise solicited by some of his own cardinals to abdicate, would not consent, but declared that he would confer with *Martin* about the means of restoring peace to the church °. The council again assembling on the 21st of *March*, published some decrees concerning exemptions, first fruits, dispensations, simony, b tythes, and other ecclesiastical grievances, and concerning the lives and dress of the clergy ; by which, and by some agreement with each of the nations which is not mentioned, the pope decreed, that the former statute of the council, about reforming the church, was fully executed (X). According to *Platina*, the pretence used for delaying to proceed to the reformation was the long continuance of the council, therefore, in the forty-fourth session, held on the 19th of *April*, according to a former decree, a future council was appointed to be held at *Pavia*. Three days after was held the forty-fifth and last session of the council, in which the deputies of the king of *Poland*, and of the waiwode or duke of *Lithuania*, having desired the pope to condemn a certain book containing a great many heretical doctrines, *Martin* took occasion from thence of declaring, that he held, and would firmly observe, all c the decrees of the council in matters of faith. This his declaration he ordered to be repeated by the advocate of the council, thereby, according to *Spondanus*, intending to elude giving his consent to those decrees made in the fourth and sixteenth sessions, concerning the superiority of a council above a pope, and its authority of reforming the church in the head and members ; which doctrines, according to that writer, ought only to be admitted during a schism, when it is uncertain which of the pretenders to the pontificate is the real pope P. A bull, condemning the errors of *Wickliffe*, *John Hufs*, and *Jerome of Prague*, was then read, together with a form of examining their adherents, and receiving the penitents. Lastly, *Martin* granted a plenary absolution to all those who had attended at the council, both masters and d servants ; after which it was dissolved by cardinal *Rainald*, who, by the order of the pope, pronounced these words, *Go in peace* ; to which the whole assembly answered, *Amen*.

MARTIN soon after quitted *Constance*, and went to *Geneva*, where he continued till the month of *September*. He then passed the *Alps*, and was received with great honour by *Philip* duke of *Milan*, whom he reconciled to *Pandolphus Malatesta*, lord of *Brescia*. From thence he proceeded to *Mantua*, where he continued four months, and sent several legates to the cities of *Italy*, to reconcile their differences, and facilitate his own journey to *Rome*. In the beginning of *February* *Martin* left *Mantua*, and went to *Florence*, by *Ravenna* and *Forli*, to avoid *Bologna*, which had then revolted from the church. He was received by the *Florentines* with great honour, and continued upwards of eighteen months in that city, till he had established his authority in *Italy*, and recovered the greatest part of the territories of the church ; for, at his arrival, the castle of *St. Angelo*, *Ostia*, and *Civita Vecchia*, were garri- e soned by the *Neapolitans*, and the *Romans* had submitted to *Brachius* lord of *Perugia*, who had reduced that city and a great part of the ecclesiastical state ; and, as he had served several years under *Balthasar Cossa*, the late pope *John*, was a great enemy to *Martin*. *Brachius* was soon after expelled from *Rome* by *Sfortia Visconti*, then constable of *Naples* ; but, still refusing to submit to the church, he was excommunicated by *Martin*. However, the authority of the pope was at that time so weak, that *Brachius* and his adherents, in their turn, excommunicated his holiness, who was likewise exposed to the scoffs of the common people (Y). By the intercession of the *Florentines*, *Brachius* soon after submitted, and came and threw himself at the pope's feet ; who appointed him vicar over several of the cities he had formerly

The council of
Constance is
dissolved.
The pope re-
turns to Italy,
and
1419.
resides at
Florence.

° PLATINA.

P SPOND. Annal. an. 1418.

(X) *Gobelinus Persona* relates, that, before the election of *Martin*, several learned men of each of the nations, by the appointment of the council, drew up a form of reformation of the church, which, after the election of the pope, some nations desired to be confirmed ; but as they were not all equally zealous, and the cardinals appeared very backward in that affair, the French nation went to the emperor, and desired him to

urge the pope to proceed to a reformation. *Sigismund* answered, that, while he was earnest that the reformation should precede the election of a pope, they opposed him ; therefore, as he had not now the same authority as when the apostolic see was vacant, they ought to apply to the pope (2).

(Y) *Papa Martino non vale un quattrino*, pope *Martin* is not worth a farthing (3).

(2) *Gobel. Person. æt. vi. c. 69. Edit. Meibom. t. i.*

(3) *Leon. Arist. ap. Murator. t. 19.*

usurped. The queen of *Naples* likewise restored the places which she had seized, and sent her a seneschal to *Florence*, desiring the pope to send a cardinal to *Naples*, to perform the ceremony of her coronation. *Martin* granted her request, on condition that she set her husband at liberty; who had been long confined in prison, while she indulged herself openly in lasciviousness^a. About the same time four cardinals, who had deserted *Benedict*, came and submitted to the pope; and soon after *Balthasar Cossa*, who had escaped from the guards that were conducting him into *Italy*, came and threw himself at his feet, and acknowledged him true pope, and canonically elected. His submission was very acceptable to *Martin*, who created him cardinal bishop of *Tusculum*, and dean of the sacred college; however, he did not long enjoy this return of prosperity, but died a few months after, and was most honourably interred at the expence of his friend *Cosmo de Medicis*; who, by his means, had raised his fortune b to such a degree, as to be accounted, not only the richest citizen of *Florence* but of the whole world^c.

The Hussites
commit great
outrages in
Bohemia.
A. D. 1420.
A crusade
preached
against them.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the catholics in *Bohemia* were miserably oppressed by the *Hussites*, who had expelled them from *Prague*, and several other cities of the kingdom, and, since the death of *Wenceslaus*, had refused to acknowledge his brother *Sigismund* as their king; because he had previously refused to confirm to them liberty of conscience (Z). *Martin* being informed of their horrid outrages, at the intreaty of *Sigismund*, published a crusade against them on the 1st of *March*, with the usual indulgences^a, and sent legates into *Germany* to attend the emperor; who, being delivered from his apprehensions of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, had raised an army of 200,000 men, with which he entered *Bohemia*, and besieged c *Prague*. But, notwithstanding the great superiority of his numbers, he was obliged to raise the siege, and was defeated in five engagements, with the loss of his baggage, provisions, and artillery^b. About the same time, the pope, having received an embassy from *Manuel* the *Greek* emperor, with an offer of embracing the *Latin* faith and rites, if reasonable conditions were proposed, he appointed cardinal *Fonseca* as his legate *a latere* to go to *Constantinople*; but he first sent the general of the *Dominicans* to sound the real disposition of the emperor. Soon after, having recovered *Bologna*, he erected the church of *Florence* into a metropolitan, in return for the kind reception he had met with from that city; which he quitted on the 9th of *September*, and proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy^c, the *Romans* appointing the day of his arrival to be observed as a holiday. d *Martin* immediately caused the city to be repaired and decorated, and applied himself to humanize the *Romans*, who were become almost barbarous; he was, however, in some measure interrupted in these designs by *Brachius* of *Perugia*, who again revolted, and renewed his hostilities in the ecclesiastical state.

They publish a
letter in justifi-
cation of
their proceed-
ings.

IN the mean time the *Hussites*, to justify their proceedings, published a letter, accusing the emperor of having violated their privileges, alienated the marquise of *Brandenburgh*, without the consent of the states, plundered the churches, and carried off the archives of the kingdom: they then proposed four articles, from which they declared they would never recede; namely, concerning the freedom of communicating under both kinds, the preaching of the gospel without constraint, depriving the clergy of all superfluous endowments, and extirpating, by a reformation, all mortal sin in every rank and dignity. This letter was signed by *Conrad* archbishop of *Prague*, who had espoused their party, and by a great many barons and deputies of the cities; who a few months afterwards held a diet, or *holy synod*, as they called it, at *Prague*, in which they published twenty-two articles explaining their faith. c Ambassadors were likewise sent to *Poland* to make an offer of their crown to *Uladi-slaus*, or *Jagellon*; but he rejecting the offer, the *Hussites* applied to the duke of *Lithuania*, who, being offended at *Sigismund*, sent his brother *Coribut*, with a large body of *Lithuanians* and *Poles*, to the assistance of the rebels, at the same time informing the pope of the reasons

1422.

^a SUMMONT. Hist. Neap. I. iv. c. 3. ^b PLATIN. I. vii. p. 652. See also the History of the German empire.

^c COCHLÆ. ^d AVENT. Annal. Boior. ^e LEON. ARET. ap. Murator. PLATINA.

(Z) Besides the *Hussites*, who were divided into two sects; namely, those who denied transubstantiation, and those who were called *Calixtins*, and communicated under both kinds, the sect of *Adamites* was at this time introduced into *Bohemia*, by one *Pikard*, from *Holland*, who quickly made a great many proselytes of both sexes; and, having taken possession of an island surrounded by a river, called himself *Adam*, the son of God, and asserted that all others, who were not of his sect, were children of the devil. His followers walked naked, and lived promiscuously; but, as they were

obliged to plunder others for their subsistence, *Zisca*, the general of the *Hussites*, attacked their island, and put them to the sword. There was likewise another sect, who called themselves *Orebites*, from the mountain *Oreb*, on which *Moses* received the law from God. Tho' they did not entirely agree with the *Hussites*, yet they were equally zealous enemies to the catholics, plundering and destroying the monasteries, and burning the monks and priests, or exposing them naked in the middle of winter to the rigours of the season (4).

(4) *Æn.* c. 41, 42, 43. *Coch.* in hist. *Hussit.*

a why he had taken them into his protection. A few weeks afterwards *Martin* sent cardinal *Branda*, bishop of *Placenza*, as his legate into *Germany*, to prosecute the war against the *Hussites*, and wrote to the waiwode, desiring him to recall his troops from *Bohemia*; which request was, after some time, complied with, in consequence of a new accommodation betwixt the emperor and his cousin the king of *Poland*.

Soon after *Martin* received a letter from the emperor of *Constantinople*, expressing his desire of an union with the *Roman* church, but refusing to embrace that union by submitting to the faith of the *Latin* church, as the nuncio declared his ambassadors had asserted at *Florence*. He requested only that an universal council might be called, after the manner of the seven ancient ones; that it should assemble at *Constantinople*, as the *Greeks* were unable to go elsewhere on account of the incursions of the *Turks*, and the poverty of the empire; that the pope should furnish the expences of those who attended at the council, as the emperor, at whose charge they formerly assembled, was not able; and lastly, that his holiness would compel those under his obedience, by severe censures, to assist the *Greeks* in their extremity. What was the consequence of this letter is not mentioned; but the following year, according to *Onuphrius*, *Martin* celebrated a jubilee at *Rome*; however, as *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, were then the scenes of destructive wars, this solemn festival seems to have been but little attended to. Mean while, as the time for celebrating the council of *Pavia* now drew near, the pope, with the advice of the cardinals, sent four prelates to that city; who, in the month of *May*, opened the assembly; at which were present only three other ecclesiastics, namely, two abbots from *Burgundy*, and a *Carmelite* friar from the clergy of *England*^w. As the plague raged in *Pavia*, and the fathers did not attend, after two months the pope transferred the council to *Siena*, where the first session was opened on the 8th of *November*. The four prelates, that were first sent to *Pavia*, presided in the name of the pope, and, with the consent of the fathers, confirmed the sentence of condemnation published against heresy at *Constance*, and likewise made some additions to the bull of *Boniface VIII.* concerning heretics, ordaining, that whoever expelled them from their territories, or delivered them into the power of the ordinaries or inquisitors, or, when desired, punished them with the secular arm, should enjoy the same indulgences as those who personally visited the *Holy Land*. As very few prelates came to this council, it was dissolved in the month of *February*, another being appointed to be held seven years afterwards at *Basil*, and the necessary reformati-
 b where on account of the incursions of the *Turks*, and the poverty of the empire; that the pope should furnish the expences of those who attended at the council, as the emperor, at whose charge they formerly assembled, was not able; and lastly, that his holiness would compel those under his obedience, by severe censures, to assist the *Greeks* in their extremity. What was the consequence of this letter is not mentioned; but the following year, according to *Onuphrius*, *Martin* celebrated a jubilee at *Rome*; however, as *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, were then the scenes of destructive wars, this solemn festival seems to have been but little attended to. Mean while, as the time for celebrating the council of *Pavia* now drew near, the pope, with the advice of the cardinals, sent four prelates to that city; who, in the month of *May*, opened the assembly; at which were present only three other ecclesiastics, namely, two abbots from *Burgundy*, and a *Carmelite* friar from the clergy of *England*^w. As the plague raged in *Pavia*, and the fathers did not attend, after two months the pope transferred the council to *Siena*, where the first session was opened on the 8th of *November*. The four prelates, that were first sent to *Pavia*, presided in the name of the pope, and, with the consent of the fathers, confirmed the sentence of condemnation published against heresy at *Constance*, and likewise made some additions to the bull of *Boniface VIII.* concerning heretics, ordaining, that whoever expelled them from their territories, or delivered them into the power of the ordinaries or inquisitors, or, when desired, punished them with the secular arm, should enjoy the same indulgences as those who personally visited the *Holy Land*. As very few prelates came to this council, it was dissolved in the month of *February*, another being appointed to be
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 d held seven years afterwards at *Basil*, and the necessary reformati-

The Greek emperor desires a general council to be held at Constantinople.

A general council at Pavia;

it is transferred to Siena.

The pope joins in a war against the Florentines. A.D. 1434.

Peter de Luna dies, and is succeeded by Clement VIII.

ABOUT the same time, a war arising betwixt the duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines*, *Martin*, in resentment for the assistance given by that republic to *Brachius* of *Perugia*, declared for the duke. A few months after, having sent an army to assist the queen of *Naples* against *Brachius*, who was besieging *Aquila*, in an engagement, fought on the second of *June*, *Brachius* was entirely routed, and mortally wounded. In consequence of this victory queen *Jane*, and her adopted son *Lewis III.* duke of *Anjou*, remained in the quiet possession of *Naples*; *Martin* recovered *Perugia*, and the other places in the ecclesiastical state that had been usurped by *Brachius*, and the *Florentines* were deprived of their chief support against the arms of duke *Philip*. Not long after the antipope *Benedict* died at *Peniscola*, in the 30th year of his pontificate, having, on his death-bed, bound his followers to elect a successor, under pain of eternal damnation. Accordingly the two cardinals of his obedience, after his decease, chose *Ægidius*, a canon of *Barcelona*, who was compelled by the king of *Arragon* to accept of the mock dignity, and assumed the name of *Clement VIII.* *Martin*, upon hearing of his intrusion, immediately denounced an anathema against him and his adherents, and cited them all to appear at *Rome*.

f MEAN while his legate cardinal *Branda*, having gone with the emperor and several other princes to *Presburg*, to be present at the coronation of queen *Sophia*, prevailed with *Uladislaus* to grant 5000 horse to *Sigismund* against the *Hussites*, and to confiscate the possessions of *Coribut*, who had again entered *Bohemia*. *Eric* king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, and *Peter*, brother of the king of *Portugal*, who were both present at the coronation, likewise granted succours to the emperor; but, notwithstanding all these reinforcements, the *Hussites* were every-where victorious, and not only repulsed the imperialists and crusaders, but, in their turn, invaded *Misnia*, which they ravaged in a terrible manner*. They, however, this year suffered a considerable loss in the death of their blind and valiant general *Zisca*, who died of

* SPOND. Annal. ex. act. Victor. PITHÆ de script. Angl.

= COCHLÆ, l. v.

Alphonfus is
intreated to
desert the
antipope.
A. D. 1425.

the plague, after he had agreed to a personal conference with the emperor. *Martin* in the mean time earnestly solicited the *German* princes to a new expedition against the *Hussites*, and wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to act with vigour against them. Being desirous likewise to extirpate the remains of the schism, he sent the cardinal of *Foix* as his legate *a latere* into *Arragon*, to prevail with *Alphonfus*, who was his relation, to desert the antipope. The cardinal, having sent a nuncio to inform the king of his commission, set out on his journey; but at *Charpentiers* he received a letter from *Alphonfus*, who declared he could not acknowledge him as a legate, till *Martin* had granted him some things which he demanded of him by a special messenger. After two other prohibitions to enter his kingdom, the king at last allowed him to act as legate, but under such restrictions as were rejected by the cardinal; who left *Arragon*, and retired to the territories of his brother the count of *Foix*; from whence the following year he sent frequent messengers to the king, desiring a conference, and with propositions for an accommodation. The messengers returned without receiving any satisfactory answer from the king, who still kept up his resentment against *Martin*, and published an edict, prohibiting the prelates of his kingdom from receiving any apostolical letters, or from executing them or those of the legate, under the penalty of forfeiting all their possessions. The cardinal legate protested against this edict, and informed the pope of the king's proceedings; who, on the 15th of *July*, published a most severe sentence against him and his kingdom. About the same time he sent cardinal *Nicolas Albergatus*, bishop of *Bologna*, to mediate a peace betwixt *Philip* duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines* and their allies, who prevailed with each of the parties to send deputies to *Ferrara*; where, after three months spent in negotiating, a treaty was concluded on the 1st of *January*.

The Hussites
ravage sever-
al provinces
of Germany.

1427.

MEAN while the several sects of the *Hussites*, namely, the *Calixtins*, *Taborites*, *Orphans*, and *Orebites*, having, since the death of *Zisca*, conferred the chief command upon one *Procopius*, a priest, and for that reason called *the Shaven*, this general, no less intrepid than his predecessor, gained a signal victory over the duke of *Austria* in his own dominions, and a few months afterwards entirely defeated an army of 100,000 *Germans*, commanded by the counts of *Veiden* and *Schwartzenburgh*; after which he made himself master of some places on the borders of *Moravia*, and ravaged *Austria* in a terrible manner, as far as the *Danube*. The pope, greatly affected with the miseries which the catholics suffered in *Bohemia* and *Germany*, and finding his endeavours to assist them hitherto ineffectual, on the 16th of *March* created cardinal *Henry*, bishop of *Winchester*, and uncle of the late *Henry V.* of *England*, his legate in *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, with full power of causing a crusade to be preached everywhere against the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*, with the same indulgences as the crusaders against the *Saracens* had formerly enjoyed. As *Henry* had great authority in *England*, the pope expected large succours from that kingdom; accordingly the cardinal, after some dispute, having obtained leave from the regent of the kingdom to exercise his legatine authority, published a crusade against the *Hussites*; in consequence of which he raised a considerable body of forces, with whom he marched the following year into *Bohemia*.

The pope's le-
gate treats
with the king
of Arragon
about abandon-
ing the anti-
pope.

1428.

WHILE the crusade was preaching in *England*, the king of *Arragon*, influenced by the censures of the pope, at length invited the cardinal of *Faxi* to enter his dominions; and, upon his arrival at *Valentia*, received him with the greatest honour and respect, conducting him bare-headed into the city. Although two days after he opposed some proceedings of the legate by a public edict, yet he was prevailed upon to enter into a negotiation with him, in which several articles were drawn up, containing the mutual demands of both parties; and it was agreed, that the legate should carry them himself to the pope, and return afterwards to *Arragon* to terminate the differences. Accordingly, two galleys being provided, the cardinal embarked for *Rome*, where he arrived on the 8th of *January*. Immediately after, the demands of *Alphonfus* were taken into consideration, and answers to each of them were drawn up and sent to the king; which were not approved by him. As the plague at this time raged in *Rome*, and the cardinals were dispersed, the accommodation of the differences was delayed, and the whole year was spent in reciprocal messages and objections. *Martin* in the mean time published a bull, prohibiting lay officials from usurping any authority over ecclesiastics; and, as the *Bolognese* had again revolted from the holy see, he sent an army against them, and laid their city under an interdict. In the beginning of the following year, he again sent the cardinal of *Tibisci* to *Arragon*, who arrived at *Barcelona* about the middle of *May*, where he was received by the king and the prelates with great honours. *Alphonfus* nevertheless delayed the conferences upon various pretences; but, at the intreaties of his brother the king of *Navarre*, he at length condescended to treat. However, after several dif-

^v Pog. Hist. Flor. ap. Murat. t. xx. p. 344.
Hist. Polon. l. iv. c. 52.

^b Act. Leg. ap. Bzov. hoc an.

^z Bzov. hoc an. HARPS. sec. 15. c. 10 & 20.

^c SPOND. Annal.

^a MICHOV.

a putes, the legate refusing to publish his absolution, till he reversed the decrees against the authority of the see of *Rome*, the conferences were broken off; and the king next day proposed to set out on an expedition against the kingdom of *Castile*. On the morrow, the legate having obtained an audience, the king at last consented to his demands; and his brother and himself, having received the benediction of the cardinal, immediately departed. Next day the revocation of the king's decrees was published; and two of his counsellors, being appointed to act according to the directions of the legate, went to *Peniscola*, where, on the 26th of *July*, the antipope *Clement* or *Ægidius*, in the presence of his cardinals and court, voluntarily abdicated the pontifical dignity, confirming his abdication by a bull, and exhorting his cardinals to elect another. They accordingly proceeded to an election in the usual manner, and unanimously chose *Otho Colonna*, or *Martin V.* to whom, in the person of his legate, all the adherents of the late antipope submitted, excepting two cardinals, who, for their obstinacy, had been thrust into prison before the election; however, they soon after acknowledged their fault, and asked pardon.

who, by his
voluntary ab-
dication, at
last terminates
the schism.

THE schism being thus terminated, after it had continued fifty years and ten months, the legate, before he left *Spain*, held a council at *Tortosa* for the restoring of discipline, the sessions being prorogued to the beginning of the following year. *Martin* soon after sent one of the cardinals as his legate *a latere* to be present at the general chapter of the *Franciscans*, held at *Assisi*, with a full authority of reforming the order in the head and members, and to repress the power of the *Hussites*; who, at different times, had made irruptions into *Misnia*, *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Lusace*, and *Franconia*. The following year he created cardinal *Julian* his legate *a latere* in *Germany*, with a full authority of carrying on the sacred war. As this cardinal was remarkably eminent for his prudence, eloquence, and learning, a few weeks afterwards *Martin* published another bull, appointing him to preside, in his name, at the council to be held at *Basil*, in consequence of the decrees of those of *Constance* and *Siena*. This bull was dated on the 1st of *February*, and twenty days after the pope was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in the 63d year of his age, and 13th of his pontificate.

A. D. 1431.

END of the NINTH VOLUME.